RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES
OR
CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND DURING THE MIDDLE AGES

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF THE REIGN OF RICHARD I.

ITINERARIUM PEREGRINORUM ET GESTA REGIS RICARDI;

AUCTORE, ET VIDETUR

RICARDO, CANONICO SANCTÆ TRINITATIS LONDONIENSIS.

Edited by William Stubbs.

VOLUME I

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS
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GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND
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PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the Reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

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TABLE OF CONTENTS.

Page

INTRODUCTION - - - - - - ix

APPENDICES TO INTRODUCTION - - - cxlii

  OSBERNUS DE EXPUGNATIONE LYXBONENSI - cxlii

  NEOPHYTUS DE CALAMITATIBUS CYPRI - clxxxii

ITINERARIUM REGIS RICARDI - - - 3

GLOSSARY - - - - - - 451

COLLATION OF THE PAGES IN GALE'S EDITION - 457

INDEX - - - - - - 459

INTRODUCTION.

INTRODUCTION.

THERE are periods in the history of all nations, which are neither seed times of great principles nor harvests of great results. They are the seasons during which the institutions of earlier policy are spreading wide and striking deep below the surface of society, its spirit working into the heart and life of the people, and its fruits growing and ripening before the beginning of a new development. These periods may be longer or shorter, as the growth of principles is retarded or fostered: accordingly as rulers force their propagation by repressing them, or moderate it by training and guidance. If they are longer they have a series of heroes of a type of character peculiar to themselves. If they are shorter they have at least the old age of the men who have established the principles, and the youth and training of those who are to work out the further steps of progress. But any how they are richer in materials for the student of national and personal character, than in topics for the constitutional historian. The former will find abundant details of adventure and elucidations of manners: the latter, unless he is well supplied with records, in which he may trace the workings of the institutions, that are not less a part of the nation's life because they are uninteresting to the superficial reader, can only guess here and there at what is going on amongst those whose lives are not written, and is tempted to indulge in the visions of a speculative philosophy of history.

The short reign of Richard the First shares in some measure the character of these periods, for it falls between the initiation of good principles of law under Henry II., and the development of good principles of government in the reign of John: it is barren of incidents for the constitutional historian, partly because the working of the institutions of the former reign was impeded, as it had been during the last years of Henry's life, by domestic strife and anarchy, partly because the character and occupations of the king were not such as to produce any striking effect in the acceleration or retarding of progress. If John had succeeded his father immediately, Magna Charta might have dated ten years earlier than it did; or if Richard had reigned twice as long as he did, it might have dated ten years later; but in the latter case it would have been rather the absence than the presence of any policy on the king's part that made the difference.

Short, however, as the reign was, its peculiar circumstances rob it of the proper interest that belongs to shorter periods of transition. It did not witness the declining glories of the statesmen of Henry, nor form a school of training for those who were to resist King John. The former were spent and worn out in the very beginning of it. Of the latter it would be difficult to mention any except William Marshall who occupy even a secondary place of interest in the reign of Richard. It has its warriors and politicians all to itself. The roll of the latter is not a long one. Hubert Walter, William Longchamp, Walter of Coutances, Geoffrey FitzPeter, and William Marshall were about all. In the class of warriors the king himself throws all others into second rank: few of his companions in arms were native Englishmen, or even Anglicised Normans. The chief field of their exploits was too remote, and the time of their adventures too short, for them to produce any effect on the national character, and that produced by the character of Richard himself was neither immediate nor direct. The siege of Acre used up the brave men that his father had left him, and his French wars those whom he had himself formed in the triumphs and troubles of the Holy Land. He was the creation and impersonation of his own age;[1] and that, though full of character and adventure, was short and transitory in its very essence; but it was by a rare fatality that the lives of the men of the transition were as short and transient as itself.

Still, although it furnishes little that is of interest to the investigator of domestic legislation,[2] it is not to the mere details of adventure or of character that it owes the charm it possesses for those who study history for its own sake. Any one who will follow King Richard carefully through the ten years of his reign will be brought into contact with a variety of men, and complications of politics unequalled in interest by those of many longer and more important reigns. The Crusade brings East and West together. The family connexions of the king involve him in the conflicting interests of Italy, France, Germany, and Spain. His personal adventures open up the whole political history of the age. The dominions in which he exercised real or nominal sway were more diversified in character and circumstances than those of any prince of his time. King of England, lord of Ireland, Scotland, and Wales, duke of Normandy, Aquitaine, and Gascony, count of Maine, Anjou, and Poictou, and superior lord of Britany, Auvergne, and Toulouse; king of Arles, conqueror of

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[1] "Cum quo, multorum judicio, "decus et honor militiæ pariter "sepulta sunt." M. Paris, ed. Wats, p. 196. "Proh dolor in tanto funere "mundus obit." Hoveden, 450. "Rex tuus est speculum, quo te "speculata superbis." Galf. Vinsauf, *Ars Poetica*, ed. Leyser. Helmstadt. 1724, p. 16.

[2] Palgrave, *Preface to the Rotuli Curiæ Regis*, i. lxx. This Introduction contains the clearest account I know of the domestic history of Richard's reign.

Cyprus, and for a time the ruler of the kingdom of Palestine, he was brought into collision with almost every potentate in Christendom. In his continental dominions he had an unwearied enemy in Philip of France; in Sicily he involved himself in quarrels with both the Norman Tancred and the German Henry; in Cyprus he not only startled the fitful lethargy of the Eastern empire, which almost thought that the yellow-haired king from the West was coming,[1] before whom the golden gate of Constantinople was to open of its own accord, but afforded a ground of accusation to enemies who might be thought far enough removed from the interests of the Comneni.[2] In Palestine he managed either by his superior prowess to draw on himself the envy, or by his utter want of tact to alienate the goodwill and sympathy of every prince of East or West with whom he had to do. He had no policy abroad any more than at home, and his foreign relations were as anomalous and unquiet as his domestic ones. And with all this, besides the undoubted influence which his personal character gave him in his own dominions, he had power to place one of his nephews on the throne of

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[1] Ralph de Diceto, 642; Hoveden, 370.

[2] Isaac Comnenus, emperor of Cyprus, was sister's son to the Emperor Manuel. Hoveden, 340. Theodora, the mother of Leopold of Austria, was a niece of Manuel. Ansbert, the Austrian chronicler, calls this connexion the "efficiens "causa" of Richard's captivity (ed. Dobrowsky, p. 114). The affinity between the Emperor Henry and Isaac Comnenus must have been very distant; Henry's father and Leopold's grandfather were half-brothers. Conrad of Montferrat's mother was sister to the one and half-sister to the other. Richard's conduct to Leopold stirred up the whole race sprung from Agnes of Suabia: in Germany, Italy, and Sicily. The affair of Cyprus was only a pretext. Isaac was a usurper and a rebel: and Richard wa welcomed by the Cypriots as a deliverer. Yet when a charge against him was wanted, Leopold and Henry took up the cause of Isaac as a family matter. Cf. R. Coggeshall, ad. 1193; Hoveden, 414 v°.; where Leopold is called *uncle* to Isaac's daughter. Agnes, sister of Philip of France, was married to Alexius II. Comnenus, who died in 1183.

Godfrey of Bouillon, and another on that of Charles the Great.[1]

Brought thus into contact with so many and diverse interests, and occupying, by his own position and choice, a central place in the history of his times, Richard has been pourtrayed for us, if not from more distinct points of view, at least by a greater number of historians than any sovereign of his age or any king of England before him. We know what Englishman, Norman, Frenchman, German, Greek, and Mussulman thought about him; and it is no wonder, considering the number of princes whom he either outshone by his exploits, or offended by his pride, or injured by active aggression, or who, having injured him, hated him with the pertinacity of injustice, that his character has fared badly in the hands of foreign chroniclers.

The descriptions given by the French and German writers are frequently inconsistent with each other, and are based upon proofs that will not bear historical inquiry;[2] but they are rather exaggerations and misrepresentations of existing facts, than accusations altogether false. There is indeed a contrast between the writers of the two nations that is of some interest and importance as illustrating the source and growth of national prejudice, while at the same time it vouches for their own sincerity. The German historians describe Richard as a monster of pride and arrogance,[1] the French as the most perfidious of men. But the Germans have envenomed their calumny with a hatred that is absent altogether from the French historians; and what is more to the point, they look upon him as an Englishman and involve his country in his condemnation.

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[1] The steps of the promotion of Henry of Champagne to the kingdom of Jerusalem are detailed in the fifth book of this history. He was half-nephew to both Philip and Richard, being grandson of Louis and Eleanor; but he had attached himself throughout to Richard's party in Palestine. The election of Otto IV., who was son of Henry the Lion, and Matilda, sister of Richard, and made count of Poictou by his uncle, is stated to have been carried either by Richard's influence or in hopes of his support: "Ricardus vero rex, cum multis ex" "pensis eum ad imperium trans" "misit. O laudabilis viri laudabile" "factum, qui totum mundi im" "perium nepoti suo comparavit." Robert de Monte, *App. ad Sigebertum*; ap. Pistorium, ed. Struve, i. 939. Cf. Conrad Ursperg. (ed. 1540), p. cccxxi.; Hoveden, 441 v°. &c. Otto was not crowned emperor until 1209.

[2] For example, the capture of Messina from Tancred is construed into an act of hostility to the Emperor Henry VI. Annales Marbacenses, Pertz, xvii. 164. Richard is charged with selling Ascalon to the Saracens; Ansbert, 112.

The ancient friendship between Germany and England, which dated from the times of Boniface and Charles the Great, had reached its point of closest connexion in the time of Edward the Confessor, and had been resuscitated for a time by the marriage of

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[1] Otto of St. Blaise, a partizan of the emperor and Duke Leopold, inveighs against Richard on the most curiously imaginary grounds. He says of Richard after the surrender of Acre, "Præter hæc (the insult "offered to the duke's flag) præda "communi universorum sudore ac- "quisita, inter suos tantum dis- "tributa, reliquos privavit, in seque "odia omnium concitavit. Omnibus "enim fortiori militum robore præ- "stabat, et ideo pro velle sua cuncta "disponens, reliquos principes par- "vipendebat. Attamen Teutonica "militia cum Italica his admodum "exasperata, regi in faciem re- "stitisset nisi auctoritate militum "Templi repressa fuisset. Angli- "cam itaque perfidiam detestantes, "Angliæque subdi dedignantes, "ascensis navibus simul cum Duce "Leopaldo repatriaverunt, rege cum "suis adhuc remanente, quotidieque "paganos impugnante." Urstisius, *Germaniæ Hist. Illustr.* ed. 1670, vol. i. p. 216. A similar view of Richard's character is taken by *Ansbert*, though with more moderation: "Idem itaque rex Angliæ "primus et præcipuus in tota mi- "litia Christiana, eo quod in faculta- "tibus et in omnibus opibus alios "præcedebat, et eos aspernatus post- "ponebat, dominium sibi super "omnes usurpabat," p. 111; and further on, "Rex Angliæ Richardus, "qui gloria omnes anteire voluit, et "omnium indignationem meruit," &c., p. 113. The English historians seem to have been peculiarly offended with the German ones for representing Richard's capture to have taken place whilst he was cooking. Chron. Petroburg. ed. Giles, p. 108. The story is thus told by several of their writers, who show the same spiteful pleasure in telling it that the English writers show in the details of the matrimonial disappointments of Philip of France.

Henry V. with Matilda of England. But the tie between the house of Anjou and that of Brunswick, which, originating in the marriage of Henry the Lion with Matilda the daughter of Henry II., was drawn tighter by the misfortunes of the Welfic family, was not looked upon in Germany in the same light in which the old national friendship had been. The English name shared the unpopularity of the defeated party of the Welfs even before the conduct of Richard in Sicily and Palestine had given umbrage to Henry of Hohenstaufen and Leopold of Austria.[1] Offence once given, a long score was soon recollected for revenge, and a hope succeeded that some of the English gold which hitherto had been spent in support of Henry the Lion might be diverted without dangerous violence into the coffers of the imperial house. National alienation on the one hand, party animosity and personal enmity on the other, were fruitful causes of hatred. Then when malice had done its worst, there was the consciousness of wrong done and the desire of national justification to induce the writers of Germany to represent Richard as they have done.

With the French it was otherwise. Richard was to them a perfidious and faithless vassal.[2] But that was all. They knew he was no Englishman: and, if it is not an anachronism to speak of any national feeling in a Frenchman of that age, to accuse him of national faults would have been to accuse themselves. He was according to their reading of his character a brave and most noble king; the most glorious of the kings of the earth if he would but have kept faith with Philip: and that was the concern of Philip, not of France. He was jealous of Philip's glories and faithless to Philip's allegiance. The former charge is not brought in so many words by any contemporary historian, and we may easily guess why. Philip's laurels were yet to be won, when Richard's career was closed, and such as they were, they were won in the far different field of feudal chicanery. But the charge of perfidy is freely brought, and, so far as the facts go, cannot be rebutted. The moral and political guilt, however, of such perfidy was infinitesimal. The relation of suzerain and vassal was at this period antiquated, and indeed extinct, except where it served the purpose of the moment to drag it into a legal procedure, or where the suzerain was strong enough to enforce rights which were supported rather by his own strong hand than by the "main et bouche" of his vassal. Between a mighty prince like Richard and the venerable imposture of the French monarchy there could be no real tie of homage and fealty; nor probably would the plea have been brought against Richard had not he himself taught Philip the use of it in his struggles with his father and his brothers. Any war waged by the duke of Normandy or the count of Anjou against the king of France was construed into perfidy, and the craft and cunning of war, as it was then practised, into fraud and treachery. Richard was not a king who would have encouraged rebellion in the dominions of an ally, at the same time disavowing his share in it: but he was not like Frederick Barbarossa, one who would send a cartel of defiance to an infidel foe before he waged war; much less would he have denied himself any advantage that craft or speed could give him over an enemy who hated him, and whom he despised so heartily as Philip. They were at war, open or secret, during the whole of Richard's reign, and neither ever scrupled to steal a march upon the other.

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[1] Henry II.'s policy in Germany was not altogether unlike that of James I. in similar circumstances. His political sympathies were doubtless with the emperor, but his family connexion went the other way. He contented himself with pecuniary support, and that to no great extent, and so was no favourite with either party.

[2] " —— et quo
" Anglorum sceptris melior non
" præfuit unquam
" Si regi servare fidem cui subditus
" esse
" Lege tenebatur, Regemque timere
" supremum
" Cura fuisset ei."
" —— succedit ei quo pejor in
" orbe
" Non fuit, omnimoda vacuus virtute
" Johannes."

W. Brito, *Philippis*, v. p. 292. Ed. Pithœus.

It is clear that Philip had craft enough to put Richard legally in the wrong. Compare his intolerable teasing of Richard at Messina, as told by Rigord, ed. Pithœus, p. 189, and at Acre. Ibid.

Richard has suffered hardly less from the exaggerated praise of English writers, who, while they have honestly recorded the crimes and excesses which on the face of it refute their views of his general character, seem to have thought it possible to show that, although in every relation of life he was found grievously wanting, he was, on the whole, a great and glorious king, to be defended against the calumnies of all the world. Those of them who lived under John may be excused for taking a flattering view of the past in contrast with the miserable and disgraceful present. Those who remembered his father's government wondered, but could not deny, that the foolish people bore Richard's scorpions more willingly than they had done his father's rods.[1] A bad son, a bad husband, a selfish ruler, and a vicious man, he yet possessed some qualities which the men of the time accepted as better than the wicked wisdom of his father, and which made his tyranny less intolerable than his brother's weakness; besides that, his glory and renown reached thousands of homes too humble to suffer from his exactions: he himself, with his oppressive hirelings, was far away from England, but fame had its myriad tongues. With John there was no glory, and not even the enchantment of distance to modify the bitter sense of national shame and personal suffering. Surely the historians were not so very far wrong, as modern thinkers, judging on high moral principles, might suppose. Judged according to the standard of his own time, he was acquitted of much for which we must condemn him; judged by that of ours, he carries with him in his condemnation the age that tolerated or admired him. Still there were a few redeeming points in him that should mitigate the censure of the moralist, and may force him to grant that in a better age Richard might have been a better and as great a man.

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[1] William of Newburgh (ed. Hamilton), i. 285, comparing the reign of Henry with that of Richard, under whom he wrote, says, "Et "tamen populus insipiens cum "minori nunc querela scorpionibus "cæditur, quam ante annos aliquot "flagellis cædebatur."

Richard was no Englishman that we should be concerned to defend him on national grounds, if it were right to argue to a foregone conclusion. Nothing in regard of national character or glory depends on his vindication or condemnation. He had very little English blood in his veins; most of his prominent characteristics were inherited, and are traceable with little obscurity to his Norman, Angevin, and Poictevin ancestors. His strength of will, his love of war, his unscrupulousness in means and money, his recklessness of human life, seem to have been his indefeasible inheritance from the Red King[1] and Henry I. His eloquence, such as it was, may have come to him with his troubadour tastes from his mother. We have to go back to his great-grandfather, King Fulk of Jerusalem, to find the source of the spirit of knight errantry which is so strongly exemplified in the work before us. This was not the whole of Richard's character. His power of winning the love of better men,[2] his wonderful facility in pardoning personal injuries, his tact in the choice of ministers, so inconsistent with his want of it in the rest of his conduct; a certain blundering faith in human nature, slow to suspect evil in the worst of men; and the heroic side as contrasted with the merely adventurous side of his character, came to him certainly from no ancestor nearer than the good Queen Maude: if they were not inherited from her, they were his own especial gifts: he was the first of his family who possessed them.[1]

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[1] Cf. Giraldus's remarks on Richard's death, *De Instr. Princ.*, p. 176 (ed. Brewer, 1846). There is a good deal of likeness between the worst points of Richard's character and that of William Rufus; but William seems to have been quite devoid of Richard's nobler traits.

[2] See Mr. Dimock's *Metrical Life of S. Hugh*; Lincoln, 1860, p. vii.

The leading feature in Richard's character was the love of war,[2] and that not for the sake of glory or acquisition of territory, but as other men love science or poetry, for the mere delight of the struggle and the charm of victory. By this his whole temperament was toned: united with the genius for military affairs which he undoubtedly possessed, it called forth all the powers of his mind and body. It brought into play the few virtues which alone can save such heroes from being scourges of mankind. It was the occasion of most of the sins that were laid to his charge, and of most of the miseries that oppressed his people during his reign. For this ruling passion he condescended to the meanest tricks of avarice,[1] the most unscrupulous violence of oppression; for this he incurred the imputation of wanton cruelty and causeless perfidy, and for this he squandered with the most fatuous prodigality the treasures which he had amassed at the sacrifice of honour and faith.

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[1] The favourable characters of Richard are by Gervase of Tilbury, *Otia Imperialia*, ap. Leibnitz, *Scriptores Rerum Brunsvicensium*, i. 947. "Post hunc genitus floruit ille rex "regum terrenorum Ricardus in "strenuitate, magnanimitate, militia, "scientia, et omnis generis virtutibus "nulli secundus; sacri patrimonii "Jesu Christi, Terræque Sanctæ "strenuus defensor; timor Gentium, mors hostium, gladius et "tutamen Christianorum: cui mundus ad largitiones non sufficeret, "et orbis velut pugillus erat ad "dimicandum:" in the Chronicle of Tours (Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, v. 1037), "Vir quidem animosus ac bellicosus, donis largissimus, armis "strenuissimus, militari negotio "circumspectus, a militibus dilectus "et a clero et populo honoratus, "ecclesiæ patronus et divini officii "auditor indefessus;" Giraldus, "*De Instructione Principum*, p. 105, "Inter varias quibus præeminet virtutes peculiari quadam prærogativa, trina hunc insignia incomparabiliter reddunt illustrem, "strenuitas et animositas eximia, "largitas et dapsilitas immensa "semper laudabilis in principe, "cæterasque adornans virtutes, tam "animi quam verbi firma constantia." See also the last chapter of this work; and Matthew Paris, p. 373, 374.

[2] This characteristic he shared with his elder brother. "Erat eis "mens una, videlicet, plus cæteris "posse in armis." Hoveden, 331. It is needless to multiply references.

In such a man we do not expect to find much self-restraint or consideration for other men's weakness. We dare not assert that Richard was free from the more sordid vices that defiled the character of his father and brother. The standard of morality was indeed so low that even if the historians were altogether, as they are for the most part, silent as to his personal vices, their silence could not be taken for a negation. Had he been in any considerable degree free from such, the praises of his chastity and temperance could not fail to have been sung by some one or other of his admirers. Unhappily, what little is said is dark and condemnatory.[1] His sins were such as called for open rebuke and bitter penitence. On two occasions before his last confession on his death-bed,[2] he is recorded to have publicly exhibited an extreme agony of remorse, and to have done open penance for the foulness of his life. Coming, however, as he does between Henry and John, to whose history their personal vices give so strong a colouring, he may at least plead that his sins in this respect, whatever they may have been, were neither so heinous as theirs, nor, what is more to the point, were allowed to influence his public life. We do not read that he ever, for the mere gratification of passion, either lost a friend or made an enemy, or broke any of the laws of honour which the times recognized, or even risked the smallest advantage. He was a soldier, and his vices were the common vices of the camp, set off with no garnish of romance, glaring in their own foulness and leaving us with no suspicion of anything worse behind.

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[1] Richard was not avaricious in the proper sense of the word, but as most extravagant people are. Sir Francis Palgrave (Pref. to Rot. Cur. Reg. i. p. xli.) is much too hard upon him. And the reproach taken by Giraldus from an epigram (*de Inst. Princ.* p. 176, Bromton 1280), that he embezzled the money of the Crusade is absurd. The amount of money that he had spent on the Crusade must have been immense, including the spoils of Sicily and Cyprus. Rigord coolly praises Philip's generosity in accepting a third of the money extorted from Tancred, when he had no right to a single Angevin, p. 188. The story told of his attacking the castle of Chaluz in search of a treasure, on the occasion on which he met his death, is curious, and, if it is to be believed, should be taken as a whole. The treasure was according to Rigord (p. 200), "Imperator quidam de "auro purissimo, cum uxore et "filiis et filiabus, ad mensam auream "residentibus." See also Hoveden, 449 v°; Trivet, 160. It is probable that the difficulties in which he found himself after his imprisonment had the effect of increasing his unscrupulousness in exacting money. See the curious passage in John of Oxenedes, pp. 94, 95.

He was a man of blood, and his crimes were those of one whom long use of warfare had made too familiar with slaughter to be very chary or sparing of it when the cost was his own; much less would the scruples of humanity occur to him when the blood to be shed was that of an open enemy or an infidel. But he was too impetuous to be either treacherous or habitually cruel; nor can any well-founded charge of either vice be brought against him. The sacrifice of the prisoners or hostages at Acre cannot be excused on any principle of morality, but it was in strict agreement with the letter of the law. It was no ebullition of savage passion, but a judicial cruelty which had almost become a necessity, and which was not executed until some weeks after it fell due and was seen to be necessary. The prisoners had been spared subject to terms and ransom. The terms might have been easily kept if Saladin had chosen. The massacre was, moreover, a sort of reprisal on Saladin for his murder of the Templars after the battle of Hittin.[1]

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[1] The passages are, Hoveden, 428 v°; W. Newburgh, ii. 56; Hemingburgh, i. 229 (where the history of Richard's death-bed reads like a chapter from the *Gesta Romanorum*). These must be read with the recollection that they are not to be interpreted *in pessimam partem*. The language of the monkish writers is often indiscriminate and exaggerated upon such points.

[2] First at Messina, in 1190, Hoveden, 388; secondly, on the Tuesday in Easter week, 1195; Hoveden, 428; and thirdly on his death-bed. See the curious story of his release from purgatory, in Matthew Paris, p. 373. He had professed on his death-bed that he would gladly endure the pains of purgatory until the day of judgment, Trivet, 161. According to the story told by M. Paris, he was released the same day with Stephen Langton and one of his chaplains.

✓ R. of Wendover.

There is no evidence that connects the assassination of Conrad of Montferrat with any proceeding of Richard; such a crime implies a fault of which all the rest of his life proves him guiltless, and an amount of imprudence beyond even his political incapacity. He might, had he compassed such a design, have certainly foreseen that it would be charged upon himself; and he might assuredly have effected the purpose by much simpler means. It was perpetrated at a moment when he was fast losing his interest in the Crusade, and anxious to go home; at a time, therefore, when the old complications hung light upon him, and he would be particularly careful about entangling himself in new ones. The charge was never made in a more tangible form than as a rumour or a suspicion: it is impossible to suppose, that had the family of Conrad believed it, his brother should have taken service under Richard as he did;[1] in fine, the character of Conrad was such, and the persons whom he had injured so many and various, that it is a wonder he was not disposed of earlier than he was. His chief enemies were among the Greeks and Pullani, the most likely of all enemies to seek a remedy by the swords of the Assassins.

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[1] The account given by Bohadin (*Vita Saladini*, ed. Schultens), pp. 181–183, is important, as illustrating Saladin's policy and the oriental view of Richard's conduct; and may be compared with the details of our author, iv. 2, 3, 4. On the expiration of the first month from the surrender of Acre, the true cross was to be restored with 100,000 pieces of gold and six hundred captives. Saladin was unable to make up the number of captives, and endeavoured to gain time by proposing that the Saracen prisoners should be restored to him before the ransom was paid, on condition of his giving hostages and pledges for the performance of the conditions. Richard refused, insisting that the Saracen captives should not be surrendered until all was paid. Saladin, suspecting that Richard intended to keep both prisoners and ransom, refused to trust to his honour; and hence the miserable result. This is probably the truth, and it explains why the Saracen princes looked on Saladin as, in a measure, answerable for the massacre. Hoveden says that Saladin massacred all his Christian prisoners two days before the slaughter by Richard, but it is impossible that he should have been guilty of so suicidal an act. Hoveden, 397.

Richard's indomitable pride[2] and his carelessness of expressing the contempt he felt for those beneath him in fame or strength, are constantly alleged against him by foreign writers, and are not denied by his own panegyrists; they were, indeed, the fruitful causes of his misfortunes. Still it must have been a difficult thing for the Lion-heart to have shown respect for one whom he knew so well, and despised so justly, as he did Philip of France, or to have pretended a regard for one so faithless and selfish as Conrad of Montferrat. His conduct to so enthusiastic a pilgrim as Leopold of Austria was, however, as indefensible as the meanness which avenged it, and which leads us to suspect that

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[1] Boniface, of Montferrat, in 1197 received of King Richard 800*l.* as his fee, and 26*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* as a present from the king. Stapleton's *Rotuli Scaccarii Normanniæ*, ii. pref. xiv. and 301.

[2] See Giraldus, *De Instr. Prin.* 107. He was "ferocissimus ad ultionem," Newburgh, ii. 31; "rex "vero propter magnitudinem animi "ac virium, quos forte per mansue"tudinem unire sibi poterat, indig"nantis animi monens exaspera"bat." Ibid. ii. 72, and the passages from the German writers, above.

Richard may have known Leopold better than we do. Certainly, the other instances may be referred rather to a want of political tact. He was not so far wrong in the contempt he felt, as rash and headstrong in his way of showing it.

If he had the vices of an unscrupulous and impetuous soldier, he had also the virtues of a brave man. His very impetuosity prevented him from being selfishly cold-blooded, or employing the artifices of falsehood and treachery. He was ready to forgive as he was hasty to offend; neither revengeful himself, nor suspicious of such a fault in others; he never forsook or betrayed a friend. He was open-handed and magnificent to excess, a virtue which, by itself, accounts for much of his popularity. He shared, in common with many other great warriors, in that sincere yet formal attention and attachment to ceremonial religion,[1] which, considering the circumstances of a soldier's life, must be accepted by the moralist, in default of any higher development, as the expression of a mind which willingly and humbly recognizes the source of all power and might.

As a warrior, Richard was by no means a mere headstrong and headlong combatant. He had that rare prerogative of true genius, to be able to see the best plan of operations to be the best, even when it did not proceed from his own brain. He was circumspect in design and swift in execution;[1] ready to seek and take the best advice; to yield his own schemes and accept a subordinate position when the decision of the majority was against him.

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[1] He heard mass every day. R. Coggeshall. His care in collecting relics is spoken of by Matthew Paris, p. 374. He was on good terms with the clergy. See note from the Chronicle of Tours above, p. xix.; also p. 447 of this work. That he was very popular with such of the clergy as he had not cheated of their money is clear from the honourable mention made of him in the Obituary of Fontevraud: in the notes of the French editors of R. Coggeshall, Bouquet, xviii. 85. He was greatly honoured among the Cistercians. See Martene and Durand, *Thesaurus*, iv. 1281, 1307, 1324, &c. The day of his death was also kept at Canterbury Cathedral, to which he had granted Boughton-Blean in Kent, as a pledge of which he sent his gloves to be hung up before the altar. His anniversary was kept solemnly in choir and refectory; each priest said a mass for him; the rest of the monks said the proper psalms. The expense was defrayed from the revenue of the said estate. *Martyrolog. Cantuar. ad.* 8 *id. April.* MS. Lambeth, 20.

Skilful as he was in the designing, and earnest in the execution of military combinations, he was the veriest tyro in politics. He had none of the tact of a wise prince; he showed none of the self-restraint in the camp that he practised in the council chamber. His political alliances were formed on the merest grounds of likes and dislikes; he had no scheme of territorial aggrandisement, such as gave a unity to the whole life of his father and of his competitor Philip. His dangerous dalliance with Saladin and Saphadin, purposeless in itself, was madness when persisted in, in defiance of the advice and public opinion of the Crusaders. When Messina was won, solely by his arms, he was easily persuaded to share the fruits of victory with his faithless ally, although he might far more wisely have used them to counteract his schemes. The rich and tenable acquisition of Cyprus was cast away even more easily than it was won. The whole history of his connexion with the Lusignans shows that he was as ready to forgive old injuries as he was to shut his eyes to future disadvantages, provided he could carry out the fancy of the moment, whether it was founded on prejudice alone, or, as in that particular case, on a prejudice that happened to be on the side of right.

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[1] Bohadin (p. 161) says of him: "The king of England, strenuous "before all, magnanimous, of strong "courage, ennobled by glorious "battles, of fearless boldness in "war. He was counted less than "the king of France in respect of "his kingdom and dignity, but "both more flourishing in riches "and much more celebrated in the "might of war." P. 185: "He was "old in war, excellent in counsel." The proof of what is said in the text may be seen at large throughout the present work.

He was eloquent after a rude and effective fashion. Being consciously unfit to govern men in peace, he did his best to choose good ministers.[1] Hence he cannot be looked on as a mere tyrant, although his designs could not be and were not carried out without the use of means that amount in effect to tyranny. If he cannot be acquitted on modern principles of deserting his direct and immediate duty as a king for the chimerical honours of a Crusader, it may be pleaded on his behalf that the means which he took to secure the peace and happiness of his subjects before he left were such as would have held good if he had had to deal with men of ordinary honesty. The anarchy of his reign is rather to be ascribed to the ingratitude and faithlessness of his brothers, and to the perfidy of Philip, than to his own neglect. When he started on the Crusade, he bound his brothers with an oath not to enter England for three years during his absence; and to the tie of honour he added that of interest, loading them both with benefits, which might have shown them that they had everything to lose and nothing to gain by breaking their oath. He did not leave home until he could be accompanied by that faithless ally from whom his most serious evils were to be apprehended. He could not have calculated on the desertion of Philip, the perfidy of John, or his own imprisonment in Germany. If he might have foreseen that the scum of the nobility who were left at home would murmur against the humble origin of his minister: he stands excused for his too great faith in men's honour. He might have known, however, that he was taking with him to the East those whose presence at home would have been his best safeguard. Had he taken John, and Geoffrey, and Hugh of Puiset, with him to the Crusade, and left Ranulf Glanville and Hubert Walter at home, it would probably have changed the whole character of his reign. Nor should it be forgotten that the personal presence of a Norman prince had never been any guarantee of the happiness of England, whilst, if it had, his dominions were so wide, that the fulfilment of the duty to one part of them involved the dereliction of it to the rest.

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[1] The praise which our author (p. 447) gives Richard for loving the society of good men, whether deserved or not, is confirmed by Giraldus, *De. Inst. Pr.*, 106, who, comparing him with his brother Henry, points out some characteristics which he undoubtedly possessed. "Strenuitas illis et animi "magnitudo fere par, sed via vir-"tutis valde dispar. Ille (Henry) "lenitate laudabilis et liberalitate; "iste severitate spectabilis et stabi-"litate. Ille suavitate commenda-"bilis, hic gravitate. Illi facilitas, "huic constantia laudem peperit. "Ille misericordia conspicuus, iste "justitia. Ille miserorum et male "meritorum refugium, iste suppli-"cium. Ille malorum clypeus, iste "malleus. Martiis ille ludis ad-"dictus, hic seriis; ille extraneis, "iste suis; ille omnibus, iste bonis. "Ille magnanimitate mundum am-"biebat, iste sibi de jure competen-"tia non inefficaciter appetebat."

But all allowances being made for him, he was a bad ruler; his energy, or rather restlessness,[1] his love of war, and his genius for it, effectually disqualified him from being a peaceful one; his utter want of political common sense from being a prudent one. And thus in this capacity he stands as far below the Norman princes as he does in other respects above them. The delight of victory, as a ruling passion, is less degrading to a king, and a cause of less shame and suffering to his subjects, than the sordid passions of avarice and lust, to which the two first Henries, in spite of their sagacity and superior mental power, were wretchedly enslaved.

The great blot on Richard's character, as a ruler, was his wanton disregard of good faith in regard to money, for which his military exigencies gave occasion, but of which they afford no excuse. The engagement that he would not have dreamed of forfeiting with a brother warrior sat light upon him when it involved his faith to a powerful bishop or a rich abbey, or a promise to an urgent influential suitor. The bargains that he made before the Crusade, for the sale of office and dignity,[1] were not in themselves more disgraceful than much else that prevailed in the public administration of the times; but the utter unscrupulousness exhibited in the repudiation of promises and agreements after the money was received reminds one of nothing more honourable than the dealings of the Turkish government with its pashas, and of the pashas with their subjects.[2]

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[1] "Regnavit autem satis laboriose "annis decem." Rob. de Monte, 939; R. Coggeshall, c. 857. "Magnanimitas nullo tempore sustinuit "esse non actuosa;" p. 447, below.

The relations of Richard with Henry II. can hardly be looked upon as those of a son with his father. He was brought up as the heir of his mother's house,[3] and among a people more alive to her wrongs than to her crimes. He had to endure what of all things is most intolerable to an impetuous mind, to be made a tool of by his father for purposes in which he had himself no interest. Alternately the puppet and the victim of Henry's policy, betrothed for a political purpose to a wife whom he was not allowed to marry,[4] credibly certified that his father had not scrupled to sacrifice her to his own lust,[5] as he had sacrificed his son's happiness to the mere desire of acquiring territory, he might with reason look on Henry as the source of constant misfortune and misery to him; the persecutor of his mother, the seducer of his betrothed wife, the instigator of the hostility of his brothers could claim indeed the allegiance of a feudal inferior, but had little right to the affection of a son. Nor was the tempter wanting. Philip was shrewd enough to take advantage of the character and circumstances of his neighbour, and to use him as the instrument of his own unscrupulous enmity, against his father. If all this cannot be regarded as an excuse for Richard's unfilial conduct, it may, coupled with the consideration of his youth at the time when he was first led into the attitude which, during Henry's life, he more or less maintained, and with the sincerity of his repentance, be allowed in mitigation of that condemnation which has generally been visited upon his fault.

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[1] Cf. Palgrave, Preface to the *Rotuli Curiæ Regis*, i. xli., and the authorities there quoted; Benedict of Peterborough and Richard of Devizes.

[2] His conduct to Stephen de Marzai and Ranulph Glanvill, as recorded by Richard of Devizes, are capital illustrations; ed. Stevenson, pp. 6, 7.

[3] "Provida patris dispositione, "paternæ nomen renuens, maternæ "stirpis honorem statim adeptus." Girald. *De Inst. Pr.*, 104.

[4] Besides the wretched betrothment to Alesia of France, in 1168 (Joh. Salisb. *ep.* 244), which was the burden of his life from 1174 to 1191, and probably the cause of his vices; he was twice betrothed by his father, first in 1159 to a daughter of Raymond Berenger, count of Barcelona (Rob. de Monte, p. 892), to whom Trivet gives perhaps confusedly the name of Berengaria (p. 46), and again in 1183 to a daughter of Frederick Barbarossa, who died shortly after. Hoveden, 355 v°.

[5] Hoveden, 392: "In uxorem "ducere nulla ratione possit, quia "rex Angliæ pater suus eam cog-"noverat et filium ex ea genuerat, "et ad hoc probandum multos pro-"duxit testes, qui parati erant modis "omnibus hoc probare."

To such a man as Richard a new Crusade offered a prospect full of charm; countless battles to fight and fortresses to take; enemies ready to hand in endless plenty, and those enemies worth conquering, in the view of temporal and spiritual glory. A sovereign of mature age and acknowledged reputation to humble; a knight,[1] moreover, and one who prided himself on not being outdone by the Christian chivalry in their own favourite virtues of honour and courtesy. A quarrel long ago inveterate and which need never be reconciled; a battle field whose associations of holiness and reverence were, perhaps, to Richard's mind equalled by its fame in romance and in the true history of its knightly conquerors. Great fame to rival, and, perhaps, greater yet to gain; and with the persuasion all the while that he was at once winning salvation by fighting God's battles and following the occupation he loved best. In all this there was temptation to the Lion heart. Now he might put to proof the knowledge that he had all his life been gaining, without having his triumph shortened by the intrigues of politicians or by the obligation of taking fair terms as from a Christian foe. For the feud between Christ and Mahomet was an eternal one, and the limits that usage and mutual forbearance placed on struggles between Christian princes had no existence when the adversary to be humbled was an enemy of both God and man. It was a struggle in which there could be no failure, for he was on the side of the God of battles, in Whose service is perfect freedom, and for Whom to perish is itself a most glorious victory. How very different an undertaking he found really awaited him, and how soon he was undeceived, we learn from a comparison of the work before us with Bohadin's Life of Saladin.

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[1] See page 9 of this work, where it is said that Saladin was knighted by the Constable Henfrid of Toron. The French romance in which Saladin is made the son of the countess of Ponthieu, and which is followed by the *Chronique d'Outremer*, makes him apply for knighthood to Hugh of S. Omer, lord of Tiberias. *Histoire Littéraire de la France*, xxi. 681. But Hugh of S. Omer died in 1107. Will. Tyr., p. 798. He was the founder of Toron, which fact perhaps misled the romancer. Why Saladin applied for knighthood to a Christian does not appear, as some institution of the kind seems to have existed among the Moslems. The Emir Karakoush, by an anachronism equal to that of the French romance, is said by R. de Diceto, 654, to have been knighted by Kerbogha at the siege of Antioch. We find a son of Saphadin knighted by King Richard (below, p. 325); so that probably the value attached by the Saracens depended rather on the character of the bestower than on the nature of the rite.

Viewed side by side with the Saladin of history, Richard does not appear to advantage, though doubtless the inferiority is less than when he is compared with the hero of romance or the figment of historical unfairness. The superiority of Saladin seems to have been rather in his character as a man than as a warrior or a ruler. Richard was a Christian, Saladin a Moslem; and we must judge the latter by a more lenient standard, although the example of S. Lewis and Edward I. had not yet taught the western princes that a good man may be a good king. In many respects there was a likeness between the two; both were generous, liberal, and honourable; both were famous captains, although Richard's exploits in war were far above Saladin's; both were men of more cultivated mind than were most of their fellows. The extravagances and cruelties of both were on a like scale, and on the same principles. But we look in vain in Richard for the profound love of truth and justice which were in Saladin. Otherwise most of the differences were such as are attributable to the different temperaments of east and west. Richard used force where Saladin used contrivance. Richard was rude where Saladin was courteous. Richard was haughty and impatient when Saladin was patient and prudent. The circumstances in which these differences were exemplified were similar; both had to deal with great hosts of divided and jealous warriors. The result showed that Saladin's treatment of his allies was wiser than Richard's, and that decided the struggle between them. Saladin was a good heathen, Richard a bad Christian; set side by side there is not much to choose between them; judged each by his own standard there is very much. Could they have changed faith and place, Saladin would have made a better Christian than Richard, and Richard, perhaps, no worse heathen than Saladin; but Saladin's possible Christianity would have been as far above his actual heathenism as Richard's possible heathenism would have been above his actual Christianity.

It was not likely that such a king as Richard Cœur de Lion should be forgotten for want of a historian; nor would it have been the fault of the age if his exploits had been unrecorded. In his work as the soldier of the cross, and in the hallowed character of the scene of his greatest achievements, he had the strongest claims on the sympathies of those in whose hands the writing of history lay, the monks and clergy. As a knight-errant and troubadour, he might have fared better if the love of women had entered more into his adventures, but at all events he was not unsung. The history of one who was the heir of so many great inheritances and the lord of so many domains fills a page in the chronicles of other countries besides England. But in England alone the life and reign of Richard found numerous writers to celebrate it. Ralph de Diceto, Roger of Hoveden, and the historian whose work has been preserved to us by Benedict of Peterborough and John Bromton, had already written the annals of his father's reign: to their careful notes on Richard we owe much for the preservation of correct dates and notices of public opinion. William of Newburgh, a historian of wider aims and greater literary pretensions, added in the same way the history of Richard's reign to that of his father's. Ralph of Coggeshall collected from the testimony of eye-witnesses the details of the Crusade, and was himself an attentive observer of what fell under his own eye at home. In Richard of Devizes we have an independent writer, who seems neither to have borrowed from other sources, nor in his turn to have contributed much to the compilations of later writers.

Matthew Paris and the wide class of monastic annalists who have derived their details from his work, copy their history of Richard almost in so many words from Ralph of Coggeshall. John of Oxenedes does the same with even less modesty. Walter of Hemingburgh follows in the like fashion William of Newburgh. Nicolas Trivet, except a few notes from Robert de Monte, follows for the history of the Crusade almost entirely the work before us. John Bromton, for the same period, begins with the chronicle of Benedict of Peterborough, follows up the history where Benedict ends, from the present work, and borrows the rest of Richard's reign from William of Newburgh and Walter of Hemingburgh.

As an elaborate attempt to exhibit in detail the most important features of Richard's personal history in the greatest of his wars, the present work differs from all the rest, and so far at least possesses the unity and concentrated interest that are commonly looked for in an epic poem. Yet when it was written it was but one of many attempts to depict the subject in the same way. Literary history has preserved the names of several other writers whose works have not come down to us, who described in separate books the adventures of Richard. A brief notice of these is necessary before entering on a consideration of the authorship of the present work.

The chronicle known to us under the name of John of Peterborough contains under the year 1199 the following notice, after the mention of the death of Richard: "Ejus acta scripserunt Milo abbas de Pynu, " eleemosynarius regis, et Anselmus capellanus regis " et comes ubique intus et foris."[1] No work has been preserved under the name of either of these writers.

Miles, abbot of the monastery of S. Mary du Pin, in Poictou, is no where mentioned in the present work: what little we know of him is gathered from Ralph of Coggeshall.[2] That writer tells us that the abbey of le Pin is in Aquitaine, and that it was repaired and richly endowed by King Richard, who had found it in a perishing state. The king was much attached to Miles the abbot, and kept him constantly at court, with licence from the chapter of Cîteaux. He made him his almoner, "that he might with all solicitude undertake " the care of the king's alms and of the poor. From

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[1] *Chronicon Angliæ Petroburgense*, ed. Giles, 1845, p. 111.

[2] Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, v. 858.

"this venerable man, several of those religious who "on divers business frequented the court of our lord "the king, received polite attention and munificent "liberality. And this abbot having gone with the "king on the expedition to Jerusalem, instantly ex"horted the knights to fight manfully against the "enemies of the cross of Christ, and not to fear to "undergo death for their Lord. He was with the "king to the last in his illness, and dutifully ad"monished him to confess his sins, caused him to receive "extreme unction before his death, closed his eyes "and mouth when he expired, and with his own hands "bathed the royal head with the liquor of balsam." He governed his abbey, which is five or six miles from Poictiers,[1] from about 1190 to 1227. That he was a man of some importance would appear from the fact that John was induced in the first year of his reign to conciliate him by two charters, one of which confirms a charter of Richard granting protection to certain lands given by that king to the abbey, and is dated shortly after his coronation.[2] Unfortunately I have found no other mention of any work from the abbot's hand.

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[1] The Cistercian abbey of St. Mary du Pin was a daughter of Pontigny, five or six miles from Poictiers, in the archipresbyterate of Sanxay. *Gallia Christiana, Sammarth.* iii. 732. Here William Longchamp, Richard's celebrated minister, was buried in 1197. Matthew Paris, 190. *Hist. Eliens.* in *Anglia Sacra*, i. 633. Richard's memory seems to have been early honoured both here and at Bonport. "Abbati "de Pinu conceditur ut anniver"sarium regis Ricardi in domo sua "fiat sedendo tamen." A.D. 1209. Mart. and Durand. *Thesaurus*, iv. 1307. The abbey of Bonport has the same permission in 1210, and in 1219 the observance was admitted at Cîteaux. Richard was attended on his death-bed by three Cistercian abbots. Trivet, 161.

[2] By the first of these, dated July 14, 1199, at Seez, John confirms to the poor-house of Saint Mary of Pine the church of Saham, with the chapel of Berg, and the tithes of Henneé. By the second, dated Mar. 8, 1200, he declares that he has taken those possessions under his protection. *Charter Rolls*, ed. Hardy, pp. 1, 37.

Anselm, the king's chaplain, also is mentioned by Ralph of Coggeshall.[1] He, with Baldwin of Bethune and Philip of Poictiers, was in attendance on Richard when he landed in Sclavonia. From his mouth Ralph received his account of Richard's adventure at Gazara; "qui hæc omnia nobis ut vidit et audivit, "retulit." The writer of a MS. history of Richard, abridged from Ralph, which is in the Lambeth Library,[2] speaks of Anselm as "gestorum regis assertor et "testis," in this instance using his own words, and not following, as he does generally, the exact language of his authorities. Matthew Paris[3] mentions the presence of Anselm on the same occasion, but omits the words quoted above from Coggeshall. John of Oxenedes, on the contrary, copies the entire clause.[4] We have no other notice of Anselm that serves to identify him with any of the numerous priests of his name then flourishing. If it were possible to ascribe the present work to him, it would be a most inviting hypothesis to make him identical with Anselm le Gras, afterwards bishop of Saint David's, a near relation of Giraldus Cambrensis,[5] who borrows in his *De Instruc-*

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[1] R. Coggeshall, c. 830.

[2] MS. 371, f. 53. The same MS. f. 59, &c., contains a valuable copy of Ralph of Coggeshall's History of the Reign of Richard.

[3] M. Paris, ed. Wats., p. 171.

[4] J. Oxenedes, ed. Ellis, p. 78.

[5] He was probably a son of Raymond le Gras, the son of William FitzGerald (Girald. *Hibern. Expugnata*, p. 767), Giraldus's uncle, by a sister of William Marshall. He was made treasurer of Exeter in 1205 by his uncle, Henry Marshall, bishop of Exeter; became bishop of Saint David's in 1231, and died in 1247. There is some difficulty about his pedigree; he was, however, certainly a nephew of the Marshalls: the other members of the le Gras family were recognized as cousins by the younger William. See the *Letters of Henry III.*, ed. Shirley, i. 501. Giraldus says (Hib. Exp. 813) that Raymond le Gras left no issue, but this probably refers only to his marriage with Basilia, sister of Richard Strongbow: he is claimed as the ancestor of the family of Grace, which was a branch of the Fitz-Geralds. Another Anselm was the monk of Worcester, whose curious account of a miracle there in 1186 is given in Hoveden, f. 356, 357.

tione Principum whole chapters from this book. Anselm's work, if it was ever written, and was more than his oral account of the king's adventures, was perhaps the principal source of Coggeshall's information on the history of the Crusade.

Another reputed historian of Richard's expedition was William de Canno, or William the Pilgrim, who according to Leland wrote in Latin verse, and dedicated his work to Archbishop Hubert of Canterbury and Stephen of Turneham. It was entitled "Hodœporicon "Ricardi regis."[1]

Walter of Coutances, archbishop of Rouen, is said to have written on the same subject;[2] and Bale ascribes a life of Richard in one book to no less a person than Stephen Langton, archbishop of Canterbury.[3] Both these stories are very improbable. It is indeed possible that the itinerary of Richard on his voyage from Marseilles to Messina, which is found in Benedict of Peterborough, may have been drawn from some memoranda of Walter of Coutances, who accompanied the king to Sicily, and thence returned to England. Any history of the Crusade from his pen could only have been second hand.

Whilst these names have come down to us on the stream of history without any vestiges of the books ascribed to their owners, it is curious that the three accounts of the Crusade which bear internal evidence of having been either written by or received immediately from eye-witnesses cannot safely be ascribed to any known writers. Of the mystery attaching to the authorship of the work before us, we shall have to speak by and by; but it is pretty certain that neither Ralph de Diceto, Benedict of Peterborough, Roger of Hoveden, or Ralph of Coggeshall was present at the events, the dates and minutiæ of which they so particularly record. In the case of Ralph de Diceto this is easily accounted for. He possessed a large circle of correspondents and had access to the letters of the most important men of the Crusade. He probably noted down verbatim from their letters such notes as he thought likely to be useful for his history. His work is indeed a collection of such notes, and neither partakes of the character of a digested history like that of William of Newburgh, nor possesses the orderly circumstantiality of the monastic annals. A curious illustration of this characteristic of his "Ymagines Historiarum," may be found in the gossiping paper of news from Constantinople, which is inserted at col. 642 of Twysden's edition. This is not at all unlike a newsletter of the seventeenth century, and was, as we find from Hoveden, although we have no sign of it in Diceto himself, a résumé of the intelligence brought by the French ambassadors in 1189 from the imperial court. Another instance is the story of Arvandus, at col. 665, which reads more like a boy's theme than an episode of history, and which induces the belief that the book itself was published from the loose memoranda of its author without any proper supervision.

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[1] Leland, ap. Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 625, Pits. 266; Wright, *Biogr. Brit. Litt.* ii. 419.

[2] Pits (p. 263) says that he wrote a work, *De Peregrinatione Ricardi Regis.*

[3] Bale, *Scriptores*, ed. 1548, fo. 102 v°, places among Langton's works "*Vitam Regis Ricardi*, lib. i."

Ralph had probably a careful informant of the principal events of the siege of Acre in his chaplain William, of whom he tells us that, having bound himself on his way to Jerusalem with a vow that if he ever reached Acre he would build a chapel to Saint Thomas of Canterbury, and get a cemetery consecrated under the same dedication, he fulfilled his promise, and founded a chapel, of which he became prior. In this character he busied himself with divine service, and especially followed the example of Tobit in burying the dead.[1] Another crusader, with whom the dean of St. Paul's may have been acquainted, was Ranulf Bisac,[2] the king's physician, who was a canon of the same cathedral, and who survived the Crusade more than sixty years, although he was by no means a young man when he undertook the charge of the king's health. The story which he told of Saladin's anger at the capture of Joppa, and which is recorded in one of the MSS. of Matthew Paris, bears the mark of being told long after the exact recollection of the circumstances had passed away.

Ralph of Coggeshall owed, as has been remarked above, somewhat, perhaps a good deal, to the relation of Anselm the chaplain. He mentions also that he had his account of the conflict at Joppa from Hugh de Neville,[3] a brave soldier, whose presence on the occasion is mentioned in the work before us.[4] From the variation of style apparent in Ralph's description of that event, it has been reasonably inferred that the whole of it is borrowed from the report of an eye-witness.[5]

The record of the Crusade which we possess in its fullest existing form in Benedict of Peterborough and John Bromton, and slightly abridged in Roger of Hoveden, is so circumstantial that it must have been in its integrity the work of an eye-witness, who registered day by day the operations of the army. We should further infer from its form that it was originally a journal kept in Palestine, and sent over from time to time in detached portions to England. The curious passage referred to in note 6 to p. 307 of this volume seems to show that the manuscript of Benedict of Peterborough was finished about Easter 1192,[1] before the true account of the preceding Christmas had been received from Palestine. Now Roger of Hoveden, who has evidently used the same materials for his record of the Crusade, has doubtless from the same hand several later details, which not only are not in Benedict, but could not have been received in England when Benedict's MS. was finished. This seems accountable only on some such hypothesis as I have stated. The false report of the siege of Jerusalem may have been written at Acre on hearsay, just before the ship that brought it sailed, or more probably it embodies the rumours brought home by the returning sailors. These notes, however, neither in their fuller nor in their shorter form, contain anything which throws any light upon their authorship. Hoveden gives a different account of the capture of Richard from that which is ascribed to Anselm, so that we are prevented from supposing that any part of the work was drawn from his relation; doubtless he would not have borrowed from him what all the camp knew as well as he, and afterwards had recourse to another authority for the details of a story of which Anselm and two or three others were the only witnesses. A conjecture might be founded on the fact that it is in a Peterborough historian that Abbot Miles of le Pin is mentioned, that Benedict or his compiler may have received the journal from him, but there is nothing to show it. The letter of Richard I. to the abbot of Clairvaux,[1] giving the history of the march from Acre to Joppa, may with more probability be ascribed to the pen of this Cistertian abbot.

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[1] R. de Diceto, col. 654.

[2] M. Paris, ed. Wats. VV. LL. p. 170. He was prebendary of Newington from before 1213 to after 1243. Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 103, 187. The story he tells of the execution of a prince of Antioch by Saladin, after the rescue of Joppa in 1192, M. Paris, p. 170, is either a mistaken version of the doom of Reginald of Châtillon, or a mere fable. Some mystery, however, hangs over the fate of Bohemond II., whose body is said to have been found headless after a battle with the sultan of Aleppo in 1131. See Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, ii. 588, &c. *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, ed. 1818, v. 77.

[3] R. Coggeshall, c. 825,

[4] *Itinerarium R. R.*, p. 415.

[5] Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens de la France*, xviii. p. 68.

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[1] Benedict, by whose direction this chronicle was compiled, died Sept. 29, 1193. *Mon. Angl.* i. 353. It is to be observed, moreover, that his chronicle does not contain any reference to the measures taken by Philip to ensure Richard's capture which are mentioned in a passage of Hoveden that almost (with this exception) literally agrees with Benedict. Hoveden, fo. 405 v°.; Benedict. ii. 720. Bromton, fo. 1221. Cf. also Benedict ii. 673, with Bromton, 1212. This proves, first, that Benedict's chronicle is not a mere fragment, but was drawn up contemporaneously, and never went further than it now does. Secondly, that whilst Hoveden may have seen it, its author could never have seen Hoveden's in its present state. The chronicle of Richard of Devizes, although it ends with the departure of Richard from Palestine, was evidently written after his imprisonment. It refers to the measures taken by Leopold of Austria to intercept him on his return. Hence it appears that it is a fragment, or that the author did not bring it down to the time he wrote. See R. Divis. ed. Stevenson, p. 75.

The "Itinerarium Regis Ricardi" has unfortunately not escaped its share of the obscurity which hangs over the biographies of Cœur de Lion, and their writers: and although this obscurity has been by circumstances almost accidental made darker than it need have been, it remains, even when those circumstances have been accounted for, dark enough to prevent our confidently determining who the author was.

Nicolas Trivet, the Dominican, who, at the beginning of the fourteenth century, compiled annals reaching to the death of Edward the first, drew his history of the Crusade and of the reign of Richard from this book. His extracts are generally slightly abridged, but in the words of the original, and extend from the account of Richard's taking the cross in the fifteenth chapter of the first book to that of the distribution of chalices to the country churches given at the end of the sixth. The first extract of any length is the character of Richard, drawn by our author in the fifth chapter of the second book; and Trivet introduces it in the following terms: "Cujus (sc. Ricardi) mores corporis-

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[1] Hoveden, fo. 397 vº.

"que formam Ricardus canonicus Sanctæ Trinitatis "Londoniensis, qui itinerarium regis prosa et metro "scripsit, secundum ea quæ ut ipse asserit præsens "vidit in castris, per hunc modum describit."[1] This statement was taken as conclusive by Leland and the early bibliographers. Two out of the three manuscripts used for this edition have a superscription to the same effect, in a hand of the reign of Elizabeth.

One manuscript, however, that in the public library at Cambridge, which does not seem to have attracted much attention before Gale used it for his edition of the Itinerarium, contains a statement which ascribes it to Geoffrey Vinsauf. Gale's edition was published in 1687, and from that time downwards the book is quoted as "Geoffrey Vinsauf."

But before this, one portion of the work had been, in ignorance of the existence of the perfect work, or of Richard's claim to the authorship, ascribed to another writer. The learned Caspar Barth, who died in 1658, possessed two MS. copies of the first book, which had been printed by Bongars in the first volume of the "Gesta Dei per Francos." One of these copies Barth had purchased at Erfurt, the other at Strasburg; and the latter, which had belonged to a Carthusian house, had no title. The former was entitled "Guido Adduanensis de Bellis Palæstinis."[2] As Barth's notes on the work did not see the light until they were published by Johann Peter de Ludewig in his *Reliquiæ* in 1720, at which time the work was generally attributed, on Gale's authority, to Geoffrey Vinsauf, the circumstance seems to have escaped the notice of English scholars. Guido Adduanensis, however, on the authority of Barth's manuscript, is inserted by Fabricius in his Bibliotheca.[1]

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[1] Trivet, ed. Hog. pp. 116, 117.

[2] "Auctoris hujus hunc titulum "(sc. *Guido Adduanensis de Bellis* "*Palæstinis*) aperte præ se ferunt "membranæ Erfurti olim a nobis "emptæ. Aliud exemplar redemptum Argentorati, ex Carthusia "nescio qua, habuimus sed id inscriptione omni carebat. Est vero "elegans et lectu dignus liber, pene "dixerim, princeps Latini eloquii "inter suos socios certe plerosque." Johann Peter de Ludewig, *Reliquiæ Manuscriptorum omnis ævi;* Leipsic and Frankfurt, 1720, vol. iii. p. 539.

In 1729 a further notice appeared in the fifth volume of the "Amplissima Collectio" of Martene and Durand, which contained the "Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ" ascribed to Ralph of Coggeshall. That tract is an account of the war of 1187, and the capture of Jerusalem: the writer, who was an eye-witness of the events, brings down his history to the spoliation of the holy sepulchre, in his own words; then, without any indication of quotation, is introduced the statement of the date of the capture in the words of our author, and the rest of the tract is occupied with extracts and copies of the rubrics of the first book of the Itinerarium. The last of these refers to the collection for the poor described in the last chapter of that book, and is followed by a notice evidently drawn from the first chapter of the second book. "Post Pascha anno ab "Incarnatione Domini 1191, rex Franciæ Philippus "applicuit apud Achon, et non multo post, scilicet "circa Pentecosten venit rex Anglorum Ricardus; "quorum seriem itineris et quæ in itinere gesserunt "seu ex qua occasione rex Philippus repatriavit, si "quis plenius scire desiderat, legat librum quem "dominus prior Sanctæ Trinitatis de Londoniis ex "Gallica lingua in Latinum tam eleganti quam veraci "stilo transferri fecit."[2] The MS. used by Martene and Durand adds, in conclusion, the letters of Frederick and Saladin, in the form given in the text of the present edition of this work.

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[1] Fabricius, *Bibliotheca Med. et Inf. Lat.*, lib. vii. p. 369.

[2] *Chron. Terræ Sanctæ*, Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, v. 577.

There are thus three claimants to the authorship of the book, independently of the other known biographers of Richard, to whom, in default of the appearance of works claiming them as authors, we might see reason to ascribe it.

Very little can be said in support of the claim of "Guido Adduanensis." Barth gives no clue as to the date of his manuscript or as to the character of the superscription. The manuscript itself may have been a comparatively modern one, or the superscription of a later date than the MS. The probability is in favour of the latter surmise; the MS. from which Bongars printed was anonymous, so was Barth's Strasburg copy of the same book, so, properly speaking, are two out of the three MSS. of the whole work which are found in English libraries. It seems unlikely (prima facie) that one isolated copy should bear an ancient superscription (although we have a parallel case in the Vinsauf MS.); still more improbable that a German MS. should be the only one containing the true title of what, to all intents and purposes, is an English or Anglo-Norman book, when the copies found nearer home are anonymous.

If we add to this the consideration that only the first book was found in either of Barth's MSS.; and that nothing is known of "Guido Adduanensis," from any other source, we shall probably conclude that more evidence must be adduced in his favour before his claim deserves consideration at all, much more before it can be allowed to supersede the title of either of the rival claimants.

Barth, however, in his notes on the text of Bongars, argues that there is internal evidence in the book that it was written by a German; or, at least a Liegeois. This evidence he finds in certain peculiarities of style, and in such little allusions as appear here and there to the German nation or to particular German heroes. The arguments are all of the weakest description; *e.g.*, the use of the word "principiis" in the sense of "origin" in the account of Saladin, lib. i. c. 3, is put down as a "Germanismus." "Cujus fidelitas non sensit offensam," lib. i. c. 18, "plane Germani oris et calami." The commentator declares that the eulogium on Frederick Barbarossa in the same chapter is such as no Frenchman or Italian would have written. "Dicas semi-"Germanum fuisse hunc auctorem; vix enim Italus "vel et Gallus aliquis de heroe isto sic scribat,—"Adduanensis sit sane Leodius." The fact that the author uses the word "nostri" in reference to the German crusaders is pressed into the same cause. The argument which on the same principle might be drawn from the mention of Archbishop Baldwin, in favour of an English authorship, is thus summarily dismissed: "Hinc et ex aliis hoc genus Anglorum laudibus aut "palpis, ei nationi hunc auctorem addicere volebat "J. Bongars; sed pro Germano majora sunt argumen-"tanda, penitus eventilanda si rei esset aliquod operæ "pretium." Barth had evidently made up his mind that the writer was a German, and argues in a manner worthy of later German criticism to a foregone conclusion.

"Guido Adduanensis" is an unknown person; the very place to which his surname would fix him is uncertain, or rather unknown. Barth, from his hypothesis that he was a Liegeois, would seem to have considered Adduanensis to be the gentile adjective of Aduatica, or the Civitas Aduaticorum, which was the ancient name of Namur; but even as a conjecture this seems very far-fetched. Nor would it throw any light on the man if we suppose him to have been a native of Addenem, a bailwick belonging to the church of Hildesheim.[1]

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[1] Leibnitz, *Scr. Rerum Brunsvicensium*, i. 751.

There was, however, a writer of the name of Guido, who flourished at the same time, and wrote on the same subjects as our author, and to him it is not improbable that the superscription of the MS. was intended to refer. This was "Guido Catalaunensis," Guy de Bazoches, chanter of the church of St. Stephen at Châlons on the Marne.[1] Alberic of Trois Fontaines, to whom we are indebted not only for large extracts from the writings of Guy, but also for his honesty in ascribing them to their proper author, tells us that he wrote a book of histories from the Creation to the death of King Richard. He also hints that the style of Guy's composition was somewhat rhetorical. The extracts which he gives from the book of histories are almost all of them relative to the Crusade. Guy was himself an eye-witness of the siege of Acre, and he records his impressions of what there took place in words so very like those of the author of the Itinerarium, that it is by no means impossible for a person who had only a slight acquaintance with both works, and no opportunity of bringing them together, to have supposed that they were identical. The name of Guido was thus connected with that of Richard, his work was the work of an eye-witness, the style and scope of the two books were in a great measure the same. The very word "Catalaunensis" might be easily read by a careless copyist "Adduanensis." I cannot help thinking that the

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[1] "Guido Cantor S. Stephani "Catalaunensis, frater Nicolai viri "nobilis de Bazochiis, et abbatis "Milonis Sancti Medardi Suessionensis, scripsit librum apologeticum, "et usque ad mortem regis Ricardi "Librum Historiarum a mundi "principio, breviter transcurrendo "usque ad tempus suum; cujus "dicta suis in locis in hoc opere "annotavimus; et scripsit de mundi "regionibus libellum unum in "eodem volumine contractum et "præter hæc unum volumen aliud "satis rhetoricum Epistolarum diversarum: unde et quia ita "scripsit, et in eo anno (sc. 1203) "decessit, hæc de eo diximus, ut "sciatur quis fuerit." Alberic of Trois Fontaines; ap. Leibnitz, *Accessiones Historicæ.* Hanover, 1700, p. 431.

MS. of Barth was one of the fragmentary copies of the first book of the Itinerary, which, as we shall have occasion to remark, were pretty generally diffused very early in the thirteenth century; and that to this, being anonymous, some critic attributed the known name of Guy of Châlons.[1]

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[1] The following extract, though very long, is so important to the question that I cannot omit it:

“ *Sequitur Guido, anno* 1190. O quanta et quibus implorata precibus, adquisita fletibus, empta suspiriis, expectata desideriis, laudibus exaltata dies illa nobis illuxit, quæ præ gaudio flentibus nobis ostendit terram lacte et melle manantem, terram cœlestem et cœlicolis habitandam, terram sanctam et sanctis promissam, nostræ fontem regenerationis et locum redemptionis, matrem Sanctorum Patrum et patriam Salvatoris. Applicantibus igitur nobis apud famosam illam Syriæ civitatem Aconem antiquitus dictam, postea Ptolemaidem, iterum nunc Aconem, possessam tunc ab hostibus sed a nostratibus jam obsessam tam armis quam armatis manibus, coronatis liberatis e suarum clausulis capsularum, rutilabat fulgor in galeis, fulmen in ensibus, ardor in clypeis, reverberantium undas ludebat in gremio maris splendor armorum et in sericis lasciviabat aura vexillis. Quam blanda nobis, quam terribilis hostibus apparet exercitus Christiani bellipotens acies, facies ordinatorum castrorum ad instar non unius de magnis, sed de majoribus urbium trium; non tamen erat eis inventus ad votum bellandi cum Turcis primus et secundus eventus, sed forte bis eis ictus adversitatis inflictus eorum tam arduo proposito perseverantiæ titulum abstulisset, nisi principio flebili fortunæ persecutio melioris triumphale solatium attulisset. Nam cum obsidere Ptolemaidem incepissent, Salahadinum cum exercitu gravi supervenientem, ut suis subveniret obsessis, aggressi satis audacter, comperto quod de civitate fecissent impetum, et jam sua dissiparent castra resque diriperent, solliciti quisque de proprio indecenti fuga de prælio multis suorum amissis, in tentoria sunt regressi, nec multo post assumpti, sed incassum consumpti laboris affecta tædio, nostrorum plebs a nobilitate dissensit, caussata negligentiam principum causam existere moræ longioris et inefficacis in obsidione. Post quod contra principale consilium edictum unanimiter impetu facto (temeritate cum insolentia ducentibus eos, non principibus nostris aut ducibus) cum prorupissent in hostes eorum castra referta quidem et opibus infinitis plena defendendis vel defendentibus vacua offenderunt: super quo plurimum admirati, sed rati metu fugisse qui dolo fugerant ut fugarent, diripiendis eorum castris insistunt, properant evacuare scyphos et patinas, ut ventres impleant, armis exonerare manus ut tollendis sarcinis colla subjiciant, et male se-

The claim of Geoffrey Vinsauf is entitled to more consideration, simply from the fact that his name appears as that of the author in a contemporaneous rubric; and this is conclusive proof that the tran-

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“ curas quia non procul a securi
“ cervices, sed esse luctus occupat
“ extrema gaudii. Nostri quippe
“ dum se distendunt epulis, invol-
“ vunt poculis, volvunt patinas, re-
“ volvunt sarcinas, revolant Turci
“ miserosque sine consilio repertos
“ et auxilio militari (nam universi
“ pedites erant) invadunt, prostern-
“ unt, proterunt, perimuntque perse-
“ quendo fugientes et gladiis donec
“ vetuerunt castra, cædentes. Quod
“ audientes Principes exercitus nos-
“ tri, quamvis essent adversus eos
“ indignatione justa commoti, quia
“ prohibitione sua contempta tantæ
“ temeritatis opus attemptare præ-
“ sumpserant, super tanto tamen
“ gentis suæ detrimento compassi,
“ non sinunt ulterius eos fugere vel
“ fugari; sed electæ virtutem militiæ
“ producentes occurrunt perimenti-
“ bus pereuntibusque succurrunt.
“ Erat autem civitas munita copioso
“ nimis armorum et victualium ap-
“ paratu, maris adjacentia, firmitate
“ murorum, turrium celsitudine, vi-
“ ribus etiam numeroque virorum,
“ de quibus ferebatur a nostris ab
“ ipsis quoque paganis quod Salaha-
“ dinus Princeps (eorum quidem
“ nisi foret extra fidelium gregem)
“ egregius, quamvis crebris revoca-
“ retur et urgentibus causis, tamen
“ irrefragabiliter obsidentes qui
“ erant interius exterius cum infinitis
“ millibus obsidebat, non solum ut
“ solatium afferret obsessis, sed quia
“ tantos ac tales viros in tanto ac
“ tali periculo deserere non audebat.
“ Hoc etiam asserebatur a multis,
“ quod cum essent animis et nobili-
“ tate præclari, si favente Christo
“ nostris eos viribus contingeret
“ expugnari, totam terram quæ a
“ Mediterraneo mari inter Euphra-
“ tem porrigitur et Ægyptum de
“ facili subjici nobis, nec posse de
“ cætero paganos cæteros impetum
“ nostræ virtutis sustinere. Sic
“ erat dispositus noster exercitus ac
“ exteriore parte vallo præcingente
“ munitus, circa quem lata planities
“ et assiduis dedicata conflictibus,
“ extra quam secus radices montium
“ qui terram promissionis a partibus
“ Tyri dividunt et Sydonis, in gy-
“ rum longe lateque castra diffude-
“ rant innumerabilia paganorum et
“ erant sub montibus illis: quoties
“ interiores hostes aggrediebantur
“ vallum nostrum, exteriores inva-
“ debant, quoties ad istos foris egre-
“ diebantur oppugnandos, illi dein-
“ tus nos impugnabant. Nos pug-
“ nabamus lanceis et gladiis illos
“ fugando, illi fugiendo pugnabant
“ missilibus et sagittis; incepti ne-
“ gotii sic incertus erat eventus;
“ Regis Franciæ diu desideratus
“ expectabatur adventus. Defuncti
“ filius Imperatoris Frederici, re-
“ spectu suorum qui laborum pertæsi
“ domos redierant seu perierant in
“ bellis vel infirmitate imbelles, vix
“ cum paucis ad nos evaserat comi-
“ tatus; paulo post timor hostium
“ tam de foris nos obsidentium quam
“ de nobis intus obsessorum, cum
“ duabus ex se genitis filiabus, fame
“ videlicet et pestilentia, graviter
“ nimis exercitum quam si flagello
“ triplici cœpit affligere Christia-
“ num: nam præ timore quia vic-

scriber believed himself to be copying a work of Vinsauf. It might, indeed, be held to be decisive as to the authorship, if no other claimant appeared. A careful consideration will, I think, show that the supposition that Geoffrey Vinsauf was the author of the Itinerarium, is hardly more tenable than the ascription of it to Guido Adduanensis.

Geoffrey was the author of a book on the Art of Poetry, which had a great popularity throughout the middle ages, and until the revival of letters, seems to have quite eclipsed Horace's Epistle on the same subject. Of his life nothing is known, except from this book. This amounts to no more than that he was a subject of Richard I., that he had visited Rome, and that he survived the king. His name, "de Vino salvo," has been supposed to be derived from the title of a work ascribed to him, on the best method of growing vines, a MS. of which is to be found in Caius College Library.[1] The alleged connexion between this book and the author's name is not improbable, for in an age when surnames were a new fashion, either Geoffrey might receive a sobriquet from the character of his work, or, as is more probable, the fact that he possessed the name might suggest to him the idea of writing such a book.

The Book on Poetry is dedicated to pope Innocent III., but it contains three epilogues or "envoys," one addressed to "Imperialis apex;" another to the "Flos " cleri;" and a third to "Willelme vir aurea." The

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" tualium ad nos, nobis ad victualia " rarus aut nullus erat accessus, nec " aliquis alicui patebat e castris " absque periculo mortis egressus, " hinc fames urgebat populum, hinc " ex corruptione se comprimentium " pestilentia consurgebat talis ac " tanta, quod per eam duabus ex- " ercitus nostri partibus decumben- " tibus vel occumbentibus tertia " vix remansit."—Alberic of Trois Fontaines; ed. Leibnitz. *Acc. Hist.* ii. 385.

[1] "MS. in Bibl. Gonvil. et Caii " Cantab. Cod. 74. Cave. MS. Bibl. " Bodl. Mus. ,151." Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, 736.

former of these passages has been generally construed as a petition to Henry VI. for the release of Richard, and is printed as such in the first volume of the *Amplissima Collectio* of Martene and Durand.[1] It is, however, so very obscure, that it might mean anything else. Tanner in his *Bibliotheca*, p. 736, quotes a MS. of the work written by John of Bamborough in the 15th century, in the argument of which it is stated (probably owing to the writer's interpretation of this passage) that the private final cause of the writing of the book was, "negotium Ricardi regis "Angliæ, qui culpa nobis ignota papam offenderat." He obviously understood the "Imperialis apex" to be the pope. It is clear, that if these verses were written to Henry VI., they must have been composed before the greater part of the poem, for Henry VI. died before Innocent III. became pope. The poem further contains a dirge on Richard's death, which could not have formed a part of a work intended as a peace offering to the Emperor, who died before him. Although it might seem strong language of praise to call John the "sword of the church," the "servant of the cross," and "soldier of Christ," on the whole I think it more probable, that these verses were intended as a petition to Innocent to be reconciled with John, than to Henry VI. to be reconciled with Richard; and the second epilogue might be addressed with equal propriety to Stephen Langton. The "Vir aureus Willelmus" may have been the great Earl of Pembroke.

Geoffrey's reputation as a master in the art of poetry extended to France and Germany; and the paucity of authentic particulars known about him, led to his being confounded with other persons of the same Christian name. Ricobaldus, who about 1312, wrote a history of the emperors, mentions in his notice of Innocent III., "Huic scripsit Gualfredus librum qui dicitur Poetria "novella, orator regis Angliæ, et alium librum de "officialibus Romanæ curiæ qui dicitur *Pastor Apostolicus*."[1] The latter work is of later date than Innocent III. Herman Corner,[2] a German of the 15th century, calls Vinsauf "Gamfredus regis Cancellarius," and tells a long apocryphal story of the occasion on which the poem was written. It is to Trivet that we owe the date of Geoffrey; he mentions him under the the year 1204.[3] That the poem itself was not much later, appears from the writer's addressing Innocent as a young man.

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[1] Col. 1000. "*Magister Gaufri-* "*dus Anglicus ad Imperatorem pro* "*liberatione regis Angliæ Ricardi.*" The learned editors took it "Ex "Cartulario Elnonensi."

Among the illustrative passages which occur in this manual are two referring to Richard. They are evidently introduced as specimens of the skill and power of the poet. One is a congratulation of England under the rule of Richard, with an admonition not to trust in present prosperity, coupled with a warning of what will be the consequence of the loss of him. The second is a lamentation over his death. The former contains evident traces of having been written after Richard's death, and the loss of the French dominions by John. These passages seem early to have taken the fancy of the mediæval writers, and are transcribed at the end of the "Itinerarium," in the copy belonging to the Public Library at Cambridge. The latter, the dirge, is inserted by Trivet at the end of the reign of Richard, and from Trivet it was probably copied into Bromton's Chronicle.[4]

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[1] Ricobald: ap. Eccard, *Corpus Historicum Medii Ævi*, i. 1168, 1217.

[2] Eccard, *Corpus Hist. Med. Ævi*, ii. 831.

[3] Ed. Hog., pp. 161, 175.

[4] Trivet, p. 161. Bromton, ap. Twysden, col. 1280.

It is probable that the ascription of the Itinerarium to Geoffrey was a mistake arising from this. It would be very natural for a transcriber, using a copy in which Vinsauf's verses were subjoined to the larger work, to attribute the whole to one author. If the book was anonymous, as we have good reason to suppose, the scribe, finding no author's name to the "incipit," would probably turn to the end, and look for it under the "explicit." If he found there *expliciunt versus Magistri Galfridi Vinsauf, de rege Ricardo,* it would be almost a matter of course to insert after the title *Incipit Itinerarium,* &c., *per Magistrum Galfridum Vinsauf,* as it stands in the Cambridge MS.

The possibility of the mistake is thus easily demonstrable; it is a further question how far it is probable. The fame of Geoffrey was sufficiently widespread, to account for an anonymous work being ascribed to him. Not only has his own Art of Poetry been multiplied and divided into at least half a dozen books,[1] but the well known work of Giraldus Cambrensis, on the life of Archbishop Geoffrey, is attributed by Pits to Geoffrey Vinsauf;[2] and there is reason to believe that another work, "de rebus Ethicis," has been assigned to him on no better grounds, than because his name was written on a flyleaf.[3] This is not surprising, for the tendency of all the early bibliographers was to exaggerate the number of the works of well known writers, and break them up into divisions. But it would be very strange that so well known a work as the Itinerarium, if it were a recognized production of so well known an author as Geoffrey, should appear in no catalogue of his works. And this is the case; no list of Geoffrey's works includes the "Itinerarium." It is clear also from Trivet's mention of both books, that he knew of no such ascription.

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[1] 1. De arte dicendi ; 2. ad Guilleimum Cancellarium ; 3. De nova poetria; 4. Monodia in obitum regis; 5. Ad Cæsarem pro eo liberando ; 6. Nova Grammatica. Pits, 262.

[2] Pits, 262.

[3] Leland, ap. Tanner, *Bibliotheca,* 736. Wright, *Biog. Brit. Lit.*, ii. 402.

A further argument suggests itself on the perusal of the *Ars Poetica*. It will be seen how fond the author of the Itinerarium is of quoting scraps of verse, some of which may be confidently asserted to be his own; there are several passages, moreover, in which his language verges so closely on the rhythm of the hexameter that the substitution of a synonym or the transposition of a particle is all that is needed to complete the transformation. This is just what we should expect in the case of an author who had treated the same subjects in prose and verse, as we learn from Trivet had been done by the writer of this book; he had written "prosa et metro;"[1] and Leland, 200 years after Trivet wrote, saw the poem, which is not now known to exist, although he was a stranger to the prose work.[2] If Geoffrey Vinsauf, the author of a popular poem of which Richard Cœur de Lion was the subject, had been the author of a work abounding like the present in opportunities of poetical embellishment, is it reasonable to suppose that he would have exerted such self-denial as never to have introduced one quotation or turn of expression from his own highly prized work? Yet it is the fact that it is impossible to discover a single token of an idea or form that is common to the two. Again, if Geoffrey had been, as the author of the Itinerarium was, a companion and eye-witness of Richard's exploits, he would certainly have given to his poem something more special and circumstantial than the vague generalities of which it is composed; even if his personal vanity, which is plain to be seen in the poem, had not led him to introduce mention of himself. If the character of a man, deduced from the character of such a work as the Ars Poetica, can be regarded as a lawful argument, I can confidently affirm that Geoffrey Vinsauf could not have been the writer of the Itinerarium. Every line of the former work is full of pedantry, and egotism peeps out wherever there is an opportunity. In the Itinerarium, whatever its faults of taste and arrangement may be, there is everywhere the trace of sincere enthusiasm, and the personality of the writer is kept altogether out of sight. It is of course impossible to prove a negative unless by proving an equivalent positive, and this cannot in this case be conclusively done. All we can attempt is a balance of probabilities. If the book be the work of one author, two out of the three claimants must be rejected. Where the positive testimony is so scanty, the candidate whose acceptance involves the fewest improbabilities must be provisionally looked upon as the victor.

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[1] Trivet, p. 116.

[2] Tanner, *Bibliotheca*, p. 625. "Carmen tantum, ut ingenue fatear, "legi quod mihi omnino non dis-"plicuit."

Before, however, dismissing Geoffrey Vinsauf, a word must be said as to Gale's opinion of the authorship. This learned scholar, unable to find in any list of Geoffrey's works anything to confirm the testimony of the Cambridge MS., strangely persuaded himself that Geoffrey Vinsauf and Walter of Coutances, to whom, as was mentioned above, a work on the Pilgrimage of Richard was ascribed by Pits, were one and the same person.[1] It is impossible not to conclude from this either that Gale did not know who Walter of Coutances was, or else that he had not read carefully through the author he was editing, for it is undeniable that the author was with Richard in Palestine, whilst Walter of Coutances was Justiciar in England. The former conclusion is confirmed by the fact that he identifies Walter of Coutances with Walter of Oxford, otherwise Walter de Mapes, a conjecture which might possibly seem to him to corroborate his own theory. Geoffrey Vinsauf was a poet, and wrote a book on Richard's pilgrimage; Walter of Oxford was a poet, and Walter of Coutances wrote on the pilgrimage; if Walter of Oxford and Walter of Coutances were identical, then Geoffrey Vinsauf was the same person; nay, the learned Leland gives an inkling of the same theory, for he gives Vinsauf the name of Walter as an alias, and identifies him with a Walter of whom John Frumentarius (Whethamstede) speaks honourably in his "Granarium." Gale was not ignorant of the claim of Richard the Canon, but speaks of his work as a different one from the present;[1] he also supposed Richard the Canon and Richard of Devizes to have been the same person, probably thinking that the ascription of this work to Richard the Canon arose from a confusion between it and the Gesta of Richard of Devizes. It would seem that he could not have known either Trivet's mention of Richard the Canon, or Richard of Devizes' account of himself given in the prologue of his work. It is hardly necessary to state that Gale is mistaken in his criticism on Trithemius, Blondus and Bongars, who he says attributed the portion printed in the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, to a monk named Rupert or Robert. Bongars[2] (who quotes the other two authors) was referring to an entirely different work, the Historia Hierosolymitana of Robert the Monk of S. Remi, which is the second work in his invaluable collection; he himself mentions that Possevin had confounded that author with Robert of Mount Saint Michael the continuator of Sigebert of Gemblours, who was an Englishman, and to whom the books of Robert of S. Remi have been ascribed by Bale. There is no mention whatever of the present work in that place.

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[1] Gale, *Historiæ Anglicanæ Scriptores Quinque*, vol. ii. *Testimonia*, p. 4.

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[1] Testimonia, p. 6.

[2] In the prefatory remarks on the *Gesta Dei per Francos*, sec. 2.

Such being the difficulties attending the admission of the claims of either Guido Adduanensis or Geoffrey Vinsauf, the assertion of Trivet that the book was written by Richard, canon of the Holy Trinity, would be conclusive were it not for the story told in the Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ, that it was a translation from French into Latin, made by the direction of the prior of that church. It is a matter of some importance to the present question to estimate justly the weight of this assertion, which, while it is partly contradictory to Trivet's statement, is incidentally in one point confirmative of it. If the writer was wrong in stating the work as he had it, and as we now have it, to be a translation, the residue of his account helps to establish its connexion with the canon of the Holy Trinity.

The authority that attaches to this story, independent of what internal probability it may possess, and the improbability of a wilful misstatement, rests upon two things:—1. That it is supposed to emanate from Abbot Ralph of Coggeshall, a contemporary author of good repute, well informed on the subject in hand, and, from his connexion with the diocese of London, no doubt personally acquainted with the prior, and very unlikely to mistake on such a point. 2. That whether the work of Ralph or not, it is the production of an eye-witness of the capture of Jerusalem, and of part at least of the adventures of the Crusade.

But, first, there is no reason to suppose that the Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ is the work of Abbot Ralph, more than that it is found in two manuscripts,[1] in the same volumes which contain his Chronicon Anglicanum, and on this ground was ascribed to him by Bale and Pits. On the other hand, there are other copies in which the two works occur separately, one of which is the autograph of the "Chronicon Anglicanum."[1] In no copy is there any contemporary rubric attributing the work to Ralph; the style of the two is as different as can be conceived, and whilst in some measure they go over the same ground, they nowhere tell the same story in the same way. Secondly, the fact that the author of the Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ was an eye-witness of the capture of Jerusalem, that he was wounded by an arrow in the nose, and retained the iron in his flesh at the time of writing, is no ground for accepting his authority as to a literary circumstance that took place in London some twenty years later. However, to waive that question, it deserves to be considered whether the latter portion of the tract, in which the important statement occurs, is the work of the same writer who records what he saw and heard in the first portion.

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[1] The MS. from which Martene and Durand printed, and the MS. Norfolk xi. in the College of Arms.

It has been remarked above that this tract, bearing every mark of originality down to the end of the 32nd section, in which it records the spoliation of the Holy Sepulchre, at that point breaks off abruptly and proceeds with a recapitulation of the headings of the chapters of the first book of the Itinerarium. Growing weary of this, the writer, when he comes to the opening of the second book, closes his labours with a general recommendation to the reader to refer to this work; and at that point his description of it occurs.

If we look at the beginning of the tract, we find that it is addressed to some dignified person in Europe. "Quantis pressuris et calamitatibus oppressa est et "contrita Orientalis ecclesia a paganis, sine dolore et

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[1] MS. Cotton. Vespasian, D. 4. fo. 43. The Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ occurs by itself in the MS. Cotton, Cleopatra, B. 1. fo. 1.

" effusione lacrymarum vestræ excellentiæ quis intimare " potest?" This is the ordinary formula of the letters from the Christians of Palestine imploring aid from the princes of the west. Terricus the præceptor of the Templars, opens his circular letter to the order in 1187 in almost the same terms: " Quot quantisque calamitatibus ira Dei, nostris peccatis exigentibus, nos in " præsenti flagellari permiserit, nec litteris, nec flebili " voce, proh dolor! explicare valemus."[1] In the same way the patriarch of Antioch writes to Henry II.: " Condignum et inæstimabilem dolorem nostrum pro " insperato et terribili, quod nobis, immo toti Christianitati nuper accidit infortunio cum lacrymis et singultibus excellentiæ vestræ per hæc præsentia denuntiamus."[2] And with these may be compared the earlier letter of Raymond of Antioch to Louis the Seventh.[3]

It is not indeed probable that the writer intended the tract merely as such an occasional letter of supplication; it is much too long for the purpose, and evidently aims at more than a mere transient interest, even affecting the character of a historical memoir; but it is impossible to suppose that a writer on a subject of such importance and interest (for it is to be remembered that the tract contains the most circumstantial account extant of the events that led to the Crusade) should, after beginning his work with an address to a person of such eminence as to be saluted in royal style, end his memoir in so slovenly and slipshod a fashion as this, " Si quis plenius scire " desiderat, legat librum quem, &c.;" referring not his illustrious patron, but any reader whatever, to the Latin translation of a French book, which doubtless he could have read much better in the original. It is much more probable that the work was left unfinished by its author at the end of sec. 32, and that the latter part is by another hand. The extracts are given in the very words of the Itinerarium, so that no inference can be drawn from difference of style in the two portions, but so far as such evidence may be suffered to weigh, it inclines to the same conclusion. For there are minute changes in the forms of words, which a man accustomed to one form, and having used it in half his work, would, as a matter of course, to ensure uniformity, or even without thinking, make in any abstract or extract, not literal or verbal, from the work of another. Under the circumstances, the use of the forms *Marchio* and *Guido de Lizenan* in the earlier part, and *Marchisus* and *Guido de Liziniaco* in the later, point to a difference of hand; and although by themselves of no importance, for they are used indiscriminately in the Itinerarium itself, they are of some weight taken in conjunction with the probability stated above. But, after all, it matters little whether the statement with regard to the Itinerarium, if it be erroneous, proceeded from Abbot Ralph, from the writer of the tract, or from some third person. It is clear that the writer who recorded it believed it; and there is no reason whatever to suppose that it is a mere figment of literary jealousy. To say that the supposed author of a book had merely translated it, or superintended the translation, "tam eleganti, quam "veraci stylo," would be an instance of refinement in criticism beyond the malice of the thirteenth century. The writer, whoever he was, if his statement is false, wrote under a misapprehension.

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[1] Hoveden, fo. 363; Diceto, 635.

[2] Hoveden, fo. 366 v°.

[3] *Gesta Dei per Francos*, i. 1172.

It is impossible that the work should be a translation. Its whole spirit and style are so unlike those of any French work, verse or prose, of the thirteenth, or even the fourteenth century, as to prove this. In the first place, the numerous quotations from the Latin poets, and the few from prose writers that occur in it, are enough to disprove the assertion taken literally. Without insisting on the fact that there is no extant parallel in any French work on history—for, with the exception of Geoffrey of Villehardouin's History of the Conquest of Constantinople, there is no French prose history that can claim an antiquity greater than some thirty years after the date of the Itinerarium—we may safely say that, except in sermons, expositions of scripture, or commentaries on law, Latin quotations are not introduced into the text of any French book of the middle ages. There are no such quotations in Villehardouin, or in the *Chronique d'Outremer*, or in Joinville; they are inconsistent with that almost childish simplicity of diction employed by those writers, a diction which hardly, even by the grand style of modern translators, could be amplified into the stilted eloquence of the work before us. How then, it may be asked, did not this incongruity strike the writer of the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ*, for evidently the assertion conveyed no improbability to his mind? Simply because it was just such a point as would not strike him in a translation, in which the same language was employed throughout; had his eye lighted on the Latin quotations in the supposed French book, it would have been a different thing; as it was, he may not have known prose from verse, for we are not bound to believe that in that age it was given to every man to detect the purple patches.

But not to insist upon this; is it credible that a translator, however well acquainted he might be with the subject before him, and with the Latin language, would translate the words of his French original into the very words of Lucan, Virgil, Ovid, or Statius, when no clue was given to guide him to the knowledge that the words concealed a reference to those authors? Even a reference to Gratian may be found so worked into the text as to be a proof that the writer who introduced it must have been the original author of the book. There are several other scraps of prose; some from the canon, some from the civil law, some according to Barth, from Boethius, and others, which are evidently quotations, though I have not been able to assign them to their authors.

Further, and more particularly, there are quotations from Holy Scripture, and examples of the use of scripture phraseology, which could not have come through a translation. A moment's thought will show this. Not one man in a thousand possesses the gift of making an exact quotation. Our author certainly did not. If a quotation suggests itself spontaneously to the mind of a writer, he writes it down as he remembers it, generally incorrectly; but if it be suggested to him from without, he looks into the author referred to and finds it. A translator would have given his quotations from Holy Writ much more carefully than our author has done. If he had merely translated without recognizing the quotation to be such, he would on the contrary, not have come so near the original as he has. And it may be advisable to say here, that besides the many direct quotations from the Vulgate, which are marked in the margin of this edition, there are innumerable adaptations and imitations of the style of that version.[1] The first sentence of the first book is a literal adaptation of the 1 Samuel, v. 6. Wherever the author rises to any degree of enthusiasm his thoughts clothe themselves in the same language. It requires no arguments to prove that, in the non-existence of a common French translation of the Bible, no writer, however well his mind may have been stored with the precepts of the Vulgate, could have so expressed himself in French that his words could be translated into the exact words of the Latin version.

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[1] Especially may be cited, "Tyrus, in corde maris sita," p. 24, which is from Ezekiel xxvii. 4 : and is used by William of Tyre, p. 806, and the author of the *Brevis narratio Belli Sacri*; Mart. and Dur. *Amplissima Collectio*, v. 539. The description of the king as a lion, p. 294, from Proverbs xxx. 30. "Accedat homo ad cor altum," p. 54, from Psalm lxiii. 7. The words "nec cujusquam Lingua retexere," p. 212, are a reference to the mediæval hymn, "Sanctorum meritis," in the Sarum Hymnal, for first vespers "*In natalitiis plurimorum Martyrum.*"

There are, moreover, many scraps of verse, both of classical and mediæval character, scattered throughout the book. If these are due to a translator he must have not merely distorted his original to form the words into verse, but have had a monstrous enthusiasm for the representation of another man's thoughts; or else we must suppose him to have introduced them gratuitously, in which case he ceases, so far forth, to be a translator. The refrains of the several chapters on the perfidy of the Marquis Conrad, and the winding up of the Poictevin chaplain's harangue to Richard, are no translations; either they are an integral part of an original Latin work, or else they are interpolations by the translator.

There are other passages which contain inversions of sense, plays upon words, little proverbial expressions and turns of phrase, which prove either that the work is an original work, or else that the translator has had more to do with framing the details than the supposed author. Some of these may admit of being turned into French equivalents, as "homo non armis "deditus sed armariis," "impugnans et expugnans," "volunt et vovent." But what French words will represent the play on "aleis et aliis" or "alliis," "donis et dolis," "pretio et prece," "ligatos legatos," "illæsi et læti," and why should a translator go about to make a pun on such a matter?

There are, however, not only quotations from poets and fragments of original verse, but many passages which require only the transposition of a word or the substitution of a synonym to make them verses, and others which are perfect hexameters in accent though not in quantity. There is a singular illustration of the tendency to run into verse at p. 265 of this volume. The author having pushed a common prosaic idea into an elegiac couplet,

"At rex id fieri dissuadet, adhuc patienter
"Agmine densato se cohibere jubet,"

proceeds

"Perdurant (igitur) sed vix in tanti mole pericli,"
"Jugiter suspirant quibus non licuit respirare"
"Cæterum illa die fuerat permaximus æstus,"

two perfect accentual hexameters: while the very next sentence has an unmistakeable ring of mediæval hymnology,

"Sudant igitur in agone
"Jam probati [Christi] martyres."

Most of these poetical flights occur in the descriptions of battles or of the sufferings of the army, in the details of which there is so much repetition as would wear out the patience of the most sympathetic translator. Only a man who was at once eye-witness and author, could sustain his enthusiasm through these descriptions, which are in matter the most tedious (for they lack the graphic power which appears in the quieter chapters), and in manner the most vivacious passages in the book.

To take one more instance—is it conceivable that the report of Richard's speech to the boarders,[1] in the adventure of the dromond, can be a translation, I will not say from a true account of the words he used, but from such words as any man in his senses could suppose that he could have said? The speech reported consists of one reasonable pointed sentence, a line of Latin verse, and a scrap of a legal formula. Of what imaginable eloquence could this be a specimen? yet in

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[1] p. 207.

Latin the absurdity is not so great as to strike one disagreeably.

Neither are the passages in which the manuscripts differ, by omitting or adding, compatible with the theory that the work is a translation. They can be satisfactorily accounted for, but only on a contradictory hypothesis.

It may be answered, that by a *translation,* a writer of the thirteenth century would not necessarily mean a literal turning of French into Latin; but that the word would be equally applicable to a book, the arrangement and details of which were borrowed from those of another writer in a foreign tongue; Richard the Canon may have composed his work on the principle on which English plays are said to have been composed at a later period, which it would be an insult to their authors to call translations from the French. In this way was formed, for instance, the Latin translation[1] of the French *Chronique d'Outremer,* in which all the spirit and life of the original is eliminated. The answer is good so far as it goes, but the style of the *Itinerarium* rises as much above the simple naïve baldness of the *Chronique,* as the translation sinks below it. A paraphraser who clothes the dry bones of a mediæval news letter with life and power and energy, and tells the story with all the zest and interest of an eye-witness, is not a translator in the modern sense of the word. His work is an original work. It is however needless to offer such a reply.

Either, then, the writer of the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ* wrote from information which had perished before the time of Trivet, or else he was induced to make his assertion by circumstances which may be pleaded in excuse. If he had certain information that the work was in any sense a translation, it is difficult to see how the translator could have been other than the author; in other words, the writer took notes in his ordinary language of the events that he witnessed, as they happened, and afterwards amplified them into a Latin work. This is not only possible but highly probable; that the outline of the work was drawn in the camp is the utmost that we can believe from the statement of the preface to be true. That the work in its present form appeared after the king's captivity, and probably after his death, is clear on the face of it. If the notes were drawn up in the camp, they might well be drawn up in French. Such is the character of the finished work, that it matters little whether the writer used his own notes or those of another, if however any credit at all is to be ascribed to the prologue, they were his own. A man must be a very great impostor who apologizes for the shortcomings of an elaborate work, because it was composed in the camp, when in reality the form of the work is all that is his own, and that is the work of leisure and labour, whilst as much of it as is due to the camp belongs of right to another person.

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[1] In Muratori, *Scriptores rerum Italicarum,* vii. 664.

But it is more probable that the statement was a mistake; and it was not an unnatural one. The earliest work in French prose after the history of Geoffrey de Villehardouin was the *Chronique Françoise d'Outremer;* or History of the kingdom of Jerusalem from its foundation to the year 1227.[1] This was drawn up by direction of Bernard the Treasurer of S. Peter's at Corbie, before 1232, and to him the authorship has been frequently ascribed. It is very likely that the author of the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ* may have heard of this work, and have supposed that it was identical with that of our author. Even if Ralph of Coggeshall be allowed to be the author of the former work, he may have heard of the *Chronique d'Outremer*, for his death took place in 1228. The history of this work is curiously like that of the Itinerarium. It seems to have been published anonymously, and it may still be looked on as doubtful whether Bernard the Treasurer was the author or only the patron. He stands in much the same relation to it as Richard the Canon does to the Itinerarium. The portion of it which extends from 1187 to 1227 was used by the compiler of the Continuation of William of Tyre, published in the fifth volume of the Amplissima Collectio of Martene and Durand: in the same way a portion of the Itinerarium is used in the Continuation of William of Tyre, in the magnificent MS., now Reg. 14. C. 10, in the British Museum Library.[1] The *Chronique d'Outremer* was translated into Latin, early in the 14th century, by Francesco Pipino of Bologna, and the title of his translation, as printed in Muratori, is so like the passage in the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ*, as at once to suggest a parallel. "Incipit Historia de Acquisitione Terræ "Sanctæ, quam Auctor hujus operis transtulit ex Gal- "lico in Latinum." The character of both these works,

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[1] *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* xxi. 680-684. The authorship is brought in question by the following explicit, existing in a MS. of it at Bern. "Ceste conte d'Outremer "fist faire li tresorier Bernars de "Saint Pierre de Corbie, en l'an de "l'Incarnacion, 1232." From the 14th century it was ascribed to Bernard as the author. By other writers, Hugh Plagon is said to be the author. The authors of the Histoire Littéraire give great praise to this work, as having been a popular history, not written under the auspices of a religious house, or of a great lord; and remark that it accounts for the troubles of the Holy Land, by the treasons of the Templars, the crimes of the Patri-

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arch, and the pride of the papal legates. It is clear, however, that the writer wrote in support of the House of Ibelin, and their share in the troubles of Palestine was far greater than that of any of the three causes mentioned.

[1] The continuation of William of Tyre in this volume, seems to have been drawn up before the siege of Damietta, in 1217. It is composed of extracts, verbatim from the Itinerarium, Benedict of Peterborough, and a third historian of the Crusade, whom I have not been able to identify, but who was used by Matthew Paris, James de Vitry, and perhaps Hoveden.

the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* and the *Chronique d'Outremer*, which would first strike a person acquainted with William of Tyre's great work, must have been their possible usefulness as continuations of that author. It is more likely that the writer of the Chronicon should have confused the two books, one of which he had never seen, than that a second French work on the same subject should have existed, of which there is no other trace, and the memory of which a Latin translation would be more likely to perpetuate than to extinguish. If, moreover, we consider that there were even then questions as to the authorship of the Itinerarium, Geoffrey Vinsauf appearing in one MS. and Richard the Canon being the received author, it may have seemed a most convenient way of settling the conflicting claims.

We have seen that there is little probability that Geoffrey had anything to do with the Itinerarium; and that it is almost impossible that it was a translation. The statement that it was drawn up under the direction of the prior of the Holy Trinity would fall with the story of the translation, but as it is, it serves to corroborate the testimony of Trivet. The work was composed and published between the years 1199 and 1220, during which time the priory was ruled by an eminent man named Peter, who was himself a voluminous author or compiler of the lives of the saints. If the words of the Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ are to be literally interpreted, it is undoubtedly to his influence that we are indebted for the present work.

Of Richard the Canon, nothing is known besides the ascription to him of the Itinerarium, in verse and prose, a tract on penance, and a book of epigrams, and the latter rests only on the testimony of Bale and Pits.[1] Trivet's assertion that he wrote a metrical history of

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[1] Pits, 268.

Richard is corroborated by Leland, who had seen it, but had not seen the prose work; he adds that it was not altogether unpleasing.

It would seem probable, however, that the person who is called by the author of the Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ, the Prior of the Holy Trinity, was identical with Richard the Canon. Brother "Ricardus de "Templo" was in 1222 elected by the canons of the Holy Trinity to the office of Prior, which was an important position in the church, and was united with the semi-baronial dignity of alderman of London. The royal assent was given to the election on the 24th of October, at Westminster.[1] Supposing Richard the Canon to have been thirty years old when he composed his work, he would be about fifty when this election took place, a very suitable age for a prior; and although no new election to the priorate is recorded before 1250, it requires no stretch of imagination to suppose that he may have reached the age of eighty at the time of his death. If, however, as we might argue from the style of the book, he was younger when it was written, the improbability becomes less.

We know little of the life of Richard the Prior. From the title of "frater," it is probable that he was a Templar: from casual notices in the Itinerarium, it would seem that the author was not a knight, but he may have been one of the chaplains of the order.[2] It was by no means irregular in a knight to accept a clerical office: Alan, the prior of the Hospitallers, had become Bishop of Bangor in 1197: still the promotion would come more naturally to a chaplain. Something may be said in support of this theory, although little prominence is given in the work before us to the exploits of the Templars. It is just possible, on the other hand, that "de Templo" was a family name; and this supposition is countenanced by a coincidence perhaps quite accidental: there are several notices on the Patent Rolls of the employment of Thomas de Templo, and others with the same name, in the naval service of the king; while the circumstantial details on the subject of shipping that occur in the Itinerarium are one of the most prominent characteristics of the book. This is, however, only conjecture. It is more likely that Richard de Templo was a Templar: that he should be the author of a work on the Third Crusade is by no means impossible.

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[1] Rot. Claus. A°. 6 Henr. III., Ed. Hardy, i. 515. "Sciatis nos "electioni factæ de Fratre Ricardo "de Templo in Priorem ecclesiæ "Sanctæ Trinitatis, London: re- "gium adhibuisse assensum et "favorem." See also 515 b.

[2] Wilken, the very learned author of the *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, supposes him to have been a knight, iv. 141, 168: but the fact of his speaking of himself, as making his pilgrimage to Jerusalem on foot, p. 435, seems almost fatal to the notion. The connexion between the military orders and the order of Augustinian canons was close; they professed the rule and name; and their chaplains would be nearly the same as ordinary Augustinian canons.

Prior Richard is mentioned once or twice in the records of the realm. In the 11th of Henry III. he is ordered to deliver up to John Fitz Geoffrey such charters in his hands as had belonged to Geoffrey Fitz Peter.[1] The same year he had permission from the Pope to be exempted from the responsibility of being named in papal commissions; the reason given being the ordinary one, his ignorance of legal matters.[2] A charter of confirmation of the property of the priory was also granted during his occupation of office.[3] The date assigned to his death leaves us in doubt whether he was the prior[4] who successfully resisted the visitation of Archbishop Boniface, so memorable from the famous maltreatment of the canons of S. Bartholomew's, Smithfield. If he were so, we must refer to him the Bull of relaxation of Excommunication, issued by Pope Innocent IV. on the 11th October 1250.[1] Anyhow, he was by that time out of reach of the Pope's threats or blandishments, for the congé d'élire for a new prior had been issued on the 26th of August, and the election of John of Tooting was confirmed on the 5th October following.[2]

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[1] Rot. Claus. ii. 190.

[2] 10 Cal. Martii, Fœdera, i. 184.

[3] Fœdera, i. 197. See also *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi. 153, &c.

[4] Matthew Paris, 781.

The date of the publication of the Itinerarium may be approximated to within a few years. It is just possible, that a first edition or a portion of one was published before the king's death, for William of Newburgh, whose work was certainly closed during Richard's life, begins his history of the Crusade with words so like those of our author, that it seems not improbable that he had seen the book.[3] The string of his description is almost identical with that of the Itinerarium,[4] but nowhere, except in that passage, does he use exactly the same language. He was a canon of the same order with Richard, and the several houses of each order were at that period closely connected. He may have seen a first edition of the work before 1197, or he may have seen the notes, or the French original, if it ever existed. The fact that he follows the order of events in different language from our author, is no argument in favour of a translation, for it is his common mode of proceeding, where he follows any authorities for the matter of his record.

It is however evident, that the whole work, as we have it now, was not published until after Richard's death. All the MSS. contain the mention of John as

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[1] Fœdera, i. 275.

[2] Newcourt, *Repertorium*, i. 560. "Pat. 34 Hen. III. m. 2."

[3] "Anno a plenitudine temporis "quo Verbum caro factum est, "1187° regnante in Alemannia "Frederico, in Francia Philippo, in "Anglia Henrico secundo, Urbano autem qui Lucio successerat sedi Apostolicæ præsidente, "aggravata est manus Domini "super terram, &c." W. Newburgh, Lib. iii. c. 15. ed. Hamilton, i. 248.

[4] See, particularly, Newburgh, Lib. iii. cc. 15–28.

"tunc comite,"[1] proving that they were written after he had merged that honour in the regal dignity. But that is the latest indication of date to be found in the book, and the latest and earliest editions may alike have been put forth immediately after the accession of John. The large extracts taken from the first book by Giraldus Cambrensis, in his "De Instructione "Principum,"[2] give the other limit. Giraldus's life can hardly be prolonged after the year 1220; between 1200 and 1220, therefore, this work was published, and had gained its reputation.

It is a fact that deserves consideration, that all the extracts given by Giraldus Cambrensis are from the first book, especially as it appears that three MSS.[3] containing the first book only, are known to have existed on the continent within the last 200 years; that Matthew Paris, or Roger of Wendover, quotes only from the first book,[4] and that the same portion only is used in the Continuation of William of Tyre, in the MS. Reg. 14. C. 10. And in connexion with these facts, it should be mentioned that the oldest MS. of the Itinerarium[5] contains the first book in an abridged and partly mutilated form. It might seem from this that the work is not the production of one author, but that Richard the Canon took the earlier history of the Siege of Acre by another author for the foundation of his work, and that only the last five books are from his hand. If the uniformity of style that prevails throughout be alleged in answer to this, it may be pleaded again, that possibly Richard translated a part, or the whole, into his own style. A more satisfactory hypothesis however, is, that the work was published by instalments, or at least that the first book was published before the rest. There is certainly one sentence in it, which could hardly have been written after Richard's discomfiture, and inglorious return. It occurs at p. 32, where, speaking of Richard's constancy to his vow as a crusader, he proceeds, "Hanc viri "constantiam Dominus remunerandam judicans, quem "primum aliorum omnium incentorem elegit eum "cæteris principibus vel defunctis vel regressis, negotii "sui executorem reservavit." This is one of the sentences omitted in the oldest MS. The latest date given in the second book is the year 1193,[1] in which Gisors was surrendered to Philip by the traitor Gilbert of Gascuil. The action is too rapid in the remainder of the work to allow us to suppose that an eye-witness, as our author evidently was, could have composed it in its present form until the Crusade was over. It is then possible that the first book, or even the first two books, were separately published before the rest of the work.

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[1] Itiner., p. 333.

[2] Ed. Brewer, 1846, pp. 123-136.

[3] Barth's two, and the one used by Bongars.

[4] Matthew Paris, pp. 144, 145, 148.

[5] MS. Cotton, Faustina, A. vii.

The Cotton MS. Faustina, A. vii. is the earliest copy. It has been referred to in this edition as B. It is a handsome quarto, written in double columns in a large and beautiful hand of the earliest period of the thirteenth century; rubricated throughout, but with no numerical divisions of books and chapters. It is ascribed to Richard the Canon by a superscription of the sixteenth century, not improbably from the hand of Archbishop Parker, who was certainly acquainted with this particular copy; "Author Ricardus Canonicus Sanctæ "Trinitatis London." On one of the fly leaves is a note in a much earlier hand, "Richardus Canonicus." It bears also the name and date, "William Howarde 1592," on folio 4; on folio 1, "Itinerarium Rici R. Angliæ ad "Judæam," where a corrector has written over Rici, "Ricardi Canonici opinor." The fly leaves contain a few other scraps, among which are the epitaphs of Richard, "Scribitur hic, &c." and "Viscera Kareolum, &c."

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[1] Itinerar. ii. 26. p. 176.

The Itinerarium is followed in the same or a little later hand by a tract, entitled "Mores Saracenorum et "leges quas Mahumeth observare constituit prophetando "Saracenis," part of which is a life of Mahomet.

The MS. of the Public Library at Cambridge, Ff. 1.25, the A of this edition, which contains the ascription to Geoffrey Vinsauf, is a small folio, also in double columns, rubricated throughout and divided into books and chapters. The hand is a very distinct and beautiful small hand of the middle of the century, or about 1240. The volume contains in the same hand the verses of Vinsauf on Richard, and the History of the Siege of Damietta. This was the MS. from which Gale's transcript was made. It was, I believe, given to the University by Parker.

The MS. 129 of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, the C of this edition, and the text of which is followed throughout, is a large folio, written in double columns, on very indifferent parchment, late in the thirteenth century. It was not completed by the original scribe; the spaces for rubrics and initial letters being left blank. These have been carefully filled in from the Cotton MS. by Archbishop Parker, or one of his assistants.[1]

The fragment of the first book, which was published by Bongars, in the "Gesta Dei per Francos," I. 1150–1172, Hanau, 1611, is referred to under the letter G, in the present edition. It was printed by him from a MS. lent him by Nicholas Servinus, the king's advocate in the parliament of Paris.[2]

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[1] John Joscelin, Archbishop Parker's secretary, in his *Tractatus de Historicis Angliæ*, has this: "XXXVI. Ricardus Canonicus "scripsit *Gesta Regis Ricardi*, "cujus liber incipit, *Ægrotante* "*Henrico rege Anglorum*. Claruit "anno Christi MCC., sub Johanne "Anglorum rege. Twynus scit "ubi sit." It is very likely that Twynus should be mistaken (see Tanner, Bibliotheca, *sub voce*, Twynus), but is very strange that Joscelin should have not known that the present work was the book ascribed to Richard the Canon, when his patron had two copies of it in his library, and had certainly made use of a third.

[2] *Gesta Dei*, i. præf. § xiii.

The two MSS. which were in Barth's hands contained almost exact copies of this; with the same hiatuses, and ending one chapter earlier than the printed edition of Bongars. One of these contained in one place an interpolation from the work of James of Vitry, and could not therefore have been of much earlier date than 1240.

The MS. Reg. 14. C. 10, contains in extracts, placed in different order, nearly the whole of the first book as it stood in Bongars' MS., with which its text may be identified by the fact that it contains the comment on the death of Archbishop Baldwin (p. 124), with which Bongars' fragment closes, and which is not found in any of the MSS.[1]

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[1] The prologue of this continuation consists of the first chapter of the first book of the *Itinerarium*, introduced by the following title and preface.

" *Incipit continuatio historiæ* " *tractatæ de Gestis virorum illus-* " *trium: post hoc prologus.*

" In præcedentibus de vario " Terræ Sanctæ statu, necnon et " de variis virorum illustrium ges- " tis, a bonæ memoriæ W. Archi- " episcopo Tyrensi eloquenter et " eleganter tractatum est; utrum " autem idem historiographus de " iis quæ in Terra Sancta nostris " temporibus acta sunt aliquam his- " toricam texuerit relationem a " nobis penitus ignoratur. Hinc " est quod tam de subversione Jero- " solimitana quam de cæteris diver- " sarum rerum eventibus qui in " partibus illis acciderunt; ea quæ " a viris venerabilibus qui tam " visu quam auditu hæc eadem " plenius et planius didicerant tra- " ditæ sunt memoriæ litterarum, " necessarium ducimus historiæ " subjungere prætaxatæ. Epistolas " etiam ad hæc pertinentes locis " competentibus, prout opportunitas " vel ratio dictaverit ad certiorem " rerum gestarum astructionem ac " pleniorem legentium instruc- " tionem interserere curamus. " Quinetiam ad majorem sub- " junctæ relationis evidentiam " tam de tempore quam de causa " destructionis Terræ Jerosolimi- " tanæ aliqua summatim in ipsa " fronte præsentis operis satagamus " prælibare."

The work is divided into three books: the first containing the history from the accession of Baldwin V. to the siege of Jerusalem; the second, from the capture of Jerusalem to the death of Frederick; the third, from the beginning of the siege of Acre to the election of John of Brienne to be king of Jerusalem, of whom the writer says, " tempore namque suo facta est " motio exercitus Christiani versus " Terram Sanctam ab universis " nationibus, interponentibus pro

There is said to be a copy of the Itinerarium in Sir Thomas Phillipps's collection, but I have not been able to get permission to consult it.

The edition by Gale of the Vinsauf MS., published at Oxford in 1687, is very inaccurate in text and unintelligible in punctuation. As I have had, by the kind assistance of my Cambridge friends, the full use of the MS. from which he printed, I have not thought it either useful or grateful to record among the various readings the mistakes of his copyist. I have, however, as the work is so commonly referred to by book and chapter, used, throughout, his numeration of those divisions. The numbering of the chapters does not, as will be seen, agree with his MS., which is the only one that contains the numbers, but is very much confused in that respect.

The Cotton MS. is, at first sight, so much superior to the other two that it would seem to claim peremptorily to rule the text of any new edition. A comparison with Gale's text showed it to contain several passages of some importance omitted in the latter, and at the same time slight differences in the arrangement of words, which in the Vinsauf MS. appeared to be reformed by a more classical taste, pointed to the con-

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" posse suo partes suas summis " pontificibus Innocentio III., at- " que successore suo Honorio III." The last chapter contains a moral discussion on the failure of the Crusade. Great part of the first book, nearly all the second, and two-thirds of the third, are from the first book of the Itinerarium; the copies of the letters of Popes Lucius and Gregory, of Terricus, of Henry II., of the consuls of Genoa, and of the patriarchs, seem to be from the source used by Benedict of Peterborough. The earlier chapters are from a source common to Hoveden, Matthew Paris, and James de Vitry. This author gives a different account of the death of Reginald of Châtillon from that given in the *Itinerarium*. The portion of history succeeding the marriage of the Marquis and the death of Baldwin is from another source. The extracts from the Itinerarium cease with the word " lugendas " (Itiner. p. 124, note 2), which proves that the text used by the author agreed with the MS. of Bongars. The remainder of the history is crowded into nine chapters.

clusion that the Cotton MS. was an earlier and fuller edition. In this view the earlier portion of the first book was prepared from the text of the Cotton MS. On proceeding further into the book, it was found that there were omissions in the Cotton MS. as well as in the Vinsauf one, and that these were of an even more important character as touching the literary integrity of the text. The account of the German Crusade was much abridged in the Cotton MS., and a different version of Saladin's letter to Frederick given, whilst Frederick's letter to Saladin was omitted. It appeared curiously enough that not only were the omissions in one MS. supplied by the other, but that generally the hiatuses in both occurred in the same parts, so that of a sentence required to complete the string of the history, or even the sense of the passage, the first clause was omitted in one and the latter in the other. It was not, of course, competent for an editor to form what might seem to him a perfect text from a combination of the two. In this dilemma recourse was had to the Corpus MS., which had been regarded as a mere copy of the Cotton, and it then appeared that that MS. contained a perfect text, combining in every place the additions of each of the other MSS., and giving as complete an edition of the whole work as any editor could desire. It also possesses a long additional chapter at the end, containing a character of Richard and some account of his legal reforms, intended evidently as an improvement on the abrupt termination found in the other two copies. The discovery of this fact left no doubt as to which of the MSS. should be taken as the text, except what should arise from the nature of the concluding chapter.

With that exception, all the important differences of text, omissions and additions, occur in the first book. The Vinsauf MS. omits several details of the battle of Hittin, the enumeration of Saladin's allies, and all the passages which tend to throw obloquy on Raymond of Tripoli. The Cotton MS. omits the Emperor Frederick's letter to Saladin, abridges the chapter on his preparation for the Crusade, and shortens the account of the general popularity of the undertaking. The most curious instance of the way in which the two MSS. supplement one another is to be found in the 24th and 25th chapters. The Vinsauf MS. (with which agree Bongars, Barth, and MS. Reg. 14. C. 10.) omits the account of the mourning for the Emperor Frederick; the Cotton MS. omits the details of the absolution of Guy of Lusignan. That this omission is accidental seems certain from the fact that the proper rubrics are found in both MSS. The Corpus MS. contains both chapters, and both are required to complete the sequence of the story.

It would seem then that the Cotton MS. is partially abridged, and that in the Vinsauf MS. certain parts are intentionally omitted. The Corpus MS. containing all, without either abridgement or omission, may be fairly looked on as representing the most perfect text. This is confirmed by the fact, that in the abridged places the extracts given by Giraldus, as well as the text of Bongars, &c. agree with the Corpus MS., and not with the Cotton, which is important, considering that the greater antiquity of the Cotton MS. must, in the absence of the Corpus one, have been sufficient to establish its superiority. Two theories may be offered to account for the abridgement of the earlier copy; either Richard the Canon was abridging in the first book, the work of another author, which was restored in its integrity by the later copyists; or else the Cotton MS. was originally intended, as the Royal MS. 14. C. 10. was, for an abridgement, but the transcriber finding it troublesome to abridge on his own responsibility completed the last five books in a literal transcript.

The superior finish and polish of the Vinsauf MS. are also noticeable; more attention has been given to the arrangement of the words on classical precedents; in one place a quotation from Lucan, which appears dislocated in the other MSS., is arranged in its proper order in this;[1] and in a very curious passage the word *nobilis* is substituted for *diabolus*, as applied to Richard by Saladin's soldiers.[2] From this, and the omission of Saracenic names wherever they can safely be left out, we may argue that the text has been revised and corrected, not by the author, or it would not have been altered unfavourably to the sense and sequence of the history. It may strike one as a probable theory that this editor, or reviser, was Master Geoffrey Vinsauf, and that this is the meaning of the title of the Cambridge MS., when it proclaims itself, "a "Magistro Gaufrido Vinsauf editum." Unfortunately the word "editum" will hardly bear to be pressed into this meaning. The title seems to have been taken from that of William of Tyre's famous work, which has never been ascribed to any other author. "Incipit "historia rerum in partibus transmarinis gestarum — "edita a venerabili Willermo Tyrensi Archiepiscopo."

A more critical point is the question as to the concluding chapter of the Corpus MS., whether an editor is justified in looking on it as an integral part of the work, although it occurs in neither of the MSS. supposed to be written in the author's lifetime. It is impossible to decide with certainty upon this. On the one hand there is the antecedent presumption that it is an addition; there is a certain difference of style; there is an omission of one important particular, the payment of Richard's debts before he left Acre; and there are two extracts from Ralph de Diceto almost in the words of that writer, and so put that it could not be assumed that, *vice versâ*, Ralph had borrowed them from our author. On the other hand there is no reason why the author himself should not have added these at a later period of his life; the difference of style is not so great as to forbid us to attribute them to our author; rather from the reappearing of the quotation "Non esset vitium si non ratione "careret," which had occurred in the first book, there is a slight presumption that they were his. Again, the omission of the mention of the payment of the king's debts was probably intentional: it is extremely improbable that Richard ever would pay his debts. The quotation from Ralph de Diceto is easily accounted for; for if the author at a later period wished to refresh his memory as to the precise dates of any of Richard's acts, he would naturally have recourse to the fullest and handiest authority, which the Dean of S. Paul's certainly was, even then; the earliest MS. of his *Imagines* being slightly older than the earliest of the *Itinerarium*.

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[1] p. 29.

[2] p. 219.

The principal ground for the acceptance of the chapter is this, that very considerable extracts from it are given by Trivet and Bromton in continuation of the history of Richard avowedly taken from this book;[1] and yet the differences between their version and the Corpus MS. are such as to show that the latter was not the copy; we thus gain the further point that there was another MS. of our author containing this additional chapter, in a rather better text. This suggests a further question. Have we, even now, the book in its integrity? A reference to Trivet will show that there is one passage at least in his work which would be a satisfactory addition to the sense of one portion of the chapter. Trivet's account of Philip's invasion of Normandy in 1193[2] is not assignable to any other authority than his own, unless it be supposed to be taken from the source which furnished the preceding details about the weights and measures. That must for the present be an open question; no doubt the passage would fall in very well with the string of the chapter. It is, however, complete without it, and the passage itself contains nothing but what the writer could easily have gathered for himself from Hoveden, Diceto, Coggeshall, and Robert de Monte. The authority and completeness of the Corpus MS. in its earlier portions may, however, be thought to warrant such confidence in the good faith of the scribe Thomas, that he may be trusted not to have inserted immediately before the *explicit* of his work a passage which he had not good authority for supposing to be an integral part of it. It may have been omitted in the earlier MSS., because they were intended to give only the history of the Crusade; or the chapter may have been added by the author, whose epic poem on the subject would naturally close with Richard's departure from Palestine, and not contain an account of his fiscal and mercantile reforms.

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[1] Trivet, pp. 151–154.

[2] Trivet, p. 150.

There is then strong evidence to show that the *Itinerarium Regis Ricardi* is the original work of one author, Richard the Canon of the Holy Trinity in Aldgate; there is a probable presumption that this Richard had formerly been in the service of the Templars, and was afterwards prior of the House. This evidence and presumption are strong enough to displace the claim of any other known person to the authorship; but they are not clear enough to warrant an editor in inserting, without a proviso, the name of Richard the Canon on the titlepage of the work.

The history of the book, when the question of the authorship is shelved, is short and clear. It was, as we have seen, familiar to Giraldus Cambrensis, who died about 1220; it was used as a continuation of William of Tyre, by the compiler of the Royal MS. 14 C. 10; it was known partially to Matthew Paris, to Oliverius Scholasticus, and to the author of the Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ, before the middle of the century. It was regarded as an authority, and quoted by the name of its author, by Nicolas Trivet, who was born in 1258, and died about 1328. Through Trivet it was known to Walsingham, who borrowed from him in the Ypodigma Neustriæ, about 1417; and the original work was known to John Bromton, Abbat of Jervaux, whose Chronicle was compiled about the middle of the same century. It was known to Bale and to Pits, as existing in the Corpus Library, to which it was given by Archbishop Parker, through whose hands the three MSS. used for this edition certainly passed. In 1611 the fragment of the first book was published by Bongars, and in 1687 the whole work was edited by Gale.

From its first publication it was regarded as a work of elegant taste and beauty. Giraldus speaks of it as " historica veritate explanata, luculentoque stilo et " studio exquisitissimo exarata." The author of the Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ allows that it is translated " tam eleganti quam veraci stilo." Bongars considered the author as " Homo ut illo sæculo eleganter doctus." Barth says of the book: " Est vero elegans et lectu " dignus liber, pene dixerim principis Latini eloquii " inter suos socios certe plerosque."

The classical scholar will perhaps be unable or unwilling to recognize this; but any one acquainted, even in a small degree, with mediæval Latin, will allow that there is a command of language, an extent of vocabulary, a regard for the principles of grammar, and even a sonorous rhythm about the style, that are wanting in books of a higher character and greater value. It is free, for the most part, from false antitheses and foolish plays upon words. There are a few anacoluthons, but not many: it has been too often revised to admit such faults. It does, in fact, represent the application to a secular or only remotely religious subject, of the enthusiastic fervour which gives the charm to the better specimens of the lives of the saints. It has their faults: it is verbose, sometimes prosy, sometimes bombastic; but often graphic, and very seldom indeed unreal. Compared with William of Newburgh, the author appears at a disadvantage; the work of that writer is superior both in style and character. Compared with Matthew Paris and the monastic annalists, it is as much superior in style as inferior in matter and method. It is impossible to forget while reading it that the author wrote an epic on the same subject, and not to suspect that the association had something to do with the form the work has taken. It has, as it stands, most of the requisites of a good epic.

It is, perhaps, singular that a writer so religious, and so well acquainted with Holy Scripture, should have so seldom shown his knowledge in the inviting matters of history and geography. Most of the historians of the Crusades show more zeal than acuteness in identifying the places they knew in Palestine with those mentioned in the Bible. Our author has very few such references, and fortunately so, as all, except the very simplest ones, are erroneous. The assertion that Cæsarea was illustrious as having been the scene of some of our Lord's miracles, and the placing of the birthplace of S. Anna at Beit Gebrin, are cases in point.

The author was, as we have noticed above, well acquainted with the classical writers popular in his age, and incidentally with the civil and canon law; he also refers to Saint Gregory's homilies, and one or two other passages are probably extracts from the fathers or canonists.

The condition of Palestine had been a source of sorrow and shame to Christendom for more than four hundred years before the first Crusade.[1] The capture of Jerusalem by Chosroes in 614 was the decisive sign that told the East what had been long known in the West, that the power of the Roman empire had come to an end. It had shared the fate of all empires founded and built up as it had been by warlike aggression. It was not luxury alone that destroyed it, for the period of its greatest licence was also that of its widest sway; but the energies that had been strong, so long as new worlds remained to be conquered, became weak and ineffective in triumphant peace. The time came for defence, but no power of defence was found, only the walls that the sons of the builders were too weak to man, and engines which answered to no hands less skilful or less mighty than theirs who framed them. The Moslem power was victorious, not because it was irresistible, but because there was nothing to resist it. The spasmodic effort by which Heraclius was enabled to recover Palestine from the Persians, was over when the greater foe came, and the fanatical hosts before whom the Persian himself had fallen.

During those four centuries it had been almost an impossibility for either East or West to attempt a rescue. The Byzantine state had had more than enough to do to maintain its existence against external enemies; and the West was passing through that Medean caldron from which it was to rise renewed and strengthened for fresh strifes. Meanwhile the city of God lay waste, and the abomination of desolation standing in the holy place seemed to be a sign of the approaching end of the world. When the tenth century closed without the expected arrival of the judgment day, and Christendom saw before it a long prospect of extension and glory under its new lease of life, the thoughts of men turned quickly towards Palestine. Pilgrimages began to multiply. It was no longer here and there that a stray palmer, a monk or bishop from the West, having overcome strange difficulties and undergone strange adventures, returned, one out of a thousand, to tell of the sad state of the "Land of Pilgrimage." Great bands organized their expeditions together; and when they came home they reported that, although the conduct of the pagans to strangers was as cruel and oppressive as ever, their power, for the same reason that the power of Rome had fallen, was approaching its fall, and what had been lost in the paralysis of imperial energy, might be regained by a united effort of Western feudalism.

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[1] Jerusalem was taken by Chosroes in 614; recovered by Heraclius in 628; taken by Omar in 637; fell into the hands of the Fatimite Caliphs about 969; was taken by the Turks about 1077; recovered by the Fatimite Caliph, 1096; taken by Godfrey, July 15, 1099. Our author, at p. 22, states that it had been in the hands of the Turks for forty years when Godfrey took it; William of Tyre (p. 633) says 38; either this is a mistake, or refers to some short unrecorded occupation by the Turks about 1060. It is to be observed, however, that the word used is not *Turks* but *Gentiles*, which leads to a suspicion that for quadraginta, *quadringentos* should be read. The passage is otherwise confused in all the MS.: two of them make the occupation by the Christians to have lasted 96 years instead of 89; and the other two place the date of the capture in 1188 instead of 1187. The same confusion of the well-known date is found at p. 5.

At the time, however, that the East was ripe for conquest, the West was not ready to reap it. Jerusalem changed masters, but it fell into the hands of the Turks, not of the Christians. And it was not until nearly thirty years after, that the Western powers were roused to united action, or even able to entertain the idea of a joint expedition. The European states had by that time emerged from chaos. The quarrels of Henry IV. with the popes had not availed to shatter the sturdy strength of the German Cæsarship. England and Normandy were powerful under the policy of the Conqueror, and the French kings were not strong enough as yet to initiate that system of aggression which has created modern France. The popular fervour seconded the politic designs of the princes: the circumstances of the Holy City, which had for a moment been rescued from the Turks, by its old tyrants the Fatimite caliphs, were exceptionally favourable; and the careful wisdom and chivalrous prowess of Godfrey of Bouillon guided the warriors of the first Crusade to their goal. Jerusalem once more became Christian, and the reproach of four centuries was wiped away.

Unfortunately Godfrey did not live to consolidate the state that he had founded, and his successors, although brave and accomplished warriors, were quite incompetent to fill a place that required its occupants to be heirs of his statesmanship even more than of his prowess. Circumstances were so far favourable, that for half the term of its allotted life, no Saracen leader appeared, strong enough, or sufficiently supported by the tribes of the East, to demolish the fabric that was being erected by the Frank powers, as quickly as it was raised. Although the impulse of the first Crusade was sufficient to maintain the little colony so long, it was not free from the natural process of relaxation; and the very forces from which it resulted contained the elements of disruption. But the actual fall of the Frank kingdom is chiefly to be attributed to the evils inherent in an attempt to colonize Palestine on feudal principles, although the determination of the time of its fall was due to the cessation of those divisions among the Mahometan nations which had rendered its existence possible. It is necessary for the understanding of the book before us to go briefly into detail as to these internal defects, which reached their climax of injurious operation in the history here recorded.

The conquest of Palestine did not immediately result from the capture of Jerusalem; it had to be occupied city by city, and when so occupied to be kept in order by the erection throughout its extent of a system of strong forts. Under ordinary circumstances and in the face of a united resistance, such a tenure would have been impossible. How wonderful it was that the kingdom lasted so long as it did, appears from the way in which the whole fabric, raised with such pains, fell before Saladin after the battle of Hittin. One victory then decided the fate of the colony, but it was almost the only regular victory which the Saracens gained during the century. They could occasionally by overpowering numbers or by surprise humble and disperse the Frank armies; but it almost seems that a consciousness of their inability to fight a pitched battle with any chance of victory, was, as much as their disunited and disorganized condition, the reason why they preferred an inch by inch defence of their strongholds.

At the time of Godfrey's death (July 18, 1100) very little besides the city of Jerusalem and the communications with the coast and the Imperial dominions were in the hands of the Franks. The principality of Antioch was held by Bohemond, and Baldwin was in possession of Edessa; the proper defences of Palestine were, however, in the hands of independent Moslem emirs. The city of Ramlah had fallen before Godfrey on his way to Jerusalem; the Christians of Bethlehem had made common cause with him before the siege; but after the capture of the capital, Ascalon, the key of Syria towards the south, had successfully resisted his arms, and the little city of Arsûf had been made tributary only after three sieges. Hebron, Tiberias, Naplous which had been occupied by Tancred, and Joppa, had been rebuilt and fortified; and Haipha was being besieged at the time of Godfrey's death. The limits of his conquests were thus circumscribed, partly because of his wish to remain as long as possible on friendly terms with the emirs on the coast, and partly in consequence of the jealousies of his fellow leaders; but the great reason was undoubtedly the insufficiency of the force at his command to conquer and hold the cities. It was imperatively necessary that he should be able to maintain himself in the field: the acquisition of further territories must be left until the news of the conquest had brought from Europe fresh hosts of crusaders whose zeal for the cause or for their own interests could be utilized in that direction. Godfrey died before this took place, and the task fell to his two immediate successors.

Baldwin I. (1100–1118) availed himself of the help of those pilgrims whom either commercial enterprise or more exalted motives brought to Palestine, to extend the conquest. With the aid of the Venetians Haipha was taken in 1100; in 1101 the fleets of Genoa and Pisa co-operated in the capture of Arsûf and Cæsarea; Acre fell before the Genoese in 1104, Byblus[1] and Tripoli in 1109; the Pisans took Berytus in 1110, and Sidon was captured the same year by the aid of king Sigurd and the Norwegians. Tancred in the mean time was seizing the towns of Antioch and Cilicia, Adana, Mamistra, Tarsus, Laodicea, Atsareb, and Sardana. The conquests of Baldwin II. were chiefly in the north of Syria; but his reign was marked by the capture of Tyre by the forces of the kingdom whilst he himself was in captivity, in 1124, and by that of Paneas in 1128. Ascalon did not yield before 1153, when the tide had already turned against the Crusaders; Edessa had been taken by Emadeddin Zenghi in the year 1143, which, as it was in point of time the central year of the Christian occupation, marks also the moment at which their good fortune began to decline.

During this period of progress the defence of the country had been secured by the erection of fortresses at Scandalion[1] and Toron,[2] in the north of the kingdom, and at Montreal[3] in the south, under Baldwin I.; and at Beit Nûba,[4] Beit Gebrin,[5] Kerak,[6] Ibelin,[7] and Tel-es-safieh[8] under Fulk. The military orders had several other strongholds, of the precise date of whose erection we have no record, especially Merkeb[9] in the north of Syria, Kaukab[10] and Latroon[11] belonging to the Hospitallers; and Safed,[12] Merle,[13] and the Cave of the Temple[14] to the Templars. That which had hitherto been a matter of precaution became now a necessity;

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[1] The city of Byblus or Biblium, *Jebeil*, which was made by the Genoese into a lordship for the family of the Ebriaci, must not be confounded with Gabala, or Jebleh, in the principality of Antioch, which is mentioned below, p. 26. They seem to be the *Gabelet magnum* and *parvum* of Benedict of Peterborough.

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[1] Scandalion, *Iskanderûna*, under the Ladder of Tyre, was fortified by Baldwin I. in 1116. W. Tyr., 815; Fulcher of Chartres, 427.

[2] Toron, the ancient and modern *Tibnin*, was founded by Hugh of S. Omer, lord of Tiberias, in 1107, and soon after became the fief of Henfrid, father of the Constable. W. Tyr., 798. It is about 13 miles to the east of the Ladder of Tyre.

[3] Montreal. See p. 29, note 7.

[4] Beit-Nûba, the fort of which, Castel Arnald, was founded by the Patriarch William (1130–1144) in 1132, lies on the direct way from Joppa to Jerusalem. It was identified by the Crusaders with Nob. W. Tyr., p. 856.

[5] Beit-Gebrin, or Ibelin of the Hospitallers, anciently Eleutheropolis, was founded by the patriarch in 1134. W. Tyre, 865. See below, p. 360, note 6. Pauli, *Codice Diplomatico*, i. 18, 46.

[6] Kerak, see below, p. 29, note 7.

[7] Ibelin, anciently Jabneh, now *Yebna*, 11 miles S.W. of Joppa, was founded in 1142, and given to Balian the old. W. Tyr., 886.

[8] Tel-es-safieh, or Blancheguard, founded in 1143. W. Tyr., 886.

[9] Merkeb, or Margat, was on the northern frontier of the county of Tripoli, on the coast. W. Tyr., 738. Ansbert, p. 5. Crach of the Hospitallers in the same region (W. Tyr., 1017), is now *Hesn-al-Akrad*. See Robinson, *Later Bibl. Researches*, p. 565.

[10] Kaukab, called by the Crusaders Coquet, Coket, Cuschet, and more commonly Beauvoir or Belvoir, now Kaukab-el-Hawa, lies among the mountains, near Jordan, between Bethshan and Tiberias. W. Tyr., 1027; Pauli, *Codice Diplomatico, &c.*, i. 4, 7, 32; Bohadin, pp. 76, 88; Fulch. Chart. 381; *Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre*, ed. Rozière, pp. 226, 228.

[11] Latroon, see below, p. 368, note 1.

[12] Safed, 7 miles N.W. of the sea of Galilee. W. Tyr., 1027; Ansbert, p. 6.

[13] Merle, see p. 255, below: not far from Merle was the Castle of Pilgrims, also belonging to the Temple, now *Athlit*. Ben. Peterb., ii. 488; Assizes, i. 420.

[14] Cava or Spelunca Templariorum, lay beyond Jordan on the confines of Arabia. W. Tyr., 962. Bohadin, p. 32, calls it Acapha in the desert.

Gaza[1] was restored by Baldwin III., Darum[2] on the Egyptian frontier by Amalric, and Castel neuf[3] and Jacob's Ford under Baldwin IV. The lord of Sidon also had built himself a fortress at Belfort,[4] and the lord of Ibelin at Mirabel.[5]

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[1] Gaza was fortified in 1152, and given to the Templars. W. Tyr., 917.

[2] Darum, see below, p. 318.

[3] Castel neuf, or Nigra Guarda, (perhaps *Kulat-Hunin*, near Paneas,) was built by the constable Henfrid shortly before his death. W. Tyr., 942, 1014.

[4] Belfort now *Shakif-Arnun*, 8 miles N. W. of Paneas; belonged to the Lord of Sidon. Assizes, i. 420; W. Tyr., 1015; p. 63, below; Bohadin, p. 89, &c.

[5] Mirabel (Cf. W. Tyr., 918, 1009; pp. 307, 324, below; Pauli, *Codice Dipl.*, i. 236; Bohadin, pp. 187, 228; Ansbert, p. 4; *Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre*, p. 132) was identified by Wilken in his *Comment. de Bell. Cruciat.* with the Masjdeljaba of Bohadin, from a comparison of the mention of the capture of the two places as given in Abulfeda, *Excerpta, p.* 41, and in the *Chron. Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 559; but as the circumstances are so discrepant, he does not seem to have approved on after thoughts of the conjecture. It is impossible, however, to find another place that answers as well. It would seem from a grant of Balian I. to the Hospitallers that Mirabel was north of Ramlah and Ibelin, (at least the other places specified in the same grant were so,) and from an exchange between Hugh of Ibelin, the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, and the abbot of SS. Joseph and Habakkuk, that it was near the latter monasteries. (See below, p. 285, note[2]; *Cartulary of the Holy Sepulchre*, ed. Rozière, pp. 132, 133.) Masjdeljaba also is mentioned by Bohadin, as Mirabel is by our author, p. 324, as not demolished after the battle of Arsûf.

Besides these there were among the less famous castles of Palestine, Faba, or la Fêve, now El-Fuleh, in the plain of Esdraelon, held by the Templars and Hospitallers jointly: Cont. W. Tyr., p. 598. Caco, or Chaccahu, now *Kakoun*, 11 miles S. E. of Cæsarea, a castle of the Templars: Cont. W. Tyr., 598; W. Tyr., 828. Calenzun, now *Kalansaweh*, 4 miles S. of Kakoun: Pauli, *Codice Diplomatico*, i. 32. Caimount, or Laqueimont, *Kaimoun*; Cont. W. Tyr., 640; Assizes, i. 420. Galatia, *Kuratiyeh* (see below, p. 384.) Rouges Cistern, in the wilderness of Adummim, now *Ed-dem*, between Jerusalem and Jericho. Le Quarantayne, in the wilderness of the Temptation. Ben. Pet., ii. 488. *Cartulary of the Sepulchre*, pp. 222, 235. Castrum Beroardi, near Azotus: Cf. Albert of Aix, 349, and Marino Sanuto, 87. In the north were, Caphar Mundel, a little N. of Nazareth; Montfort, now *Kerain*, 7 miles E. of Achzib; Cavea de Tyrum, now *Mughara*, 10 miles due E. of Sidon, Cf. W. Tyr., 962; Ansbert, p. 4.

The list of the castles of the Holy Land is given by Benedict of Peterborough, ii. 488, and Hoveden, 362, v°. Assizes of Jerusalem (ed. Beugnot) i. 419, &c.

From the year 1164, in which Paneas fell for the third time into the hands of Noureddin, the Christian power quickly waned. The brilliant victories of Amalric and Baldwin the leper, the astuteness of Reginald of Châtillon, the veteran wisdom of Henfrid the constable, the devoted valour of the military orders, staved off for a time but could not hinder the inevitable end. Europe had proved itself, by the abortive crusade of 1147, unable to furnish the zeal and strength required to sustain the fainting colony; the constant appeals for help for Jerusalem were unavailing. The great name of Saladin carried with it the sound of conquest. Still the Christian state might possibly have survived many years, by sufferance of the Sultan, had it not been forced by the fatal development of its own internal sources of decay to the sad catastrophe which was crowned by the battle of Hittin.

Feudalism[1] was verging towards decrepitude in Europe when it was transplanted with all its mechanism into

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[1] Lest I should seem to have used this expression wrongly, I should say that I understand by feudalism, the feudal system whilst it still retained life and some sort of energy, before it was reduced to a mere matter of legal rights and payments. In this sense it went through four stages before it became extinct :— 1. That in which the rights and obligations of the great feudatories were observed. 2. When the superiority of the suzerain had become merely nominal. 3. When the king had succeeded in reducing his vassals into order and obedience. 4. When the vassals with the church and commons had imposed constitutional (not feudal) obligations on the king. England never went through the first two stages, for feudalism was introduced in its third stage by William the Conqueror. France was still in the second stage when the kingdom of Palestine was founded, and continued in it until the reign of Philip Augustus. Godfrey introduced his system in the first stage, which may be considered to have lasted until the death of king Fulk. England seems to have arrived at the fourth stage, in which the principle of feudalism, that had lingered since the invention of scutage, was almost entirely eliminated, about the time of the confirmation of the charters by Edward I., a few years after the loss of Acre. In France the third stage may be considered to have been permanent; the power of the king increasing until the theory of mutual obligation on which the feudal bond depended was exchanged for servility on the one hand, and selfish isolation on the other.

Palestine; and as the old system perished in Europe, so almost contemporaneously, although from widely different causes, the new offshoots languished and died in Syria. And yet the feudalism of Godfrey was by no means, as it would have been in the hands of a constitution-monger, the same system at the same point of growth at which he had left it at home. It was the system of a century earlier, or perhaps of a still remoter period. In this respect Godfrey as a lawgiver stands in an attitude strongly contrasted with that of William the Conqueror, who had a few years before introduced into England an arrangement which the kings of France spent a century and a half in trying to imitate. Each was certainly wise and long-sighted in the course he took, considering the circumstances in which he had to act. Godfrey's first and only object was the occupation of a hostile country; William's first object was the same, but hardly second to it was his purpose of rendering impossible in England a relation of the great feudatories towards their suzerain, such as he had known in France. And the lapse of time and growth of nations justified the policy of William, and condemned that of Godfrey. Feudalism in England was a step towards the development of constitutional government: in Palestine it was a brilliant pageant, an unsuccessful experiment in colonization; it had neither adequate basis nor practical result.

The collection of usages known as the Assizes of Jerusalem[1] gives us a very perfect picture of a feudal state, but it is no description of any that actually existed. Parts of it may be certainly looked upon as embodying Godfrey's policy, but the greater portion of the laws was drawn up at least 130 years after his death. We trace his hand in the prescribing constant military service[1] (not definite or merely for a certain period of each year), in the non-recognition of representation[2] in inheritance, in the rules designed to prevent the accumulation of fiefs in a single hand,[3] in the stringent regulations for the marriages of widows and heiresses.[4] These features all belonged to an earlier age, to a time when every knight represented a knight's fee, and when no fee could be suffered to neglect its duty; when the maintenance of the conquered country was deemed more important than the inheritances of minors or the will of widows and heiresses. That these provisions were wise is amply proved by the fact that it was in these very points that the hazard of the Frank kingdom lay; to say that they were not enough to remedy the evils they were aimed at, is but to state a truism,—no legislation can counteract old age or death. Other portions of the Assizes are to be ascribed to the necessities of the state of things that followed the recovery of Palestine by the Saracens; such, for instance, as the decision how far deforcement by the Turks defeats seisin;[5] and were of importance only in the event of a reconquest. It was in the kingdom of Cyprus and the conquests of the Crusade of Villehardouin, or possibly in Palestine during the short period that followed the visit of the emperor Frederick II., that the system of the Assizes was more generally exhibited.

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[1] The edition of the Assizes which I have used and quote in this preface is that of the Count Beugnot, Paris, 1841; which contains also the "Lignages d'Outremer."

The kingdom of Jerusalem[6] can hardly be said to have ever subsisted actually in the integrity in which it is described in the Assizes; for the principality of Edessa had been lopped off before the royal demesne had been completed by the acquisition of Ascalon. In its idea, however, it contained four great fiefs;[1] the principality of Jerusalem as Godfrey had held it;[2] that of Antioch, which was claimed also by the Byzantine emperor as a fief, but was secured to the monarchy by Baldwin II.;[3] the county of Edessa, which having nominally become part of the kingdom by the accession of two of its counts successively to the throne, had afterwards been bestowed on Jocelin of Courtenay by investiture and the gift of a standard;[4] and that of Tripoli, which was from the conquest dependent on the kingdom.

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[1] Assizes, preface to vol. i. pp. xix., p. 345, 346.

[2] Assizes, i. pp. 108, 109, 276, 637.

[3] Assizes, i. p. 225.

[4] Assizes, i. 279, 264. &c.

[5] Assizes, i. 107. "En quel cas "force de Turs tolt saisine."

[6] The kingdom of Jerusalem extended from Darum on the Egyptian frontier to the little river Lycus, between Byblus and Berytus. The county of Tripoli from the Lycus to Merkeb. The Antiochene territory from Merkeb to Tarsus. The county of Edessa, east of Antioch,

The principality of Jerusalem contained four principal baronies,[5] the county of Joppa and Ascalon, the principalities of Galilee[6] and Hebron,[7] and the lordship of Sidon

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reached from the forest of Marith to Maredin in Mesopotamia. W. Tyr., 908; J. de Vitry, 1068; Wilken, ii., 596.

[1] Assizes, i. 417, 418.

[2] Godfrey did homage to the Patriarch: W. Tyr., 771.

[3] The patriarch also claimed fealty from the prince: W. Tyr., 864. The patriarch of Jerusalem invested Bohemond with Antioch, and Godfrey with Jerusalem at the same time. W. Tyr., 771.

[4] W. Tyr., 817. The same author, p. 871, speaks of Edessa as a fief of Antioch.

[5] Assizes, i. 417, 418.

[6] The principality of Galilee, having been held by Tancred, Hugh of Falkenberg, castellan of S. Omer (1101–1107), Jocelin of Courtenay (1113–1118), William de Bures the Constable (1118–1130), returned apparently to the family of Falkenberg in the time of Baldwin III. (W. Tyr., 921), and came by marriage to the Ibelin family in the 13th century; *Lignages d'Outremer*, Assizes, ii. 455. Hugh of Tiberias, mentioned p. 23, was son of Walter of Falkenberg by Eschiva, who afterwards married Raymond of Tripoli, W. Tyr., 998.

[7] The principality of Hebron or S. Abraham, given first to Gerard of Champ d'Avesnes, then successively to Rorgius of Haipha, Walter Mahomet, and Hugh of Rebecq, was a fief of no great importance until it was joined with the lordship of the country on the other side of Jordan which contained Kerak and Montreal. This lordship passed first through the hands of Romanus and Ralph du Puy (W. Tyr., 884). Having been forfeited by the latter, it was given in exchange for Naplous, to Payn the butler of the

and Cæsarea.[1] In the royal demesne were included among other places Tyre, Naplous, and Acre; and from the time of Fulk and Baldwin III. the county of Joppa and Ascalon was the appanage of the member of the royal house who was nearest to the succession: the position however of the great house of Ibelin, who were lords of Ramlah, Mirabel, and Ibelin,[2] and subsequently

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kingdom, brother to Guy de Milli, and uncle of Philip of Naplous. Philip of Naplous, who ultimately succeeded (W. Tyr., 1039), left a daughter Stephanie, who married first Henfrid II. of Toron, then Miles of Plancy, and last Reginald of Châtillon. *Lign. d'Out.*, 452; Albert. Aquens. pp. 293, 329, 342, 352, &c.

[1] The lords of Sidon and Cæsarea descended from Eustace Grenier, the Constable, d. 1123. Reginald lord of Sidon mentioned below, pp. 121 and 445, was his grandson, the son of Gerard. Cæsarea was held as a fief of Sidon by a branch of the same family. *Lignages d'Outr.*, 455. There are some verses in Martene and Durand, *Ampl. Coll.*, v. 540, which claim Hugh of Rebecq, Hugh of Falkenberg, Eustace Grenier, and "Harbel of Rames," all as natives of the diocese of Terouanne.

[2] The origin of the house of Ibelin is obscure. According to the Lignages, which were probably drawn up by a member of the family, "Balian le François fu frere " au conte Guilin de Chartres, et " vint deçà mer soi dizième de " chevaliers, et le roi Fouques " avoit fermé Ibelin, si li dona et " Mirabel." He married Helvis the heiress of Ramlah, and had three sons, Baldwin of Rames or Ramlah, Hugh of Ibelin, and Balian II. Of these, Hugh married Agnes of Edessa, and Balian, Mary of Byzantium, the wives of King Amalric. The difficulty is about Balian I. William count of Chartres was the eldest and disinherited son of Stephen of Blois and Adela daughter of William the Conqueror. But Adela certainly had no son named Balian; possibly he may have been an illegitimate son of Stephen. He makes his appearance in the Holy Land as constable of Joppa, having been appointed by Hugh de Puiset count of Joppa, and *viscount of Chartres*. Strangely, the connexion between the family of Puiset and the counts of Blois is in the same obscurity; for Hugh de Puiset, bishop of Durham, was nephew to King Stephen, and his mother must have stood to Stephen of Blois in the same relation that Balian did if the *Lignage* is correct. The family of Puiset were early in the Holy Land; two of them were successively counts of Joppa, and one Stephen, who had himself been viscount of Chartres, became patriarch of Jerusalem (W. Tyr., 848). The town of Ramlah was given by Baldwin I. to Baldwin of Ramlah the father of Helvis Balian's wife. *Cf. Lignages d'Outremer*, p. 448, &c. *Gesta Dei, &c.*, i. pp. 685, 699, 714, 860, &c.

engrossed nearly all the fiefs of Jerusalem and Cyprus, intrenched very materially on the power of the counts of Joppa. To the prince of Galilee belonged Tiberias and the north-east; the lord of Sidon had the coast from Sidon to Arsûf, with the strongholds of Belfort and Bethshan; the prince of Hebron or S. Abraham held the south, with the exception of the territory of Ascalon, on both sides of Jordan, including the impregnable fortresses of Montreal and Kerak. These four baronies contained in their turn inferior fiefs, of which the most important were, in the county of Joppa, those of the house of Ibelin; in the lordship of Sidon, those of Cæsarea, Arsûf, and Haipha;[1] in Galilee, those of the house of Toron, Toron, Paneas, and Castel-neuf. In all these lordships there were high courts of justice, and in thirty-seven towns of the Holy Land were as many courts of bourgeoisie, presided over by viscounts,[2] who were often hereditary fief-holders and related by blood to the greater barons.[3] Side by side with this elaborate system, and partially incorporated with it, was the administration of the fortresses entrusted to the military orders and of the ports belonging to the Italian republics: there were also different tribunals for the Syrian Christians.[4]

This organization, which might in favourable circumstances have been a sufficient defence to the throne of Jerusalem, and at least would have formed the nucleus of a strong occupying force, the body of which would have been furnished by the successions of warlike pilgrims, was, on the contrary, a fatal source of decay. The feudal principle was not strong enough to hold it together. The families of Antioch, Edessa, and Tripoli were younger branches of great European houses, who having found a splendid provision in the East, were inclined, like the great feudatories in France, to look forward to an independence for themselves, instead of taking their places as constituent parts of a noble but most hazardously situated colony: they held themselves competent to wage war on their own behalf, and to treat for peace and alliance with sovereign princes, even such as were at war with their suzerain. In the same way the great barons of the principality, as in France, were eager to increase their domains, and aspired to the position of the great feudatories with whom they were closely connected by marriage. Jerusalem was to all of them only a secondary consideration; the zeal that set Europe from time to time in a blaze found no answer in the land for which so much was being sacrificed. The fresh hordes of Crusaders who disembarked full of energy and ambitious of victory, were drawn off by their settled countrymen for their own separate purposes; and the force that should have secured Egypt and Damascus was wasted on unconnected enterprises.

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[1] Payn of Haipha mentioned below, pp. 121, 199, seems to have been an inveterate enemy of Guy of Lusignan.

[2] Assizes, i. 419.

[3] Thus at least were the viscounts of Naplous. Pauli, *Codice Dipl.*, i. 61, 64.

[4] Called "Corts de la Fonde." Assizes, ii. 171.

The process of decay and dissolution was hastened by local and incidental circumstances. The original settlers did not live long in their new possessions, and their children born in the land were a degenerate race. There were eleven kings[1] of Jerusalem in the twelfth century: under the first four, who were all of European birth, the state was acquired and strengthened; under the second four, who were born in Palestine, the effects of the climate and the infection of Oriental habits were sadly apparent; of these four three were minors at the time of their accession, and one was a leper. The noble houses which were not recruited, as the royal family was, with fresh members from Europe, fell more early into weakness and corruption. The general character of the native Franks united the faults of their European ancestry with those of the nations among whom they lived. Personally brave, for the heritage of Godfrey and Bohemond was not to be forfeited in a single generation, they were at once ferocious and effeminate, violent and faithless, luxurious and avaricious; far more likely therefore by their example to betray the new pilgrims into dishonour and degradation, than to lead them to victory, or to direct their fresh energies into channels, in which their own experience should have taught them, that the course of Western empire, if it were ever to be a reality, must be made to run.

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[1] Godfrey, 1099–1100; Baldwin I., 1100–1118; Baldwin II., 1118–1131; Fulk, 1131–1142 (W. Tyr., 888; 1143, Wilken, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge.*, ii. 717; 1144, Beugnot, Assizes, i. 428); Baldwin III., 1143–1162; Amalric, 1162–1173; Baldwin IV., 1173–1185; Baldwin V., 1185–1186; Guy, 1186–1192; Conrad, 1192; Henry, 1192–1197. In the same period there were four kings of England, four kings of France, six Emperors, and sixteen Popes. The life of Fulk of Anjou curiously joins the pedigrees of the kings of England and Jerusalem. The princess Isabel, or Elizabeth, whose four marriages are the key to the history of the later Crusades, stood in exactly the same relation to Fulk as our king Henry II. did.

The moral degradation of the Franks need not have entailed destruction from enemies not less degraded; and their inferiority in numbers would have been more than compensated by the successions of pilgrims, which, although they came but for a time and special purpose, were constant; and every one of which might have signalized its visit by some great exploit of conquest, if there had been a strong policy or any fixed principles of administration to guide it. But the shortness and precariousness of life was an evil without remedy, and in its effects irreparable. Of these the most noticeable was perhaps one which would have arisen under any system, the difficulty of carrying on a fixed policy whilst the adminstrators were perpetually changing; but scarcely second to this, was the influence in successions which was thrown into the hands of women.

The European women were less exposed than the men to the injurious climate, or to the fatigues of military service; and many of them having been born in Palestine were in a measure acclimatized. The feudal rights and burdens of heiress-ship, marriage, and dower were strictly observed; consequently most of the heiresses lived to have two or three husbands and two or three families. To prove this in detail would involve the recapitulation of all the Lignages d'Outremer. The principality of Antioch was in wardship from 1111 to 1126, and from 1130 to 1136. From 1136 to 1163, or later, it was held by Constance and her two successive husbands. During the regency of Roger of Apulia the chance of gaining Aleppo was lost; and the folly or vice of Raymond of Poictiers was the ruin of the second Crusade. In the kingdom itself, out of eleven descents in the century, only two were from father to son, and both of these were under questionable circumstances. The principality of Galilee having come by marriage to William de Bures was carried by Eschiva to two or three successive husbands. That of Hebron in the same way passed to the three husbands of Stephanie. The lordship of Sidon alone descended directly in the male line.[1] The fiefs were all heritable by females; the widows of the lords had half their husbands' lands in dower, and the other half in bailliage or guardianship for their children.[2] The result of all this was that the great estates were for the greater part of the century vested either in women or in minors ; and the administration of them, and the political influence attached to their possession, fell into the hands of men who had at the best but a terminable or short life-interest in them, and were either adventurers, or, if possessed of a stake in the country, likely to sacrifice their terminable estates to their nearer interests. Palestine was, moreover, thus overrun with a race of nobles closely connected by the halfblood, and with all the family likenesses and jealousies that such a connexion engenders.[1]

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[1] For similar examples in the sequel of the Crusade of Villehardouin, the conquest of Romania, &c., refer to the *History of Mediæval Greece and Trebizond*, by Mr. Finlay, and the genealogical details in his appendix.

[2] Assizes, i. 261–267, 280, 281, &c. If the ward was a sovereign prince or suzerain, the guardians of his person and lands were chosen by the court of his vassals, p. 261. Only a father or mother could have "bailliage enterin" that is of both person and fief; in other cases the nearest relation to whom the fief might descend had charge of the fief, and the nearest relation to whom it could not descend had charge of the person of the ward.

Still among the adventurers and fortune-hunters of the Crusades there were some who sustained by their prowess the fabric that had in itself no trustworthy principle of cohesion. Such were Henfrid of Toron,[2] the chivalrous constable of Jerusalem, from whose hand Saladin received the girdle of knighthood, and

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These usages were exemplified in the case of Baldwin IV. and V. Later on it was ruled that the queen-mother was the lawful guardian of a king in his minority. Assizes, ii. 397.

[1] One famous *Matron* of the Crusades was Madame Estefenie la Flamengue, who by her first husband, Gui de Milli, was ancestor of the princes of Kerak, and by her second, Baldwin of Ramlah, of the lords of Ibelin. Her daughter Helvis was twice married, 1, to Balian of Ibelin, and 2, to Manassier the Constable. Her granddaughter Stephanie of Hebron was three times married. Constance, princess of Antioch, gave that principality to her two husbands, Raymond of Poictiers, and Reginald of Châtillon. Queen Sibylla was three times promised or given in marriage, and her half-sister four times. Agnes of Edessa, mother of Baldwin IV., was three times married.

[2] There were four Henfrids of Toron: the second, called Henfrid I. (see below, p. 9) was constable from 1147 to 1179; his son Henfrid II. was the first husband of Stefanie of Kerak, and died before his father; Henfrid III. was the first husband of the princess Isabel or Elizabeth, who divorced him to marry Conrad of Montferrat (below, pp. 120, &c.); Henfrid III., although slightingly spoken of by our author, was a brave man, and very useful in the negotiations between Richard and Saladin. Bohadin (p. 193) describes him as a fine young man, with shaven cheeks. He had been married to Isabel in 1183, when she was twelve years old, the age for the marriage of heiresses in Palestine ; and they had lived together until 1191.

who was the prop of the kingdom for six and thirty years; and Reginald of Châtillon, the fox of Antioch, who having been for many years a great support of the state by strength and craft, precipitated by one act of perfidy the ruin in which he himself so signally perished. The history of Reginald illustrates what has been said above of the tendency of circumstances to throw supreme power into the hands of irresponsible men.

Reginald, although the son of a great French noble, Henry, lord of Châtillon-sur-Marne in Champagne,[1] came to the Holy Land in 1147, according to William of Tyre, as "stipendiarius" or "gregarius miles," probably being too poor to maintain a following of his own. In 1154 he was chosen by the young widow Constance of Antioch for her second husband, and in her right exercised supreme power in Antioch for many years, retaining until his death the title, and probably some of the privileges of prince. The vigour and unscrupulousness with which he exercised his authority drew on him the peculiar enmity of his Saracen neighbours, whilst among the Christian nobles he was viewed as an adventurer. Having been taken captive by Megedin the governor of Aleppo, in 1160, he was kept in prison for sixteen years, either by the vindictiveness of his enemies, or, as is more probable, by the lukewarmness of his friends. In 1175 he was released on payment of an immense ransom, and to mend his fortunes married

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[1] The authors of the *Histoire Littéraire de la France,* xxi. 681, quote a MS. of the Chronique d'Outremer in which Reginald is described as brother of the lord of Gien on the Loire, which would seem to them more probable than that a member of the great house of Châtillon should be spoken of by William of Tyre as a common soldier. But either the authors of the *Histoire* or the writer of the MS. must have confused Reginald of Châtillon with Reginald of Montmirail, who was one of the heroes of the Crusade of 1200, and brother to Hervey of Donzi, lord of Gien. Cf. Duchesne, *Histoire de la Maison de Chastillon,* p. 70.

Stephanie, princess of Hebron, daughter of Philip of Naplous, and widow first of Henfrid II. of Toron, and secondly of Miles of Plancy, the late seneschal of the kingdom. This marriage placed him in a position even more important, as regards Palestine, than he had while prince of Antioch; for Stephanie's own inheritance was the principality of Hebron, and the south country on both sides of Jordan, whilst as guardian to her son by her first husband, Henfrid III., she placed him, after the death of the constable, in possession of the fiefs of the family of Toron in the region of Galilee. One of her children was married to the Christian prince of Armenia, Rupin of the Mountain, and the other to the princess Isabel of Jerusalem. She was cousin to the lords of Ibelin, two of whom had married the two wives of king Amalric. In 1177, as lieutenant of the kingdom under Baldwin the leper, Reginald won the famous battle of Ramlah over Saladin; in 1181 he ravaged Arabia; in 1183 he compelled the invincible Sultan to raise the siege of Kerak. Notwithstanding his great marriage and important position he was loaded with debt,[1] perhaps contracted for the payment of his ransom; and this is said to have been the cause of his attacking, in 1187, the Egyptian caravan during the truce,[2] which was the ruin of the Holy Land, and drew down upon him the special vengeance of Saladin. The history of his cruel murder after the battle of Hittin is told by our author as well as by the Arabic writers. It is a blot on the fame of Saladin. The conqueror's hatred of perjury may have been an excuse in the eyes of his admirers for such an unworthy deed, but we cannot doubt that his indignation was further inflamed by the recollection of the defeat of Ramlah, and his own precipitous flight into Egypt.

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[1] *Expeditio Asiatica Imp.Frid.*:— Canisius, vol. iii. pt. ii. p. 500.

[2] A truce had been concluded with Saladin, by Raymond of Tripoli as regent, in 1184, for three years; and at Easter 1187 was renewed for three years more by king Guy.

If the kingdom of Jerusalem had fallen by inheritance, marriage, or election, to a man gifted with the energy and vitality of Reginald of Châtillon, the evil day might perhaps have been averted. The three minorities of Baldwin III., Baldwin IV., and Baldwin V., hastened the end.

It would have been very difficult under the most favourable circumstances to devise a law of succession for such a colony as Palestine, which required from its very nature to have at its head a man of mature years and statesmanship with a sound title and definite authority. It fared ill under a line of sovereigns hardly one of whom came without opposition to the throne, whose powers were limited by closest feudal usage, and whose position was rivalled in wealth and influence by that of their own vassals. Possibly a strong government might have been secured by making the throne of Jerusalem dependent on some well founded European power, such as the empire was under Frederick Barbarossa. But such a thought seems never to have entered the heads of the Crusaders; the succession was left very much to chance, or to be the prey of the first comer. Had a proper election been made on Godfrey's death, Tancred would perhaps have been found his fittest successor; but whilst the princes were delaying decided measures, Baldwin of Edessa succeeded as his brother's heir. No better successor to Baldwin could be found than his cousin Baldwin de Bourg, who had grown old in the wars of the Holy Land; nor could any objection be made to the devolution of the throne to Fulk of Anjou, his son-in-law. By these expedients (for no principle of succession was established) a series of four princes of ripe years and martial experience was obtained, and as long as they lived prosperity lasted. The attempt to reconcile election with a certain regard for hereditary succession had been hitherto beneficial. From the death of Fulk began a series of disputes touching the rights of guardianship and succession. The first of these was between Milesende and her son Baldwin the Third. He was a minor at the time of his father's death, but was recognized as his successor by the nobles. Milesende, however, as the heiress of the kingdom, had a right to the honours of queen regnant. Accordingly, mother and son were crowned together, and during Baldwin's minority it made no difference whether the queen exercised supreme authority as guardian of the king or as herself the sovereign. As soon as he came of age a quarrel broke out, the nobles ranged themselves on different sides, and the schism was only closed by a division of the demesne of the crown: the evil example, however, was set, and followed at the beginning of each succeeding reign. Amalric, whose manners were offensive to some of the great nobles, did not gain recognition as his brother's heir without some trouble, but no competitor for the crown seems to have been proposed. His unfortunate marriages produced another crisis. By his first wife, Agnes of Edessa, he had Baldwin IV. and Sibylla; having divorced her on grounds of consanguinity, he married Mary of Constantinople. On his death, Baldwin was hailed as his successor, "consonante omnium "desiderio." But Baldwin was a minor; if he was not illegitimate, still his mother was not under the circumstances a fit guardian for him. Miles of Plancy, the seneschal of the kingdom, to whom Baldwin seems to have been entrusted by his father, was a French adventurer, and disliked by the nobles. The regency was therefore claimed by Raymond of Tripoli. This was granted by the nobles, but it was another case of compromise. The law of the kingdom was that if the sovereign was a minor his guardian should be appointed by his vassals; their choice was quite free. But the usage amongst the vassals themselves was that the wardship of the person of the minor should belong to the nearest relation incapable of inheriting, whilst the guardianship of the fief should belong to the next heir; in case, however, of one of the parents being alive, he or she had a right to the "bailliage enterin"—of both person and fief. Raymond, in claiming the wardship, set aside altogether the rights of the mother, and alleged himself as the nearest relation on both sides, a connexion which would by itself cancel his legal claims. He was, however, chosen by the vassals, and filled the place not only during the minority but during several occasions of Baldwin's illness. This unhappy prince could not escape the conviction that his death would be a signal for the disruption of the kingdom. If Raymond were suffered to engross the supreme power during his life, the rights of his sisters Sibylla and Isabel would be defeated. He therefore married Sibylla to William Longaspata, marquis of Montferrat, and entrusted his brother-in-law with the administration of the kingdom. William unhappily died very soon after his marriage, and a successor was sought for Sibylla's hand. After an ineffectual negotiation with the duke of Burgundy, she married Guy of Lusignan, who very soon encountered such determined hatred from the native nobles that Baldwin deposed him from the regency,[1] and is said to have contemplated a divorce. Before this was effected he died, and Baldwin V., the son of Sibylla and the marquis, succeeded by his will. Again Raymond of Tripoli claimed the regency, this time by nomination of Baldwin IV.; and Jocelin of Edessa was admitted as guardian of the person of the king. The death of Baldwin V. put an end to the legal power of Raymond, but he seems to have hoped to be chosen king. But the old compromise was adhered to; Raymond had made bitter enemies; Sibylla was chosen to succeed her son, and immediately bestowed the crown on her husband. The result of her choice was the loss of the Holy Land. The two children of Sibylla and Guy died with their mother at the siege of Acre, and the heiress-ship devolved on Isabel or Elizabeth, daughter of king Amalric by his second wife, Mary of Byzantium, who had been married to Henfrid III. of Toron and Hebron, and was divorced from him by the intrigues of Conrad of Montferrat, to whom she gave her hand. It is needless to follow further the details of the pedigree. Isabel was four times married, and thrice conferred the title of king on her husbands. The last of them was Amalric of Lusignan, king of Cyprus, brother of Guy, in whose line the titular crown of Jerusalem subsisted until it came to the dukes of Savoy.[1]

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[1] Raymond was especially hated by the Patriarch Heraclius, Jocelin of Edessa, the king's uncle, and Gerard of Bideford, the Grand Master of the Temple. It was probably at this juncture that Heraclius and the Grand Master of the Hospital were sent to offer the sovereignty of Palestine to Henry II.

The line of succession here exhibited was doubtless a mere series of expedients meant to remedy the defects of hereditary succession by a sort of election. Intended to secure the benefits of both methods, it incurred the dangers incidental to both, the weakness of hereditary right, and the jealousies of the elective system. The crown was inheritable by females, but the husband of the queen had to be elected by the states; a minor might succeed, but the regency must be provided for by a special act. When Sibylla bestowed the crown on her husband, she acted as a true wife, and her choice under ordinary circumstances might have been a wise one. But she must have known the prejudice against him which existed in the country, and ought either to have renounced the succession or to have accepted the responsibility of making a fresh choice. The nobles of Palestine would not submit to a French adventurer; the coronation of Guy practically sealed the fate of the colony. The choice immediately alienated the count of Tripoli, who, besides his own great fief, held, in consequence of his marriage with Eschiva, the widow of Walter of Tiberias, supreme influence in the principality of Galilee. The great house of Ibelin was also offended. Baldwin of Rames refused to do homage to Guy, and renounced his estates in preference. Balian of Ibelin his brother, who had married Amalric's queen Mary, and was with her guardian of the legitimate heiress Isabel, took a prospective view of the power he would have if she were on the throne. Reginald of Sidon was closely connected with the same family, having married after the death of Sibylla's mother, Agnes of Edessa, Helvis daughter of Balian of Ibelin by queen Mary. Henfrid of Hebron, however, probably acting under the influence of his stepfather, sacrificed his own interest as Isabel's husband to the feeling of loyalty. Guy and Sibylla were thus little more than titular sovereigns, the great fiefs and baronies were, with one exception, opposed to them by interest and ambition; the best part of their own county of Joppa and Ascalon was in the hands of the house of Ibelin; and the royal demesne was impaired by the settlement of Naplous as the dowry of queen Mary, and thus made available for the aggrandizement of the same family. The land which had been won by the labour and blood of all Europe was become the property of a close corporation of native born Franks, who would be contented rather to serve Saladin than to be shorn of their power by European supremacy. Within a year of the coronation of Guy, the battles of Nazareth and Hittin were lost, the former because Balian of Ibelin stayed on his way to hear mass,[1] the latter by reason of the treachery or irresolution of count Raymond. Guy, with the True Cross, fell into Saladin's hands. During his captivity Balian and Reginald of Sidon surrendered Jerusalem. All the strongholds had fallen before the capture of the city, or were taken shortly after, except Ascalon, which was given up by Sibylla for her husband's ransom, Tyre, which was relieved by Conrad of Montferrat, and two or three mountain fortresses which were compelled to surrender in 1189, shortly before the opening of the siege of Acre.

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[1] Isabel had no children by Henfrid. By Conrad of Montferrat she had Mary, wife of John of Brienne, king of Jerusalem, by whom she had Yolande, wife of Frederick II., through whom the crown descended to Conrad and Conradin. By Henry of Champagne, Isabel had three daughters, of whom Mary died young; Alice married Hugh I. of Lusignan, king of Cyprus; and Philippina married Erard of Brienne. From the second of these the title descended to the kings of Cyprus, and through them to the dukes of Savoy, now represented by the emperor of the French. By her fourth husband, Amalric of Cyprus, she had two daughters, Sibylla, wife of Leo king of Armenia, and Milesende, wife of Bohemond IV. of Antioch. Mary, the daughter of Milesende and Bohemond, sold her rights to the kingdom of Jerusalem to Charles of Anjou, king of Sicily. The title descended with the kingdom of Sicily to the Angevin kings, and also to those of the house of Arragon. In right of the latter the title is borne by the king of Naples, the queen of Spain, and the emperor of Austria, the last of whom has also the rights of the house of Lorraine to the inheritance of the Angevin kings.

The only sound element in the country was the organization of the military orders.[2] These procured a constant succession of fresh and healthy blood from

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[1] Cont. W. Tyr., p. 599. "Quant "il ot erre deux milles, il vint a une "cité qui a nom le Sabat. Il se "pensa qu'il estoit beau jor, et "qu'il n'iroit avant jusque qu'il "auroit oi messe. . . . . Et saches "que si Beleen ne fust torne au "Sabat, per oir messe, il fut bien "venu a point a la bataille."

[2] Yet the catastrophe of the kingdom was due partially to the quarrel between Raymond of Tripoli and Gerard of Bideford, the Grand Master of the Temple. This arose from the fact that Raymond had refused Gerard, before he took his vows, the hand of the heiress of Botron, in the county of Tripoli. Hence the Templars had a hand in the elevation of Guy of Lusignan to the throne. Is it possible that the hostility of Raymond to Gerard and the Templars should throw any light on the authorship of this book? The most ancient MS. contains the account of the treachery of Raymond at Hittin, and of the martyrdom of Gerard at Acre. Of these, the former is altogether omitted and the latter abridged in the later MSS. The language of the Cotton MS. is just what we might expect if Richard the canon and Richard the prior were identical.

Europe, they were not liable to the evils of minorities, their selfish interests were bound up with the strength of the kingdom. If one Grand Master fell, another of equal experience and dignity took his place; if estates accumulated in their hands, they were not applied to the strengthening of faction against faction, or family against family, but for the aggrandizement of the body in sustaining the welfare of the Holy City and Palestine. It was probably for this reason, their character as corporations, undying and free from the evils of old age and infancy, and perhaps from a trust, not misplaced, in the virtue and honour of the knights, that Henry II. chose them as the depositories of his treasure devoted to the purpose of a crusade. It was certainly for the same reason, and not for any real pretext of faithlessness, that they fell under the especial vengeance of Saladin. It may be safely said that if Palestine could have been recovered and maintained by the Western powers it would have been by the knights of the Temple and the Hospital.[1] If their system had been adopted Palestine might have been still in Christian hands; or at least have continued so as long as Cyprus. Even the Venetian system, by which the Levantine states were afterwards governed, might have insured a longer measure of life; for it was secured by the constant infusion of fresh blood, and by the avoidance of the evils of which the history of Palestine was sufficient warning; nor did it fall until Venice was too decrepit to support it.

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[1] I do not of course forget the charges of ambition and faithlessness generally received against the military orders, on the faith of the Chronique D'Outremer. It is of the machinery of their government that I speak; such charges are always made against bodies of men who will not serve the private interests of the accusers. Precisely the same charges are brought against the Patriarchs, the Legates, the Syrian Christians, the European Crusaders, in fact everybody except the native Frank nobles, who, if facts are to speak, were far the most guilty in the loss of Palestine.

I have already pointed out some of the reasons why the second Crusade and the constant successions of minor expeditions failed to secure their object. The pilgrims were drawn in to ally themselves with the divided interests, and to subserve the petty purposes of the Frank settlers. The agency that was so well employed by Baldwin I. in capturing the fortresses of the coast, was diverted and wasted when the native families had established their separate interests. The strife between the parties of Guy and Conrad before Acre was the climax of what had been going on ever since the death of king Fulk. But there was a further reason, which perhaps is still more fully exemplified in the history of the Crusade of Richard. The heterogeneous composition of the crusading armies ; their want of common or uniform organization, and the presence with them of immense crowds of warlike pilgrims ready to serve any master for wages, and dependent on very precarious means for subsistence at all. Ill provided and unattached, they were a constant incumbrance, a constant source of famine and disease.

So long as the princes were followed by their knights, and they by their own retainers, discipline and united action could be insured; but even then the allied forces required the guidance either of a general council of command, or better still, of one commander. The former plan was adopted at the siege of Acre with some degree of success, and the latter during the subsequent campaigns under Richard, but only in a measure ; the army was still encumbered with an immense mass of followers, who were generally their own masters. In illustration of this defect, I may refer to the very curious tract printed in the appendix to this preface. The event it describes was an episode in the second Crusade, the siege and capture of Lisbon in 1147, but the same proceedings were repeated with similar results by several of the other crusading fleets, and especially on the occasion of the capture of Silvia by the English and Flemish warriors on their way to Acre.

A kingdom thus divided against itself, under a powerless stranger, filled with feudal nobles who feared and hated the Christians of Europe more than the Moslems themselves, might have fallen long before the battle of Hittin. It may be said indeed to owe not only its continued existence but even its origin to the divisions between the Saracens of Egypt and the Turks in Mesopotamia and Syria. So long as they were kept asunder, the kingdom maintained itself. But no sooner had Noureddin founded a strong power in Syria than the decay began. Wars might be alternately waged against Egypt and Damascus, but the pressure of war was continual. When Egypt and Damascus were united by Saladin the end was imminent;[1] there was no seeking peace at Damascus to gain time for a war in Egypt, nor aid in Egypt against an upstart sultan at Damascus. Saladin had abolished the Fatimite Caliphate, which had rendered this state of things feasible. The enemy was one, on all sides, watchful, unwearied; without a succession of help from Europe, however often defeated, he must be at last victorious. The Frank nobles saw themselves perishing for a cause with which they had little sympathy; under Saladin they might still be powerful, as refugees in Europe they could be reduced to the insignificance from which they sprung. Hence to all the evils of the perishing kingdom the native Franks added the want of faith in their own cause, and consequently either actual treachery towards their allies, or a lukewarmness in support of them that was not less fatal.

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[1] Although it is almost impossible to identify all the names of the allies of Saladin as given in the earliest MS. of this work, pp. 12 and 13 below; we may make out sufficient to show that by report at least he had united in his service all the tribes of his empire. Noureddin the emir of Amiza was Noureddin the son of Kara Arslan; his presence in the army is mentioned by Bohadin, pp. 51, 58, 104: he was accompanied by the emirs of Mesopotamia,—Roob, Rakka, Nisibis, Myafarekin, Edessa, Samosata, Birch, and Turbessel. Among the Syrian allies we recognize the Emirs of Gibel, Kerak, Antilibanus, Bozrah or Buseireh, Aleppo, and Damascus; among the Egyptian those of Damietta, Cairo, and Alexandria. From Asia Minor the sultan of Iconium, the lord of Khelat (Acalatinus), Bohadin 61, and Shemseddin of the Mountains. The caliph of Bagdad, and sultan of Iconium are not likely to have been present in person; the latter, however, was closely connected by marriage with Saladin (below p. 51); and the former, under the name of "Muleina," seems to be referred to below, p. 230, as under the orders of Saladin. The "dux Serbeth de "Harengo," if it is meant for Serchak the governor of Harem, Abulf. p. 25, who was deposed in 1183 (Abulf. 34), is an anachronism; and some of the other names were only picked up by hearsay. There are some that can be identified with Saladin's personal attendants and councillors, Bellegeminus, Mestoch, Baffadinus (either Bohadin or

The crusade of Richard was then an experiment tried with the very best intentions to restore and maintain the existence of a state that possessed but one element of life, and that not a part of its own organization, and overborne by the general process of decay. An indefensible territory, for all the approaches to Palestine were in the hands of Saladin; the native population either annihilated, or, where it existed, in active hostility; a royal succession dependent on the caprices of a girl; the hereditary nobility degenerate and divided, more attached to their own interests than to their nationality or their character as Christians, and preferring subjection to a pagan suzerain, to the constant uncertainty and harass of a defensive organization; a vast and unmanage-

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Saphadin) of Arka; Aias de Stoi (Ijaz-et-tawil), the emir Carracoensis (Karakoush); dux Dorderinus Hedredinus is Bedreddin Duldurn (below, p. 434). The forms *Sanscous* and *Sanguinus* seem both to represent *Zenghi*. The emir Cassachius is probably the person called by Bohadin, Hassan the son of Kipjak; or the emir of the "*Caffechaks*" (*Chron. Terræ Sanctæ*, p. 548). Jebedinus is Saladin's uncle Shebeddin Mahmoud (Abulfeda, *Exc.* p. 9). Megedinus, Muhjoddin (Bohadin, 57); Jerafaradinus, Sjerphoddin (Bohadin, 50).

able host of allies, carrying with them to Palestine all their jealousies, and accumulating fresh causes of strife at every step of their journey; the impossibility of uniting in even one effort a sufficient force of different nations; the division of the Christian camp into two irreconcileable parties; the unhealthiness of the country; the difficulty of communications; the scarcity of provisions; the unwearied aggressions of a most able adversary; the certainty that treachery was lurking on every side; and the distraction of conflicting claims on his time and thoughts, were causes surely enough to account for any failure on Richard's part to carry out his hopes of conquest. Yet his expedition, such as it was, and coming at the moment it did, was the means of prolonging the existence of the kingdom for another century, and, in its consequences, of maintaining the social and mercantile communication between Europe and the Levant throughout the middle ages. Venice and Genoa, with all that resulted from their colonial system in the eastern Mediterranean, owed their opportunity and some part of their prestige to the conquest of Cyprus, and the other exploits of the pilgrims of the third Crusade.

Although the increasing helplessness of Baldwin IV., and the imminent prospect of a disputed succession or an unpopular regency scarcely aroused the Franks of Palestine to a sense of the danger of their divided condition, the rapid advance of Saladin in power and resources warned them unmistakeably that, unless they were helped from the West, their continued existence as a nation would soon depend on the sufferance of the Saracens. From none of the princes of Europe had they greater right to expect aid than from Henry of England. Personally, he was the nearest kinsman of the royal house, and in right of his wife he was head of the family to which the prince of Antioch belonged.[1] He had been for many years under a vow of pilgrimage. Very early in his disputes with archbishop Thomas he had declared himself anxious to take the cross. In 1166 he had tried to raise money by placing in all the English churches an alms-box to receive contributions for Jerusalem.[2] When in 1168 he had declared himself ready to go down into Egypt to the aid of his uncle Amalric,[3] the fulfilment of his expressed intention had been so long delayed that Louis VII. refused to believe that he would ever fulfil it. In 1169 the archbishop Frederick of Tyre had found in him the only prince of Europe who held out even a promise. He would, he said, if the pressure of his difficulties with Becket were removed, start for Jerusalem the next Easter; calling his uncle the king of Jerusalem to witness that he had forgiven his enemy.[4] He was absolved from the guilt of his share in Becket's death, in consideration of a vow to go for three years on a crusade, and to perform his pilgrimage the very next summer; he was also to maintain two hundred knights for a whole year for the defence of Palestine.[5] When his vow fell due, it was not re-

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[1] Raymond of Poictiers, father of Bohemond III., the reigning prince, was brother to Eleanor's father. She also claimed to be head of the family of Toulouse, to which the count of Tripoli belonged, her grandmother Philippa being daughter and heiress of count William IV.

[2] R. de Diceto, 547.

[3] John of Salisbury, ep. 244, c. 286, ed. Migne.

[4] Joh. Salisb. ep. 293.

[5] Hoveden, 303; Gir. Camb. *de Instr. Prin.*, 26, 27. It is just possible that to this vow was remotely due the establishment of an order of knights of S. Thomas of Acre, which was in existence early in the next century, and which, if the Chronicle of the Teutonic Order is to be believed, possessed in 1291 no less than 5,000 soldiers, *Chron. Ord. Teut.* in Matthæus, *Vet. Ævi Analecta*, x. 182 (ed. 1710); Hermann Corner, ap. Eccard, i. 942.

The origin of the order is also attributed to William, the chaplain of Ralph de Diceto, see p. xxxvii. above. Matthew Paris (p. 427) asserts that the knights were originally seculars, but that the order was renounced, but delayed; and the delay was purchased by a promise to found three abbeys, which he fulfilled in

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modelled and affiliated to the Templars, by Peter des Roches, bishop of Winchester, during his visit to Palestine from 1227 to 1232. Newcourt (Repertorium, i. 553) quotes from the *Theatre of Honour*, Lit. 9, c. 11. "The order of Saint Thomas "was instituted by the king of "England, Richard surnamed Cœur "de Lyon, after the surprizal of "Acres, and being of the English "nation, they held the rule of S. "Augustine, wore a white habit, "and a full red cross charged in the "middle with a white scallop." The house of S. Thomas of Acre in London was founded in connexion with this order by Thomas Fitz Theobald of Helles, and Agnes his wife, sister of Thomas Becket, which points to an earlier origin than the siege of Acre. Cf. Newcourt, l.c., and *Monast. Angl.*, vi. 646, &c. The Patent Rolls of the ninth year of John contain a protection of the messengers of the House of S. Thomas at Acre, being canons, who had come to England seeking alms for the redemption of captives. Rot. Pat. i. 76 (ed. Hardy), Oct. 13, 1207. It is to be observed that Henry's 200 knights were to be regulated by the customs of the Templars. The order of S. Thomas survived the capture of Acre, and even the ruin of the Templars. The master of the hospital of S. Thomas of Acre in London is called, in 1279, "frater mili- "tiæ," (Reg. Peckham, fo. 158 b). Besides this hospital, the order had possessions in Wapping, Coulsdon, Stepney, Westbury, Hertford, and the hospital of S. James, at Doncaster. It had a preceptory in Ireland, founded by benefactions of Fulk de Villars, in 1219, and Gilbert, earl Marshal. I have not been able to recover the names of any of the masters of the order before the capture of Acre, unless William de Huntyngfeud, who was master of the house in London in 1267, was one. In 1279, the master was in England, and the brethren begging for their church. After the capture of Acre, the seat of the master was at Nicosia, in Cyprus, where he possessed a church, "S. Nicolai Anglicorum." In 1323 Henry de Bedeford, knight and master of the order, was in England, having made over the hospital in Nicosia to brother John de Parys: the brethren at Nicosia refused to recognize Henry de Bedeforde as master, and William de Glastonbury, the preceptor, was at the head of the order there. In 1344 Robert de Kendale was the master, with the title "Totius "ordinis militiæ S. Thomæ Martyris "in regno Cypri, Apuliæ, Siciliæ, "Calabriæ, Brundusii, Angliæ, Flan- "driæ, Brabantiæ, Scotiæ, Walliæ, "Hiberniæ, et Cornubiæ, &c., &c., "generalis præceptor." In 1357 Hugh Curteys was preceptor in Cyprus. In 1379, and after that date, the mastership of the order seems to have been held by the master of the hospital of S. Thomas in London; which gradually fell into the status of an ordinary Augustinian hospital. See the Register of the house, MS. Cotton. Tiberius C.V. Report of Deputy Keeper of Records, vii. 272, 293, &c. Taxation of P. Nicolas, 47, 52, &c., &c.

a characteristic way,[1] by displacing (in 1177) the canons of Waltham and the nuns of Amesbury, to make way for establishments of the stricter orders of Austin canons and nuns of Fontevraud. In the same year he had agreed with Louis VII. to take the cross; in 1181 he had made the same arrangement with Philip. He had given a further proof of sincerity in the annual payments of money, which had accumulated in the coffers of the Templars and Hospitallers, in 1187, to 30,000 marks. Something also might reasonably be expected from the English and Norman chivalry, who had never since the first Crusade drawn a sword in the cause of the Sepulchre. The conquest of Lisbon, the sole fruits of the Crusade of 1147, was indeed accomplished, for the most part, by English valour, but it was the work of the burgher and poorer pilgrims, not of the feudal nobles.

Accordingly the patriarch Heraclius, in 1185, betook himself especially to Henry, demanding of him more than pecuniary assistance, either the fulfilment of his vow, or the mission of one of the young princes to take the government of the Holy Land.[2] He went so far as even to recognize him as the heir and lord of Palestine.[3] But this bribe had no charms for Henry:

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[1] Gir. Camb. *de Instr. Prin.*, 27.

[2] Peter of Blois declares that he was present, "ubi regnum Palæstinæ, regnum etiam Italiæ, patri "vestro, aut uni filiorum suorum, "quem ad hoc eligeret, ab utrius"que regni magnatibus et populis "est oblatum." Ep. cxiii. ad G. Eboracensem archiepiscopum, Opp. (ed. Busæus, Mentz, 1600,) p. 204; cf. Giraldus Camb. *de Inst. Princ.*, 59; R. de Diceto, 626; Hoveden 358.

[3] The importance of this point appears greater when it is remembered that the kingdom of Jerusalem was looked upon as a fief of the Holy Sepulchre; that Godfrey himself had done homage and fealty to the patriarch. In case of the extinction of the family of king Baldwin, much might be made depend on such a title, especially if the possessor was strong enough and rich enough to maintain it. But it is also possible that Baldwin IV., seeing the danger of a female succession, commissioned Heraclius to make the offer. The MS. Continuation of William of Tyre, Reg. 14, c. 10,

any little town in France would have been more inviting. He called a council at Clerkenwell to decide for him, and there his coronation oath was alleged as an excuse for refusing personal aid; nor would he venture to bind his sons in their absence. Heraclius, after an angry remonstrance, ended his mission by applying to the young princes the words that Saint Bernard had used of their father: "From the devil "they came, to the devil they will go."[1] He returned in despair to Palestine, followed, however, by a large company of pilgrims, who, finding on their arrival that Guy had just concluded the truce of Easter 1187, returned home. Two English knights, Hugh de Beauchamp and Roger de Mulbrai, remained to share the fortunes of the Franks; the former of these was slain and the latter taken captive at the battle of Hittin.[2]

The terrible news of the loss of the Holy Cross, the capture of the king, and the murder of the Templars, was brought to Europe in letters from the chiefs of the Temple and the Hospital, early in October 1187. Pope Urban III. died of grief at receipt of the tidings, on the 11th of that month: and in November, perhaps before the capture of Jerusalem was known, Richard, count of Poictou, received the cross from the hands of the archbishop of Tours.[3] William of Tyre, the

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has this: "Erat et specialis causa "quare eum in regni illius tuitionem vocare disponerent, quoniam "si quid humanitus iis qui erant "contingeret hæredibus, ad ipsum "vel liberos ejus universa devolverentur jure agnationis. Erat "sane Amaurici patruelis, et Fulconis quondam regis nepos." Lib. i. c. 2. The statement of relationship is wrong; but the error is a common one.

[1] Giraldus, *De Inst. Pr.*, p. 67. The story of S. Bernard's prophecy is told in Bromton, coll. 1045–6.

[2] Hoveden, 361 v°, 363 r°.

[3] The news which induced Richard to take the cross, reached the West about the calends of November: Gir. Camb. *De Instr. Princ.* 98; and he took it the very morning after he received the news. Bromton, 1148. He was the first to take the cross. *Itinerarium*, p. 32. So that he may have waited until the news of the capture of Jerusalem

historian of the kingdom, arrived soon after. The Crusade was preached in England, France, and Germany. In January 1188 Henry and Philip were reconciled, and took the cross; in March Frederick Barbarossa held his great council at Mentz for the same purpose, and fixed the time for setting out for the March of the following year. It is impossible to say whether Henry would have fulfilled his vow; he went, however, so far as to enter into negotiations with the king of Hungary and the emperor of Constantinople, for a passage for his forces through their dominions. A fresh quarrel with Richard, almost immediately after, put a stop to his preparations, and the contest continued until a short time before his death, on the 6th of July 1189.

Frederick, in pursuance of his vow, marched from Ratisbon in 1189,[1] and after proceeding through the

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arrived. A month was quite sufficient time for the news to be brought from Palestine to France, the voyage from Acre to Marseilles occupying only 15 days with a fair wind: Hoveden 382 v°; yet it would seem, from the arrangement of the letters in the different chronicles, that the account of the battle of Hittin did not arrive before October. The loss of Jerusalem seems to have been a less shock generally than the capture of the True Cross.

[1] The writer of this work is an independent authority on the march of Frederick, and agrees so closely with the details of Ansbert and the other authorities referred to at p. 42, below, that it is clear he received his information from eyewitnesses. The letter of Saladin to Frederick, as given by him in the longer version, is probably authentic; the enumeration of the Sultan's titles, in the conclusion, agreeing closely with the summary of them given by Bohadin, *Vit. Sal.*: p. 1. "I essay to write the history of the "victorious king, defender of the "faith, subduer of the servants of "the cross, lifter up of the standard "of justice and equity, health of the "world and of religion, Saladin, the "sultan of the Moslems and of Islam "itself, deliverer of the holy house of "God from the hands of idolaters, "the servant of the two holy cities, "Abulmodaffer Saladin, the son of "Job." Compare with this p. 40, below. The letter of Frederick to Saladin is evidently corrupt in its present state, in all the versions, so that it is hardly fair to condemn it without more information: judged, however, by the side of the manifestoes of modern heroes, it contains nothing, prima facie, inconsistent with authenticity.

Byzantine dominions, beset at every step with both violence and treachery, perished in the Calycadnus in June 1190. The shattered remnant of his army, under his son Frederick of Suabia, arrived in the Antiochene territory on the 21st June, and at Acre in August. The English and French crusaders, under Philip and Richard, had not at that time left Europe.

Whilst the princes were delaying, the humbler and more independent pilgrims were hurrying to Palestine. Geoffrey of Lusignan, brother of the king, was compelled by a quarrel with Richard to leave France, and hastened to the East, arriving at Tripoli in the summer of 1188. The fleet of Londoners, Norsemen, and Frisians left Dartmouth in company on the 18th of May the following year, and, having afforded the king of Portugal material aid in his war with the Moors, arrived at Acre in September 1189. A strong detachment of French nobles, including the bishop of Beauvais, counts Henry of Bar and Erard of Brienne, James of Avesnes, the hero of the siege of Acre, at the head of the Flemings, and Lewis, landgrave of Thuringia, with a company of German pilgrims, started at the same time. These were followed at a short interval by a mixed company of English, French, and German knights.[1] The counts of Blois and Champagne, with strong reinforcements, reached Acre in July 1190.[2]

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[1] In this company were William of Perche-Goeth, and Hervey of Gien, the sons of Hervey of Donzi, or the latter may have been Hervey of Donzi the father, see below, pp. 28 and 74, also Theobald of Bar, brother and successor of count Henry.

[2] In this party were, besides the count of Blois and his brother Stephen count of Sancerre, count Ralph of Clermont, with his nephew William the Butler, of Senlis, who was taken prisoner on the day of Conrad's marriage; see below, p. 122; Guy and Lionel of Châtillon, Gobert of Aspromont, Bernard of S. Valery, Clarembald of Noyers, and the count William of Châlons. Most of the minor nobles may be identified in the various heraldic and genealogical memoirs of the French families, or in Du Cange's notes to Villehardouin.

The main body of the English and French armies was still lagging behind, with the kings: and did not move from home until a whole year after Frederick Barbarossa had left Ratisbon. In March 1190 an English, Norman, and Gascon squadron, under Richard de Camville, Robert de Sabloel, William de Forz of Oleron, the archbishop of Auch, and the bishop of Bayonne, sailed from Dartmouth; they reached Marseilles, where they expected to meet Richard, on the 22nd of August, and not finding him there sailed to Messina, where they arrived on the 14th of September.[1]

Richard having assembled his forces at Tours, and Philip having rendezvoused at Paris, met at Vezelai on the 11th of July. Thence they proceeded to Lyons, where the kings separated, Philip hastening to Genoa, and Richard to Marseilles. There the English army divided, Richard and his suite, the chief of whom was the archbishop of Rouen, left on the 7th of August, coasted along the Italian shore,[2] and after a leisurely tour, arrived at Messina on the 23rd of September.[3] Baldwin, archbishop of Canterbury, with Hubert Walter and Ranulf Glanville, proceeded directly to Palestine: they arrived at Tyre on the 16th of September, and at Acre on the 12th of October.[4] The third division, to which the author of the Itinerarium was attached, and which was to rejoin the king at Messina, left Marseilles on the 16th of August, and reached the place of meeting a few days later; being followed by the fleet, which had sailed round by Portugal.[5] Philip, who had taken advantage of an illness which attacked him at Genoa, to secure the friendship of the republic, arrived at Messina on September 16th. At Messina the two armies stayed until the spring of 1191, and it was not before June, four years after the battle of Hittin, and two from the opening of the siege of Acre, that the crusade was completed by the arrival of Richard at Acre, the first to take the cross, and the last to fulfil his vow.

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[1] Hoveden, 380 v°, 383 r°.

[2] He made his appearance off Genoa, with fifteen galleys, on the 13th of August. Ottoboni *Annales*; Pertz., xviii. 101.

[3] Hoveden, 380.

[4] Letter from Baldwin to the convent of Canterbury; MS. Lambeth, 415, fo. 85.

[5] See p. 153, below.

The occasion of this delay[1] was said to be the necessity for providing money and food for so large a force; and this was probably the true reason. The delay was an unhappy one, so far as it touched the reputation of the kings, who had time not only to waste in unhappy bickerings, but actually to aggravate the animosity that was already too strong to be concealed, into deadly hatred. But in estimating the evil consequences of this waste of time and power, it should be considered that if it tended to prolong the distress of the army before Acre, labouring, as it did, under famine and pestilence, surrounded by enemies, and destroyed by internal corruption; it saved from a like destruction the hosts of Richard and Philip. The defenders of Acre were worn out with a siege of two years when they surrendered, although the force of the besiegers was numerically an overwhelming one. If mere numbers or skill could have captured the city, it must have fallen long before Richard came; and if the difficulty of providing food and shelter for the existing army was so great as it appears, it would have been madness to increase it during the winter with the hosts of England, Normandy, Poictou, Anjou, and France.

The object of the third Crusade was nothing less than the re-conquest of the whole kingdom of Jerusalem, and that under the most unfavourable circumstances. When the first Crusaders undertook the same task, the country was in an unsettled state, the towns governed by Emirs, who were practically independent, the Mahometan powers of Egypt and Syria arrayed in both temporal and spiritual rivalry against each other, and the sovereignty of Jerusalem itself in dispute between them. Godfrey found from the cities he passed on his march from Antioch to Jerusalem, at least neutrality, from some even hospitality. He had no difficulty in reaching Jerusalem, and it soon fell before him. Now, on the contrary, the garrisons of Saladin, experienced, and valiant soldiers, trained to Frank warfare and clad in Frank armour, occupied all the strongholds from Sidon to Darum, Tyre only excepted. Saladin was lord of Damascus and Aleppo and Bagdad, and had abolished the prayer for the Fatimite Caliph in the mosques of Cairo. The fortresses which it had taken the Frank kings ninety years to build and fortify, were every one of them in the hands of the enemy. The Sultan had followed up the defeat of Hittin with energy. Within the month of July 1187 he had taken Tiberias, Acre, Naplous, Haipha, Cæsarea, Sepphoris, Nazareth, Toron, and Sidon. In August he took Byblus and Berytus.[1] Saphadin, whom he had summoned from Egypt to meet him at Masjdeljaba[2] laid waste the plain of Ramlah and the south country, Darum, Ibelin, Joppa, Ramlah, Mirabel and Arsûf. Ascalon was surrendered in September, and in consequence Gaza, Beitgebrin, and Latroon yielded without a blow. The Holy City was taken in October. Early the next year the few remaining fortresses were besieged, Kaukab or Belvoir, the stronghold of the Hospitallers, Kerak, Shobek, Belfort, and Safed. Whilst they were holding out, the victorious Sultan overran the territory of Antioch and Tripoli. He took in succession Laodicea, Jebleh, Sehjoun, Bacasus, Burzia, Derbasac,[1] and reduced the prince of Antioch to promise that he would surrender that city, the firstfruits of the first Crusade, if it were not succoured within seven months. Safed and Kerak were taken in November 1188,[2] Kaukab in January 1189,[3] and Shobek in the following May.[4] Against all this was to be set only Tyre, which was relieved by Conrad of Montferrat in July, and had successfully held out against Saladin in the winter of 1187. Tripoli had been saved by Margarit, the admiral of William of Sicily, who had also destroyed the fortifications of Byblus and Joppa in a descent upon the coast.[5] Hervey of Donzi in the principality of Antioch was at the head of a small but well trained army.[6] Merkeb and Hesn-al-akrad were still held by the Hospitallers,[7] Reginald of Sidon maintained Belfort against Saladin; and Hugh of Tiberias,[8] in a hasty raid, had destroyed the garrison and defences of Arsûf. Belfort held out until April 1190.[9]

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[1] It is clear, however, that as late as September 23rd, the kings intended to proceed direct to Acre. Archbishop Baldwin, when he reached Tyre, believed that Richard was following close behind him: and according to Hoveden, 383 v°., Philip sailed for Acre the very day that Richard reached Messina, but was forced to put back into port by the weather.

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[1] Tiberias, July 5; Acre, July 9; Toron, July 20; Sidon, July 27; Berytus, July 30–Aug. 6; all the rest before September 7; Bohadin, 73. Abulfeda, *Excerpta*, 41, gives the captures in slightly different order, as does the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ*. Cf. Hoveden, 362 vo.

[2] Abulfeda, 41.

When king Guy, with his 700 knights and 9,000 serving men, encamped before Acre, Tyre and Belfort were the only towns in the territory of Jerusalem that were held by the Christians. Richard and Philip had not begun their preparations. Frederick Barbarossa, far off in Macedonia, was struggling against the savage auxiliaries of the Byzantine empire. There was division in the remnant that remained in the country. The Marquis had refused to allow the king to enter Tyre. The Genoese had attached themselves to the former, and the Pisans to the latter; and the quickly arriving companies of pilgrims attached themselves, according to their national alliances, to the one or the other. What Guy proposed, Conrad objected to; the count of Tripoli was dead; the prince of Antioch a helpless neutral. It was an act of no small faith and energy in king Guy, with so small a force, and so few powerful European connexions, to undertake a task, which proved too great for all the chivalry of Christendom. "The king, the Templars, the Hos-" pitallers, the archbishop of Pisa and the Pisans, " against the will of the Marquis and of the archbishop " of Ravenna, came down against Acre to besiege it, " four days before the end of August 1189."[1]

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[1] Ansbert, 5.

[2] Bohadin, 88.

[3] Bohadin, 88.

[4] Bohadin, 90.

[5] R. de Diceto, 641.

[6] See below, p. 28; and Roger Niger, ed. Anstruther, p. 94.

[7] Hoveden, 368; Ansbert, 5.

[8] *Expeditio Asiatica Friderici*, in Canisius, iii., pt. ii., p. 502.

[9] It was closely besieged from April 21, 1189, to April 22, 1190. Bohadin, 89, 113; Cf. *Itinerarium*, below, p. 63.

It does not appear why Conrad opposed this measure, perhaps it was only because he himself was not placed in command. It was a matter of necessity that Acre should be recovered before anything else was attempted; for it was the only safe harbour on the coast of Palestine, except Tyre; and its position was such as to enable its holders to open or close, at will, the communications between Tyre and Jerusalem.

There were three possible ways of proceeding to the conquest; to bring an army by land through Asia Minor, Armenia, and Antioch; to seize the Damietta mouth of the Nile, and occupy the isthmus; or to land an army on the coast, and open the shortest line of communication between Jerusalem and the Mediterranean. By the first route the German Crusaders were expected; but they would not be able to pass Acre, even if they could bring with them their own provisions. An Egyptian campaign was very hopeless whilst Saladin was in possession of Ascalon, and the experience of the later Crusades shows us that it was impracticable. The third plan was the most feasible every way. The besieging force might be supplied both from Tyre and from the sea: if Acre was taken the line of coast from thence to Joppa was easily to be overrun, and after that the route to Jerusalem was open.

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[1] R. de Diceto, 648.

A few days after the siege began, Saladin brought up an immense force to crush the besieging army, and occupied the range of hills that surround the plain of Acre. The month of September, however, brought up the Northern fleet; the Flemings, under James of Avesnes, quickly followed; next came the counts of Dreux, Bar, and Brienne, and the warlike Philip of Beauvais. The nobles of Champagne came next, then the landgrave of Thuringia, who persuaded the Marquis, with 1,000 knights and 20,000 serving men, to join the siege.[1] The battle of the fourth of October, in which Gerard of Bideford perished, seems to have convinced the princes that there was no hope of driving away the forces of the Sultan, and they proceeded to intrench their own camp and to invest the city. The struggle for the possession of the harbour was decided in favour of the Crusaders in a battle fought in March 1190. In the July of that year they were reinforced by a large army of French pilgrims, and archbishop Baldwin, with the English contingent, followed in October. The great increase in numbers, the scarcity and badness of the provisions, the desparing impatience of the soldiers, produced almost directly after a terrible demoralization in the army. Pestilence followed; and at that moment the jealousies of the leaders broke out into open quarrels.

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[1] R. de Diceto, 648; and p. 61, below.

Guy of Lusignan was a brave soldier, a good commander, an honourable and generous enemy, and a faithful friend;[1] but he had two great faults in the eyes of the native Franks, he was without wealth or powerful connexions, and he was devoid of that craft which in them took the place of strength and honest dealing. Conrad of Montferrat,[2] although at first objected to as an adventurer, soon convinced them that his character was much more to their liking. He was strong in the relationship of the emperors of both East and West; whilst Guy came of a family which, though honourable for antiquity, possessed as yet only a third-rate fief, and that by a very questionable title: he was rich, ruthless in enmity, faithless in friendship, cunning and unscrupulous enough to pass for an Italian of a later age; and withal, a famous captain by sea and land.[1]

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[1] Guy was obliged by Henry II. to fly from Poictou in 1168, for his share in the death of Patrick earl of Salisbury. Hoveden 294 v°.; Gervas, 1403; Trivet, 62, from R. de Monte, 904. Henry had just before burned the Lusignan country and the castle of the lord; R. de Monte, 903. There is nothing to show that Patrick was not killed in fair fight, but, as he was returning from Compostella, the sacrilege was punished by Guy's exile. Unfortunately for the character of the family, Geoffrey the brother of Guy was obliged to fly in 1188 on a similar occasion: he had killed a great friend of Richard in an ambuscade. Our author, at p. 350, gives a character of Guy, to whom, as a partizan of Richard, he was attached: at p. 71, however, he gives a story of his saving the life of the Marquis Conrad, which counterbalances all that is said against him. William of Newburgh, ii. 88, calls him "*vir strenuissimus.*" He belonged to a family which was not only personally hostile to Richard, but whose interests were opposed to his own. His brother Hugh of Lusignan had contrived to secure the county of la Marche, the reversion of which had been purchased by Henry II. in 1177. Hoveden, 326. Geoffrey had been one of the tools of Henry in his hostility to his son. Diceto, 639. Under these circumstances Richard's support of Guy as king of Jerusalem is curious; and still more his anxiety to provide him with the kingdom of Cyprus. Hugh X., count of la Marche, who married the widow of King John, was a nephew of Guy.

[2] Conrad is described by Richard of Devizes, p. 52, as "vir leviannigena," a son of Leviathan, the crooked serpent. Bohadin in several places celebrates both his craft and prowess, pp. 91, 135, 170, 214. He had gained a great reputation in both empires, but lost both his credit and life by his selfish conduct in Palestine. Yet the levying of the Crusade was in great measure done by his exertions. Bohadin, 91. He had some difficulty in overcoming the dislike of the native Franks. Diceto, 642. Three Marquises of Montferrat are mentioned in this book, William the old Marquis, (called in the *Chronique d'Outremer*, c. 588, Boniface, and confounded by the author of the *Expeditio Imperatoris Frederici*, Canisius, v. 501, with his son Reiner, king of Thessalonica,) who was taken prisoner at Hittir; see below, p. 23; William Longaspata, his son, and brother of Conrad, Reiner, and Boniface; and Conrad himself.

Guy had never been able to gain possession of his kingdom, and Conrad was determined that he never should. As the master of Tyre, he was able to get the first word with every convoy of pilgrims that landed there on their way to Acre; and his success in this direction, from the very opening of the siege, may be calculated by comparing with the 700 knights and 9,000 serving men with whom Guy sat down before Acre, the thousand knights and 20,000 followers whom the Marquis brought up a month after.[2]

Guy, however, remained at the head of the besieging force only a very short time. James of Avesnes, a knight of great valour and experience, very early superseded him, and he was shortly after obliged to share the command with the landgrave, whose only title to it seems to have been his rank and influence. In July 1190, Henry of Champagne, who represented both his uncles, Richard and Philip, succeeded James. Two months after, the duke of Suabia, who had been induced by Conrad to come to Acre, was put forward by him as a candidate for the command. But this minor contest was soon merged in the more important struggle for the kingdom between Guy and Conrad. Queen Sibylla and her children died about October 1190, and left the succession to her sister Isabel, who was divorced from Henfrid of Kerak and married to the Marquis immediately after, in spite of the excommunication pronounced against them by archbishop Baldwin, the vicegerent of the patriarch.[1] The duke of Suabia died in January 1191.

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[1] "Fuit autem Conradus armis "strenuus, ingenio et scientia saga-"cissimus, animo et facto amabilis, "cunctis mundanis virtutibus præ-"ditus, in omni consilio supremus, "spes blanda suorum, et hostium "fulmen ignitum, simulator et dis-"simulator in omni re, omnibus "signis instructus; respectu cujus "facundissimi reputabantur elin-"gues." *Historia Terræ Sanctæ*, Eccard., ii. 1353.

[2] R. de Diceto, 648.

Immediately after his wedding Conrad left for Tyre, and although he had bought the consent of many of the princes to the marriage, by liberal promises of provisions to be sent to the besiegers, he seems to have troubled himself very little more about Acre, until the arrival of Philip in the following April. The famine and pestilence lasted from November to February.[2]

Philip immediately on his arrival threw himself into Conrad's party, probably having been already engaged by the Genoese. Guy, in order to avoid being summarily dispossessed of his throne, was compelled to seek Richard in Cyprus, and to beg his aid. This was readily given; Richard never flinched in his support of the king. Conrad, as soon as he heard of the approach of the English king, prepared to return to Tyre.[3] He had already lost the confidence of the Frank nobles; and the princes of Antioch and Tripoli,[4] as well as the luckless Henfrid, were on the side of Guy. Conrad ordered Tyre to be closed against Richard, and on his arrival at Acre did not venture to answer the complaints laid against him by Guy, and enforced with wager of battle by his brother Geoffrey. Philip, however, not content with recalling Conrad and placing him at the head of his household and council, further alienated Richard by claiming a half of Cyprus, according to the letter of their original alliance. Richard answered by demanding half of the county of Flanders, which Philip had claimed as an escheat a few days before. The dispute was, however, reconciled, and a new agreement made for the future.

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[1] The important point that Sibylla's death preceded the marriage of Conrad and Isabel seems to be proved by an unpublished letter in the Lambeth MS. 415, from a chaplain of Baldwin to the convent of Canterbury. This letter is dated Oct. 21st; Sibylla was then dead. Baldwin had only arrived at Acre on the 10th. The marriage was not concluded for some time after his arrival, and the negotiations that preceded it took place at Acre.

[2] Hoveden, 387 v°.

[3] Bohadin, 170; Hoveden, 394 v°.

[4] Hoveden, 393 v°. The new prince of Tripoli, Raymond III. was the son of Bohemond III. of Antioch.

Acre surrendered on the 12th of July: the True Cross was to be restored, and a ransom paid for the prisoners of 200,000 Saracenic talents: according to Bohadin the Marquis was to have, over and above, 10,000 talents for his share in the capitulation, and his knights 4,000 more.[1] A few days later the princes came to an agreement, by which Conrad waived his claim to the present possession of the kingdom, and was confirmed in his tenure of Tyre, and right of succession. He then withdrew to Tyre: Philip returned home: the duke of Burgundy took the command of the French. The whole of the expense, and most of the labour of the last year of the Crusade, fell on Richard; and Conrad from that moment set himself in determined opposition to him, adopting a course which completely frustrated the purpose of the expedition.

Richard was not yet awake to the difficulty of his position. His health had failed almost immediately after his arrival, and his allies had deserted him; yet on the 6th of August he wrote from Acre to the justiciar that the Holy Land would soon be restored to its former state, and by the next Lent he should set out on his return.[1] As late as the first of October he retained this hope.[2]

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[1] Bohadin, 179.

The plan of Richard and the Frank princes was to carry out the programme begun by Guy with the siege of Acre. That city was to be for the time the headquarters of the Crusade: the line of coast from thence to Joppa was to be secured, and then the road from Joppa to Jerusalem. Richard accordingly marching past Haipha, which had been burned by Saladin four days before Acre was surrendered, proceeded to Cæsarea, which he found deserted; and thence, harassed at every step by Saladin, who followed in a parallel line of march, towards Arsûf or Arsur, the ancient Apollonia. Before he reached this city Saladin compelled him to fight a general battle, which ended in so decided a victory for the Crusaders, that Saladin, in a panic, ordered the demolition of all the strongholds except Jerusalem, Kerak, and Darum. From Arsûf, where James of Avesnes was slain, the army went on to Joppa, which they reached on the 10th of September, having occupied nearly three weeks in marching less than 60 miles. Seven weeks were spent in fortifying Joppa and two villages on the road to Ramlah: on the 31st of October they set out for Jerusalem; Saladin retreating step by step before them, and dismantling the fortresses on the road. Richard moved first from Joppa to Yazour,[3] Saladin, who had destroyed Ramlah, being then at

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[1] "Sed quam citius terram Suriæ "in pristinum statum revocaverimus, tunc in terram nostram revertemur. Itaque pro certo scias "quod ad proximam Quadragesimam mare intrabimus." *Richard to the Justiciar*, MS. Lambeth, 415, fo. 90 v°.

[2] Letter from Richard to the abbot of Clairvaux. Hoveden, 398.

[3] Bohadin, 211. Saladin retreated from Ramlah to Latroon on the 5th of October: Ramlah and Lydda were condemned on the 25th Sept. Bohadin, 202, 204.

Latroon: on the 15th of November[1] Richard marched from Yazour towards Ramlah, and Saladin dismantled Latroon and retired to Tel-al-sjusour. Three weeks after the van-guard of the army reached Latroon,[2] and Saladin almost directly retired into Jerusalem. After Christmas the Crusaders proceeded to Beit-Nûba, enduring the utmost misery from the weather and want of provisions, which were intercepted by predatory detachments of Turks, who came down from the mountains and from the garrison of Masjdeljaba. After perils of every sort, the available force being impeded and embarrassed with crowds of useless pilgrims, they were compelled to halt. Having come almost within sight of Jerusalem, the leaders found their council divided. There is no doubt that, had they proceeded at once, they might have taken the Holy City. But the object of the native Franks was not to recover Jerusalem, but to keep the pilgrims in Palestine until they had recovered their own possessions. Jerusalem once taken, the pilgrims would go home, and Saladin come back more terrible than ever; the city could not be held, if it were taken, without garrisoning all the forts along the line of route; and for this there was not sufficient force in the country: the hundreds of thousands who were to have done it, had perished by famine and pestilence before Acre. The French, it was said, jealous of the leadership of Richard, began to straggle back from Ramlah to Joppa. At last, on Saint Hilary's day, the council determined to retreat,[3] and to occupy

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[1] Bohadin, 220. The destruction of Latroon was begun as early as October 5. Ibid., 204.

[2] Hoveden, 406; pp. 298, 299, below.

[3] It is to this point of time that the story told by Joinville (ed. Didot, Paris 1859, p. 172) is to be referred, if it is true. It should be compared with the false report told by Benedict of Peterborough, ii. 721. "Il atirèrent leur gent, et fist "le roy d'Angleterre la première "bataille, et le duc de Bourgoingne

Ascalon, or even to invade Egypt, before proceeding to take Jerusalem. Richard, in compliance with this decision, immediately moved southwards, the French lending him a very feeble support: after two days' march, unimpeded by the Saracens, he came to Ascalon. The spring was spent in the rebuilding the walls of Ascalon, the occupation of Gaza, Beitgebrin, and Tel-es-safieh, which were deserted, and the capture of Darum from the garrison placed there by Saladin.

The death of the Marquis Conrad, in April, reunited the contending parties under Henry of Champagne: Guy gave up his claims to the crown, and another march to Jerusalem was projected. As the first had been undertaken in the depth of winter, the second fell at a still more unfortunate time, the height of summer. Richard going north from Ascalon, and the other princes south from Acre, the two armies met at Beit-Nûba, and there again they stayed. Again the council was divided, the same arguments were brought forward, the impossibility of an advance was proved, Richard himself being convinced of it; the French, on the principle of contradiction, now insisting on the capture of Jerusalem. The armies had hardly met when they were separated, and this time finally.

" l'autre après, à tout les gens le roy " de France. Tandis que il estoient " à esme de prendre la ville, en li " manda de l'ost le duc que il n'a- " last avant; car le duc de Bour- " goingne s'en retournoit arière, pour " ce sanz, plus, que l'en ne deist que " les Anglois n'eussent pris Jerusa- " lem. Tandis que il estoient en ces " paroles un sien chevalier li escria; " ' Sire, Sire, venez jusques ci, et " ' je vous mousterrai Jerusalem.' " Et quant il oy ce, il geta sa cote " à armer devant ses yex tout en " plorant, et dit a Nostre-Seigneur; " ' Biau Sire Diex, je te pri que tu " ' ne seuffres que je voie ta sainte " ' cite, puisque je ne la puis délivrer " ' des mains de tes ennemis.'" The latter part of the story applies better to the second retreat: see below, p. 369. I do not see how the circumstances can be true, but it is certain that the desertion of the French on the first occasion prevented the capture of Jerusalem. Bohadin, pp. 8, 9.

Richard, broken down in health, and distracted with the conflicting messages that reached him from home, proceeded to Acre on his way to Europe. Thence he was recalled by the attack of Saladin on Joppa; he added one more splendid victory to the list of his fruitless glories, and then made peace.

Such is, in a few words, the record of the Crusade given us in the book before us, and the other Christian histories. From the Saracen writers we learn the details of the diplomatic struggle that was going on during the entire course of it, and which only emerges from time to time in the narative of our author.

Saladin was at no point of the Crusade secure of victory. The armies he had to manage were almost as intractable and soluble as those of the pilgrims: he himself had no violent hatred against the Christians, nay, if we may believe the story told by Hoveden, he would have gladly purchased their friendship and alliance against the rebellious princes of Mesopotamia, by the surrender of Jerusalem, and the restoration of most of the strongholds of Palestine.[1] But whether he was sincere in this offer or not, he thought it advisable to temporize, and, being well acquainted with the divided councils of his enemies, to play them off one against another During the siege of Acre, intercourse more or less friendly had taken place between the Sultan and Richard, and on one occasion an interview was arranged between Richard and Saphadin, which the council interfered to prevent.[1] Still, presents were exchanged; Saladin sent snow and fruit for the sick king,[2] and the messengers went to and fro until the massacre of the Saracen prisoners put a stop for the time to proceedings of more than doubtful consequence. The only result seems to have been to create a suspicion against Richard in the mind of his allies.

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[1] July 6, 1191: Hoveden, f. 395, and Bromton, col. 1,204. Also July 14, Bromton, 1206; Hoveden, 396. Saladin wanted aid against Kothbeddin, the son of Noureddin, whom these writers call lord of Musse, by which they perhaps meant Mosul. He was lord of Diarbeker. On the 16th of July, Kothbeddin proposed to them an alliance against Saladin. I may as well mention here that I have quoted Bromton's compilation generally, only in those passages in which his account represents Benedict of Peterborough, as being more easily referred to than Hearne's very scarce edition of the latter author.

Richard's misgivings as to the final success of the expedition clearly originated during the march to Joppa: both parties then measured each other's strength. On the third of September, four days before the battle of Arsûf, Richard opened negotiations with Saphadin. The two heroes met on that day,[3] Henfrid of Toron acting as interpreter. Saphadin inquired on what terms peace would be accepted. Richard demanded the immediate possession of the whole country. This was at once refused. The same demand was made on the 12th of September,[1] two days after the arrival of the army at Joppa; and this time the Sultan was in such a panic that, although in words he flatly refused to entertain the proposal, he constituted his brother Saphadin plenipotentiary, for the conclusion of a treaty.

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[1] June 17, Richard asked an interview with Saladin; the answer was, "Kings do not meet for con- "versation, unless they have first "made a treaty · and it would not "be decorous for them, having "talked and eaten together, to stir "up war. If king Richard desires "this, the terms of peace must be "settled first. Moreover, we must "have an interpreter in whom we "can both trust. If these con- "ditions can be fulfilled, by God's "will we will meet." Bohadin, 169. After this, frequent messages were exchanged, but without effect. At the end of the month, the Sultan agreed that Saphadin should meet Richard in the plain, in the presence of both armies. The Christian princes having interfered to prevent this (p. 171), Richard excused himself on the ground of illness, proffering a present to the Sultan. Saphadin accepted the present on condition of being allowed to make one in return. The messenger then explained that the present destined for Saladin was some hawks; these were sick, and required to be fed on poultry, which he asked Saphadin to send. Saphadin laughed, and said, "The king wants "the poultry for himself." On the first of July he sent a Moslem captive as a present to Saladin; Saladin returned him with a rich dress and presents, p. 172.

[2] July 4: Bohadin 176. On the 15th of July Richard sent some hawks and harriers to the Sultan: Bromton, c. 1206. On the 31st of July Saladin requested information about the Christian faith, pretending that he might be converted. Ibid., 1210.

[3] Bohadin, 193.

Conrad of Montferrat, seeing his downfall certain in the event of a peace concluded by Richard, now began to communicate with Saladin.[2] He offered, if Sidon and Berytus were secured to him, to join Saladin, proclaim war against the Franks, and besiege Acre. Saladin replied, that if he would give proof of his sincerity by joining the Moslem forces at once, Sidon and Berytus should be given him, but not otherwise. The lord of Sidon, who acted as Conrad's ambassador, was magnificently received by the Sultan in November;[3] he brought the news that Conrad was willing immediately to break with the Christians on the specified conditions.

Side by side with this intrigue, the negotiations for peace proceeded between Richard and Saphadin. They were renewed early in October;[4] on the 16th Saphadin accepted a horse from Richard;[5] and on the 18th we find Richard considerably abating his terms, and in fact almost appealing *ad misericordiam*. He said that Moslems and Franks were alike perishing; the country was utterly wasted; the prize for which they were contending was perishing from both of them. They had both done their duty as warriors for religion; nothing remained to be decided but the possession of the Holy City and the True Cross, and the division of the country. Jerusalem, as the mother of the Christian faith, ought to belong to the Christians; the wood of the Cross was valueless in the sight of the Moslems: both might easily be given up. As for the country, let Jordan be the frontier between the two powers; only let there be peace.[1] Saladin replied that the Holy City was as dear to the Moslems as to the Christians; nay, more so, for thence the Prophet took his night-ride, and there the angels were wont to meet. He would not, therefore, retire from the city or surrender the country, which naturally belonged to his nation, and had only fallen into Christian hands in consequence of the weakness of the Moslems. As for the Cross, it was indeed a scandal, and an offence to God, and could not be surrendered except to gain some great end for the true faith.[2]

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[1] Bohadin, 200.

[2] Bohadin, 204. Saladin's answer was given on the 4th of October.

[3] November 3: Bohadin, 214. His interview with Saladin took place on the 9th: Bohadin, 217.

[4] Oct. 5: Bohadin, 204.

[5] Bohadin, 207.

On the 21st Richard made a new proposition to Saphadin.[3] He offered him his sister, queen Joanna, in marriage: she might be queen of Jerusalem, and Saphadin king, if Saladin would endow his brother with Palestine, give up the Cross to the king of England, and leave the military orders in possession of their strongholds. This message was sent on to Saladin, who doubted Richard's good faith, and thought it a good plan to pretend acquiescence, throwing the onus of the next move upon the Franks. The result was as he expected.[4] The lady refused to marry a Moslem; Saphadin must become a Christian; the question of peace might remain open until a decided answer could be given. Saphadin, however, did not look on these negotiations as binding him to pacific conduct. On the 6th of November[5] we find Richard remonstrating with him on account of the ambuscade laid for his forces at Bombrac. An interview between the two princes resulted from this. They met on the 8th,[1] but with no other issue than to increase the odium against Richard among the princes of the Crusade. Saladin refused to see him, and his demands were further abated to a request that the country should be divided between himself and Saphadin.[2]

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[1] Bohadin, 207.

[2] Bohadin, 208.

[3] Bohadin, 209. This author was himself the messenger who brought the report of this offer to Saladin.

[4] Saladin's acceptance was notified on the 25th of October, and the refusal of Joanna was reported to the Sultan the same day. Bohadin, 210.

[5] Bohadin, 216.

On the eleventh of November[3] the Sultan laid the rival proposals of Conrad and Richard before his council, and those of the king were accepted. Saphadin might marry Joanna, and the two should have the whole kingdom between them. Richard, alarmed at the acceptance of an offer which could not be carried out without covering him with shame, and of the feasibility of which he was by no means sure, informed the Sultan that the question must be referred to the pope. Joanna was a widow, and could not be remarried without the apostolic sanction; but if consent were refused, Eleanor of Britany, his niece, would be a fair bride for Saphadin, and as she was a maiden in his ward, no papal consent need be sued for. Saladin, on the 15th,[4] replied to this that he could listen to no such proposition: his brother would have the queen of Sicily or none at all. He at the same time renewed the plenipotentiary authority of Saphadin, and gave him instructions to temporize. No more was said after this about the marriage.[5]

During the winter months the intercourse seems to have been broken off. Saladin disbanded his forces, and remained in panic at Jerusalem; the Crusaders were perishing at Ramlah. Early in the spring Richard made a new bid for peace.

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[1] Bohadin, 216; Itinerarium, p. 296.

[2] Bohadin, 217.

[3] Bohadin, 219.

[4] Bohadin, 230. On this day the Franks saw Reginald of Sidon riding out with Saphadin.

[5] Nothing is said about this marriage by our author, who believed that the negotiations were broken off because the Sultan would not restore Montreal: below p. 297. Abulfeda also mentions the proposal: *Excerpta*, p. 51.

On the 20th of March 1192,[1] Henfrid of Toron, and Abu Beker the gatekeeper, reopened negotiations in behalf of Richard. "It has been agreed," they stated, "that we should divide Palestine; so be it: let Jerusalem be ours; you can keep, if you like, the mosque "Es-Sakra." A week later Saladin answered that, reversing the conditions, he was willing to treat. "You may have the church of the Resurrection, but "the city and citadel of Jerusalem must be ours." This was inadmissible, and the matter again dropped. Saladin was besieged by the messengers of Conrad, and at the same time pressed with an insurrection in Mesopotamia. He agreed on a peace with the Marquis,[2] and left Richard to the conquest of the south. If Conrad would break with the Franks, he should have a treaty on the terms that Richard had refused, Ascalon not being included in the surrender. A week after this Conrad was assassinated.

After the second retreat from Beit-nûba, Richard again lowered his demands. He was now convinced of the hopelessness of the Crusade, and anxious to return home. The Franks of the kingdom were neither desirous of his aid nor worth his trouble: if he could but get an honourable peace he would be content. He declared himself ready to accept Saladin's terms; count Henry, the newly chosen king, should be his friend and ally; the Christians should have the Holy Sepulchre, the coast, and the plain, of which they were now in possession; the Saracens might keep the city of Jerusalem and the hill country. These were Saladin's own proposals of the last March, but the Christians were now much stronger in the south, and Ascalon was a new bone of contention. Ascalon, Saladin answered, must be destroyed. Richard would not hear of this, but seeing it was impossible for him to retain his conquests in the south, he ordered Darum to be dismantled, and all the remaining strength of the Crusaders to be devoted to the maintenance of Ascalon.[1] The Sultan resumed hostilities, and the contest of Joppa followed. Richard now saw the bitter truth: he was, in fact, at Saladin's mercy. After an ignominious entreaty[2] for compensation for the expenses of Ascalon, he was compelled to agree to the sacrifice of that place, next in importance to Acre itself. A truce for three years, so purchased, was the lame and impotent conclusion of this great and costly undertaking.[1]

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[1] Bohadin, 222.

[2] Bohadin, 223, 224. Saladin received the last proposal of Conrad on the 21st of April; returned his answer on the 24th; and received the news of his death on the 1st of May. On the 15th of May Saladin received an embassy from the emperor Isaac Angelus, proposing that the True Cross should be given up to the Greeks, as well as the Church of the Holy Sepulchre and other holy places: on these terms he was ready to make an alliance offensive and defensive with the Sultan, and join him in invading Cyprus. Two days after, the Sultan returned answer, rejecting utterly the imperial proposition, and adding that he had refused to sell the Cross to the king of Georgia for 200,000 pieces of gold. Bohadin, 226. The same emperor had, in 1190, offered to open a mosque in Constantinople, and informed Saladin in triumph of the destruction of the German Crusaders. Ibid., p. 130. Diceto, 642.

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[1] The chronology and authorities for this negotiation are given below, p. 398, note 1.

[2] Aug. 27. "Abubeker related "that he had had a private con- "versation with the king, and that "he had said to him, 'Entreat my "'brother, Al Malek Al Adil (Sa- "'phadin), to see how he can "'procure for me and conclude a "'peace with the Sultan, so that he "'shall not grudge to yield Asca- "'lon to me; for then I shall "'immediately depart. After that "'he will have to do only with a "'small handful, from whom he "'will easily take away these "'countries. I, for my part, have "'no other object than to save my "'own reputation among the Franks. "'But if the Sultan will not give "'up Ascalon, at least let him "'refund the money I have spent "'on the fortifications.'" Bohadin, 258. These words, which were doubtless the true expression of Richard's feelings, are made by Michaud the ground of a charge of deliberate dishonesty against him.

By this agreement the Christians remained in possession of Tyre, Casal Ymbert, Acre, Haipha, Cæsarea, Arsûf, and Joppa; but their occupation was strictly confined to the coast. The inland appurtenances of those lordships were withheld by the Sultan: Nazareth and Sepphoris were excepted from cession of Acre, Yebna (Ibelin) and Masjdeljaba (Mirabel) from that of Joppa.[2] The casal of Maen, on the road from Joppa to Jerusalem, was the utmost limit of inland occupation allowed by Saladin; and it was not until the day on which the treaty was signed that he consented to the retention of Lydda and Ramlah as compensation for the walls of Ascalon.[3] To these concessions he afterwards added the gift of Kaimoun to Balian and his wife queen Mary, and that of Sarepta to Reginald of Sidon.[4]

These towns represented the fruit of the whole labour of Europe during five years, of the expenditure of an unparalleled amount of life and treasure, of the several intrigues in the conflicting interests of the native and foreign Franks, and of the extraordinary prowess of the greatest soldiers of Christendom. The West threw itself with all its strength upon the East, and recoiled broken and dispirited, more by its own divisions than by any irresistible barrier. All except Tyre and Acre was won by Richard.

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[1] For the details of this negotiation, see below, p. 427, note 7. The truce was to be, according to R. de Diceto, c. 668, and W. Newburgh, ii. 87, for three years, three months, three weeks, three days, and three hours, to begin from the following Easter; and Hoveden, f. 408, says that it was to last three years from the same date. But Bohadin, p. 259, dates the beginning of the truce from the day of signing, September 2.

[2] August 29. Bohadin, 258; Diceto, c. 667; Abulfeda, *Excerpta*, 56.

[3] Sept. 2: Bohadin, 261. According to Hoveden, 408, and Abulfarajius (Bruns' Excerpt., Oxford 1780), Saladin paid in money for the walls of Ascalon. This doubtless gave occasion for the reproach of the German writers that Richard had sold Ascalon to the Turks.

[4] Cont. W. Tyr. ap. Martene et Durand; *Amplissima Collectio*, v. 640.

§

The length to which these remarks have run must be my excuse for not having discussed the two important questions, what were the causes and what were the consequences of the Crusades in Europe, and more especially in England. The scene, however, of the whole action of the present book is external to England, whilst the treatment of those subjects belongs more properly to a work connected immediately with the internal history of the kingdom. I may be allowed, however, to say that I believe the Crusades to have been caused by a movement as religious as the Reformation, and much less connected with political objects, and to have shared, with almost all purely religious movements, in the baneful results which seem inseparable from any source of popular excitement. As to the direct consequences of the Crusades, a generation which has witnessed the Crimean war, and traced in its causes and course no indistinct parallel with the events of the third Crusade, cannot suppose that they have ceased directly to affect the history of the Christian world, although the state of Palestine at the present day differs little from what it was when Godfrey of Bouillon undertook the conquest.

As for the indirect consequences of these great undertakings, it is not too much to say that they have affected, and still remotely do affect, almost every political and social question. To treat of them in all their bearings would require a great work, and no satisfactory sketch of them could be compressed into the bulk of a Preface.

I beg leave to express my sincere thanks to those kind friends to whose advice and assistance I have been indebted during the progress of this edition, especially to the Rev. T. T. Perowne, Fellow of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, for the use of the MSS. belonging to his College, and to Mr. T. Duffus Hardy, and the Rev. George Williams, of King's College, Cambridge, for the interest they have taken in the work and the valuable information they have afforded me as to the sources of the requisite knowledge.

APPENDIX TO THE INTRODUCTION.

I. OSBERNUS DE EXPUGNATIONE LYXBONENSI.
II. NEOPHYTUS DE CALAMITATIBUS CYPRI.

I. OSBERNUS DE EXPUGNATIONE LYXBONENSI.

THE following very curious tract is given here as an illustration of the character of the large bodies of independent pilgrims, or volunteers who accompanied the expeditions of the princes to Palestine. It is an account by an eye-witness of the siege and capture of Lisbon by the Crusaders of 1147; the history of which has been hitherto known to modern readers by two letters, one published in the *Amplissima Collectio* of Martene and Durand (tom. i. coll. 800–802), and the other occurring in the Annals of S. Disibod, of Disenberg near Mentz, published by Pertz, in the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*, vol. xvii. pp. 27, 28.

The latter of these is addressed by Duodechin, priest in Loginstein, to Cuno, abbot of S. Disibod's; the former by a person named Arnulf, to Miles, bishop of Terouanne. Both letters have evidently been drawn up by the same hand, and contain several passages in common. Both writers were attached to the same division of the expedition, as Osbern the writer of the following tract; they give a very short sketch of the events that he dwells on at length, but furnish us with one or two dates that are not given by him; these I have inserted in the margin of the present edition, which is printed from the original MS., now No. 470 in the MS. library of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.[1]

This tract will be found to illustrate the Itinerarium chiefly in the following points: the insubordinate character of the volunteers, the jealousies of the detachments of the several nations; the English estimate of the character of the German and Flemish pilgrims; the jealousy between the burgher pilgrims and the few nobles who accompanied them; the extraordinary value set upon horses; the curious details of siege operations, in which respect the Itinerarium should be compared not only with this tract, but with the account of the sieges of Antioch and Jerusalem in the first Crusade; and, perhaps most of all, the amount of religious zeal which animated the Crusaders of 1147, but of which so little appears in the details of the third Crusade.

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[1] The title in Nasmith's catalogue is "Expeditio Francorum, Anglo-"rum, et variarum nationum ad "obsidendum Ulissipona in Portu-"gallia, tempore Hildefonsi regis, "per Osbernum." p. 422. The MS. is a very small quarto, abounds in contractions, and, as it has several erasures and corrections, is probably the original copy of the author. The style, as will be seen, is barbarous, and in several places the construction is quite ungrammatical.

The independent interest of the tract consists in its bearing on the history of the kingdom of Portugal, which is perhaps the most signal monument in existence of the energy of the Crusaders; and which if it does not owe its foundation to the crusading spirit, may trace its territorial boundaries, and very much in which it differs from Spain, to the fact that it was recovered from the Moors by the aid of the Crusaders; not, as the sister country, by the resurrection of political and social energy among the remaining Christian states. It is interesting to find from the several details which abound in this work as to the capture of Lisbon in 1147, and in Hoveden and elsewhere as to the capture of Silvia and other towns in the process of the third Crusade, how ancient is the exchange of good offices between England and her Most Faithful ally.[1]

The aspect in which the event here recorded was viewed by contemporary chroniclers seems to have been the contrast in which it stands to the abortive efforts of the great Crusade of Louis VII. and Conrad. It was especially remarked how this little humble fleet of pilgrims, without the direction of any great prince or captain, was blessed by God with victory.[2]

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[1] See below, p. 65; Diceto, 645, 646; Hoveden, 376; and a year later, 380, &c.

[2] "Interea quidam exercitus navalis virorum non potentum, nec "alicui magno duci innixi, nisi "Deo omnipotenti, quia humiliter "profecti sunt, optime profecerunt. "Civitatem namque in Hispania, "quæ vocatur Ulixisbona, et aliam "quæ vocatur Almaria, et regiones "adjacentes, a multis pauci, Deo cooperante, bellis obtinuerunt. Vere "Deus superbis resistit, humilibus "autem dat gratiam. Exercitus "namque regis Francorum et imperatoris Alemanniæ splendidior "et major fuerat quam ille qui "prius Jerusalem conquisierat, et "a paucissimis contriti sunt, et "quasi tela aranearum disterminati sunt et demoliti. His "autem pauperibus, de quibus "prædiximus, nulla multitudo "resistere poterat; sed quando "plures iis insurgebant, debiliores "efficiebantur. Pars autem eorum "maxima venerat ex Anglia." Henr. Huntingdon, ed. Savile, f. 226; Hoveden, f. 280; Robert de Monte, p. 880; Appendix to Marian Scotus (Pistorius, i, 676); Bromton, 1035; Gervase, 1365. The number of the Christian force was 13,000 according to R. de Monte.

OSBERNUS DE EXPUGNATIONE LYXBONENSI.

A.D. 1147.

fo. 1. r°.

The salutation.

Osb̄. de Baldr̄. R., salutem.

Qualiter circa nos habeatur magni fore apud vos scitu pro certo credimus, idemque de vobis apud nos agi nulla dubitatione teneamini. Itineris ergo nostri vel prospera, vel adversa, vel quæ interim facta, vel dicta, vel visa, vel audita, relatu digna fuerint quæcunque, scripto manifestabimus.

A fleet of 164 vessels assembles at Dartmouth: Germans, Flemings, and English.

Igitur apud portum de Dertemuthe, diversarum nationum et morum et linguarum gentes navibus circiter centum sexaginta quatuor convenere. Horum omnium trifariam partitur exercitus. Sub comite Arnoldo de Ærscot, nepote Godefridi ducis, a Romani imperii partibus secedit exercitus. Sub Christiano de Gistellis, Flandrenses et Bononenses. Cæterorum omnium sub constabulariis quatuor. Sub Hervæo de Glanvilla Norfolcenses et Suthfolcenses: sub Symone Dorobernensi omnes Cantiæ naves; sub Andrea Londonienses; sub Saherio de Arcellis reliquæ omnium naves.

Articles agreed on for the observance of religion and morality.

Inter hos tot linguarum populos firmissima concordiæ atque amicitiæ pignora; insuper leges severissimas sanxerunt, ut mortuum pro mortuo, dentem pro dente. Pretiosarum vestium omnimodum apparatum interdixerunt. Ne item mulieres in publico prodirent; pacem servandam omnibus nisi ex indicto injurias: ut singulis hebdomadibus capitula serventur seorsum a laicis, seorsum a clericis, nisi forte magna quædam utrorumque conjunctionem exigerent. Ut singulæ naves singulos presbyteros haberent, et eadem quæ in parochiis[1] observari jubentur. Ut nullus alterius nautam vel servientem in convictu suo retineret.[2] Ut singuli singulis hebdomadibus[3] confiterentur,[4] et die Dominico communicarent. Et sic per cætera capitula usui necessaria, singulæ singulis observationum sanctiones. Constituti sunt præterea de unoquoque milleno duo electi, qui judices et conjurati dicerentur, per quos ex indicto constabulariorum causarum terminatio pecuniarumque distributio fieret. His[1] inibi sic statutis, sexta feria ante Ascensionem Domini, velificare incepimus. Subsequenti Dominica costam Britanniæ, profunditatis dimensione saltem septuaginta quinque cubitorum, et maris nigredine comperimus.[2] Per biduum vero subsequens, aurarum placidissima serenitate detenti nihil[3] aut parum profecimus. Quarta feria, vento incumbente prospero, Balearicam majorem, scilicet montium Pyreneorum capita, undarum magnitudine et fervore maris, comperimus. Vespere autem, tempestate oborta, omnes circumquaque dispersi sumus. Noctis supra modum tenebrositas atque insueta maris rheumata[4] nautas etiam audacissimos desperare cogebat. Auditæ sunt interim Syrenes, horribilis sonitus, prius cum luctu, postea cum risu et cachinno,[5] quasi insultantium castrorum clamoribus. Per totam igitur Dominicæ Ascensionis noctem laborantibus, consors atque custos Divina misericordia affuit, ut castigando castigaret, et morti non traderet. Quanti illic pœnitentes, quanti peccata et negligentias[6] cum luctu confitentes, et gemitu peregrinationis suæ conversionem utcunque inceptam inundatione lacrymarum diluentes, in ara cordis contriti Deo sacrificabant. Idque adeo actum ut dispensatio divina nullum præteriret, immo etiam cœlestis beneficii singulare privilegium se accepisse unusquisque congratularetur, ut longum sit enumerare per singula quantis visionum imaginibus divina miracula patuerint. Postera igitur die, paululum sedata tempestate, in Hispania[7] apud portum Sancti Salvatoris, qui dicitur Mala Rupis, feliciter applicuimus. Ibidem enim ecclesia a Mauris ante parum temporis fuerat destructa, monachorum cœnobio celeberrima: distat autem a civitate Oveti milliaria decem: in qua ecclesia Salvatoris, et totius Hispaniæ pretiosissimæ relliquiarum. Adjacet autem provincia montuosa, ferarum venatibus et frugum generibus multimodis celeberrima, admodum delectabilis, nisi propriis inhabitatoribus fœdaretur. Inde navigantes ad ripam Ovies pervenimus, quæ adjacet Lucanæ provinciæ: distat autem milliaria viginti a civitate Lucana. Hinc iterum navigantes devenimus Ortigiam. Exin ad Turrem Faris, quæ olim a Julio Cæsare constructa, admirandi operis, ut ibidem reditus et causæ interminabiles totius Britanniæ et Hiberniæ[8] et His-

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[1] *parochiis*] parrochiis, MS.

[2] *retineret*] a correction in the MS. for *retineat.*

[3] *hebdomadibus*] epdomadibus, MS. passim.

[4] *confiterentur*] correction for *confiteantur.*

A.D. 1147.

They set sail, May 23; pass Britany, May 25; are becalmed, May 26 & 27; sight the Pyrenees, May 28.

fo. 1 v°.

A storm the night before May 29.

They reach San Salvador, in Spain, on Ascension day.

Thence to Rivadeo.

thence to Cape Ortegal; thence to Ferrol;

fo. 2 r°.

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[1] *His*] Hiis, MS. passim.

[2] *comperimus*] correction for *comperiebamus*.

[3] *nihil*] nichil, MS.

[4] *rheumata*] reumata, MS

[5] *cachinno*] cachynno, MS.

[6] *negligentias*] neggligentias, MS.

[7] *Hispania*] Hyspania, MS. passim.

[8] *Hiberniæ*] Hyberniæ, MS.

thence to the mouth of the Tambre, June 7;

thence to the island of Flamba;

thence to the mouths of the Minho; of the Cavado; of the Ave; and of another river: reach Oporto.

June 16. (Dodechin, ap. Pertz. xvii. 27.)

fo. 2 v°.

paniæ quasi in meditullio commearent. Est enim adeo sita inter meridionalem et occidentalem plagam ut prima sit littoris appulsio recto tramite a Britannia venientium. Ibi vero pons lapideus ex multis arcubus ostenditur, in mari protensus, ex quibus viginti quatuor arcus, qui ante biennium non apparuerant, jam apparent. Inde relatum est a quodam gentis illius antiquissimo vaticinatum, ut dum pontis illius arcus emergerent, destructionem gentium finemque idololatriæ[1] in Hispania imminere. Exhinc ad portum Tambræ devenimus vigilia Pentecostes. Distat autem ab ecclesia Beati Jacobi milliaria septem. Est autem civitas Hyriæ proxima, quæ nunc Petra Jacobi vocatur, et est sedes episcopalis. Portus autem, multis generibus piscium fœcundus, habet in sinu maris insulam. Vidimus inibi, mirabile dictu, piscem tenentis manum stupefacientem: est vero ad modum raiæ, habens in summitate spinæ duas pinnas acutissimas. Provincia adjacens feris abundat, segete sterilis, vite arida.[2] Inde pervenimus ad insulam quæ vulgo Flamba vocatur, in qua est cuniculorum copia et serpentium: habet etiam folium unde Worma tingitur. Insula hæc una ex Balearibus est. Provincia a sinistra in continenti vocatur Campis. Habet littus maris ab insula usque ad Portugalam fluvius Ovieř, super quem civitas Tude; post hunc fluvius Cadivia, supra quem civitas Braccara; post hunc fluvius Ava, supra quem ecclesia Beati Tyrsi Martyris; post hunc fluvius Leticia; post hunc fluvius Doyra, supra quem Portugala, ad quam ab insula venimus circiter horam diei nonam. Dicta autem a portu Gallorum, habens jam annos reparationis suæ circiter octoginta; desolata ab introitu Maurorum, et Moabitarum. Habet autem portus a meridie arenas[3] salubres, a prima rupe in introitu usque ad aliam rupem infra, habentes in latitudine passus duodecim ab extremi recessus margine, in quibus involvuntur ægroti, donec mare superveniens eos abluat, ut sic sanentur. Ibidem vero testatus est episcopus prædecessorem suum sanatum a livore simili lepræ. De hujusmodi arenis, quod sint in Hispania, in historiis[4] Romanorum invenitur.

The pilgrims are welcomed by the bishop of Oporto.

Cum autem pervenissemus ad portum, episcopus una cum clericis suis nobis obviam factus est; nam rex longe aberat cum exercitu suo, contra Mauros. Ibidem salutatis omnibus ex more gentis suæ, adventum nostrum se præscisse nobis indicavit, sed et ab heri litteras regias accepisse, in hæc verba; A.D. 1147. June 16.

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[1] *idololatriæ*] ydolatriæ, MS.

[2] Here appears in the margin, *pom: und:* as if for *pomis abundans;* the other syllables having been cut in binding.

[3] *arenas*] harenas, MS. passim.

[4] *historiis*] hystoriis, MS.

"Hyldefonsus, Portugalæ Rex, Petro Portugalæ episcopo, "salutem. Si forte Francorum naves ad vos pervenerint, cum "omni benignitate et mansuetudine suscipite eos accuratius, "et secundum conventionem remanendi mecum quam consti-"tueritis, vos et quos vobiscum voluerint obsides totius con-"ventionis[1] . . . . et sic apud Lyxebonam pariter cum eis "ad me veniatis. Vale." Letter of king Alfonso.

His auditis, cum esset jam hora decima, usque in crastinum distulimus respondendum, ut pariter qui in navibus erant omnes mandata regis audirent, et ab episcopo absolutionem peccatorum et benedictionem susciperent. Reliqua diei pars cura rerum familiarium consumpta est. Summo mane, ex omnibus navibus in summitate montis in cœmeterio episcopii,[2] coram episcopo omnes convenimus; nam ecclesia, pro quantitate sui, omnes non caperet. Indicto ab omnibus silentio, episcopus sermonem coram omnibus lingua Latina habuit, ut per interpretes cujusque linguæ sermo ejus omnibus manifestaretur; qui sic incipit: June 17. Assembly of the pilgrims.

"Beata gens cujus est Dominus Deus ejus, populus quem "elegit in hæreditatem Suam Sibi!* Et profecto beata, qui-"bus Deus nescio quo inæstimabili privilegio sensum et "divitias contulit: sensum, ut vias disciplinæ intelligerent; "divitias, ut adimplere possent, quæ pie cuperent. Et certe "felix tellus vestra, quæ tot et tales alumnos[3] nutrit, quæ "tot et tantos in sinu matris ecclesiæ filios unanimes asso-"ciat societati. Et merito illius summæ benedictionis effectus, "qui dicitur, 'Beati, qui me non viderunt, et crediderunt,'† "in vobis completur. Mediator Dei et hominum, Christus "per Se in mundum veniens paucissimos hujus viæ viros, et "puræ relligionis sectatores invenit; unde et a quodam juvene "interrogatus, cum se complesse et observasse legem diceret, "quomodo perfectus esse posset, respondit, 'Vade et vende fo. 3 r°. "'omnia, &c.' Perpendite quod sequitur, 'Tristatus est, nam "'erat in possessionibus dives.' O quanta est justitia et "misericordia Conditoris nostri! O quanta cæcitas et duritia "mentis humanæ, cum Veritate et de Ipsa conferebat juvenis, "vox Veritatis in auribus, et quia callosæ mentis verbo Veri-"tatis non emollivit duritia, jam non est mirum, si vacuatam "sinceritatis gaudio subintroiit tristitia. Et quid dicemus

Sermon by the bishop of Oporto.

* Psalm xxxiii. 12.

† S. John xx. 29.

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[1] A word is here erased in the MS., and something is wanted to complete the sense.

[2] *cœmeterio episcopii*] cimiterio epyscopii, MS.

[3] *alumnos*] alumpnos, MS.

A.D. 1147.
June 17.
Bishop of Oporto's sermon.

“ad hæc? Quanti hic inter vos hoc juvene in possessionibus ditiores! quanti in dignitatum provectu sublimiores? Quanti prole multiplici et fœcunda generositate feliciores? quos constat profecto omnes honorum dignitates, ut æternum a Deo consequerentur præmium, felici peregrinatione commutasse. Blandos uxorum affectus; inter ubera lactentium pia oscula; adultorum magis dilecta pignora; parentum et amicorum affectanda solatia; soli natalis tantum dulci remanente sed torquente memoria, Christum sequuti reliquere. O admiranda Salvatoris opera! nullo prædicante, nullo admonente, zelum legis Dei in cordibus habentes, impetu Spiritus ducente, per tot terrarum et marium pericula, et longi itineris dispendia, relictis omnibus, nobis primitivæ ecclesiæ filiis, huc advecti, hi novissimi Crucis mysterium repræsentant. O quanta omnium hilaritas! quibus ad laborem et pœnam facies jocundior quam nobis, qui hic, heu torpentes segni vacamus otio; et certe ‘a Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris.’* Ecce, fratres carissimi, crucis improperium portantes, extra castra exiistis;† Deum quæritis, dum inveniri potest, ut comprehendatis. Non enim videtur mirum homines ad Deum ire, quia propter homines et inter homines Deus venit. Jam usque ad vos in terræ finibus verbi Dei prolata sunt semina; nam ‘exiit, qui seminat, seminare semen suum.’‡ ‘Semen est verbum Dei.’ Verbum Dei Deus est. Si mentis vestræ sedem conscenderit, bona est igitur mens, nec sine Eo; semina ista divina corporibus vestris dispersa sunt, quæ si boni cultores suscepistis, similes origini fructus prodire necesse est, et pares iis ex quibus orti sunt: si mali, non aliter quam humus sterilis ac palustris necat, ut postea purgamenta pro frugibus generet. Et Deus bonus augeat ‘incrementa frugum justitiæ vestræ.’§ Ecce filii carissimi, novo pœnitentiæ renati baptismate! Christum induistis iterum. Vestem innocentiæ, ut immaculatam custodiatis, iterum suscepistis. Videte ne iterum post concupiscentias vestras abieritis. Auferte malum cogitationum‖ de medio vestri. Animum purgate, id est, mentem, in sanctificatum Deo templum. Mentis vero habitus sub quolibet pondere nequit deprimi, si eam innocentiæ puritas comitetur: et ut pura sit innocentia mentis, penitus exstirpetur invidia. Cavendum est igitur maxime per mundi præcipitia iter agentibus, ab hujus generis vitio, quo aliena perduntur, et sua consumuntur bona. Verum enim dum conspecta felicitas torquet invidos, et afficit pœna extortionis, nequiores reddit; aliorum bona quæ habere non possunt, si diligerent, utique

fo. 3 vº.

* Psalm cxviii. 23.

† Hebrews xiii. 13.

‡ S. Luke viii. 5, 11.

§ 2 Cor. ix. 10.

‖ Isaiah i. 16.

A.D. 1147. June 17.

Bishop of Oporto's sermon.

" fecissent sua. Vestra utique sunt bona sociorum quæ etsi " imitari non valetis, diligite in alios, et vestra fient quæ " amantur in socios. Excludite ergo invidiam quæ caritatem " ejicit, et discordiam nutrit; quæ corpus corrodit et macerat, " nec ipsum sua valetudine[1] atque vigore stare permittit, " quia dum pestis invidiæ mentem lacerat, corpus consumit et " quicquid in se habere videtur boni interimit. Unde scriptum " est, 'Vita carnium sanitas cordis, putredo ossium invidia.'* " Per livoris vitium ante Dei oculos pereunt etiam quæ " humanis oculis fortia videntur. Ossa quippe per invidiam " putrescere est, quædam etiam robusta deperire; est autem " invidia quasi odium occultum, unde dicitur invidia, id est, " invisibile odium. Hoc est tolerare et odisse, quod non est " virtus mansuetudinis, sed velamentum furoris. Sollerti " igitur custodia muniendus est mentis aditus, et eo obser- " vandum callidius, quanto in ipso tentationis[2] articulo falla- " cius subripit. Necessaria est igitur ad hoc dilectionis " operatio, quæ inter malos non dilectio sed simultas proprie " dicitur. Non est ergo dilectio nisi inter bonos, quia non " est dilectio valida nisi ex utraque parte affectus pendeat. fo. 4 r°. " Dilectionis hujus vel caritatis custos est innocentia, quæ tantæ " virtutis et gratiæ creditur, ut Deo et hominibus placeat. " Vera est hæc quæ nec sibi nec alii nocet, et cum valet, " prodesse satagit. Innocentia vero ferrum retundit, acies " hebetat, hostes comprimit, malorum præcogitata refellit; " nam miro modo divinæ animadversionis judicio, quos pravæ " mentis inquinat conscientia, hos proculdubio adversus inno- " centiam sequitur actionis difficultas. Sit vobis inter cætera " temperatio gulæ — ut breviter dicam, satietur caro ut in " bono opere famulari vobis sufficiat. Sit itaque vobis ars " quædam satiari, ne unusquisque per satietatem carnis ad " iniquitatem prorumpat turpitudinis. De similitudine et col- " lateralitate[3] . . . . et de iis quæ in ea breviter annotavi, " eadem in rectitudinis cautela teneatur. Nam sæpe pro " virtutibus vitia subrepunt.[4]

* Proverbs xiv. 30.

" Auditum satis partibus vestris credimus, quod divina ultio " superincumbentibus Mauris et Moabitis totam Hispaniam in " ore gladii percusserit; paucis in ea Christianis admodum et " in paucis urbibus, sub gravissimo servitutis jugo relictis. " Sed et ea quæ ad vos sola famæ notitia pertulit, ea pro- " culdubio jam luce clariora certius subjecta visibus patent. " Proh dolor! ut vix in tota Gallecia et Aroganum regno, et

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[1] *valetudine*] valitudine, MS.

[2] *tentationis*] temptationis, MS. passim.

[3] Here is an erasure.

[4] *subrepunt*] surripiunt, MS.

A.D. 1147.
June 17.

Bishop of Oporto's sermon.

“ Numantia, ex innumeris urbibus, castris et vicis, et Sanctorum sedibus, nisi sola ruinarum signa et jam factæ desolationis indicia jam pareant. Ista enim nostra, quam cernitis, olim inter celebres, nunc ad instar parvuli reducta viculi, jam nostra memoria multoties a Mauris spoliata est. Verum enim ante hoc septennium ab eis adeo afflicta est, ut ab ecclesia Beatæ Mariæ Virginis cui, Dei gratia, qualiscunque deservio, signa, vestes, vasa, et omnia ecclesiæ ornamenta, captis clericis aut occisis, asportarent. Sed et ex civibus captivos, et ex circumquaque jacentibus territoriis, usque ad ecclesiam Beati Jacobi Apostoli, innumeros fere in patriam suam secum transtulere, non sine nobiliorum nostrorum sanguine; igne et gladio cætera consumentes omnia. Quid enim littus Hispaniæ vestris aliud obtutibus nisi suæ memoriam desolationis quandam, et ruinæ ostendit indicia? Quot in eo urbium et ecclesiarum desolationes visu et indigenarum indiciis didicistis? Ad vos autem mater ecclesia, jam quasi truncis brachiis et deformi facie clamat, sanguinem filiorum et vindictam per manus vestras requirit. Clamat! certe clamat! Vindictam facite in nationibus, increpationes in populis. Nulla ergo itineris incepti vos festinationis seducat occasio, quia non Hierosolimis fuisse, sed bene interim vixisse laudabile est. Non enim ad eam nisi per opera ejus pervenire potestis. Ex bono opere vero, ut ad finem gloriosum quis perveniat, meretur. Jacentem igitur et depressam Hispanorum ecclesiam, ut boni æmulatores, erigite; fœdam et deformem, vestibus jocunditatis et lætitiæ reinduite; ut boni filii, nolite spectare turpitudinem patris, et matri nolite dicere, ‘ Munus, ‘ quodcunque et ex me tibi proderit.’[*] Fœdera societatis humanæ nolite parvipendere, quia, ut Beatus Ambrosius, qui a sociis et fratribus, si potest, non repellit injuriam, tam est in vitio quam ille qui facit.[†] Et vos boni filii matris ecclesiæ vim atque injuriam propulsate; nam jure hoc evenit, ut quis quæ ob tutelam sui corporis fecerit jure fecisse arbitretur. Vos, fratres, arma deposuistis, arma scilicet quibus rapiuntur aliena; de quibus dicitur, ‘Qui gladio ‘ percutit gladio peribit;’[‡] scilicet qui nulla superiore ac legitima potestate vel jubente vel concedente, in sanguinem fratris armatur. Sed nunc Deo inspirante, arma fertis quibus homicidæ et raptores damnentur,[1] furta cohibeantur, adulteria puniantur, impii de terra perdantur, parricidæ

fo. 4 v°.

[*] S. Mark vii. 11.

[†] Ambrose, *De Officiis*, lib. i. c. 36, vol. iv. c. 28, ed. Paris 1603.

[‡] S. Matt. xxvi. 52.

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[1] *damnentur*] dampnentur, MS. passim.

A.D. 1147. June 17.

Bishop of Oporto's sermon.

“ vivere non sinantur nec filii impie agere. Vos igitur fratres
“ cum his fortitudinem armis suscipite, eam scilicet, quæ vel
“ bello tuetur a barbaris patriam, vel domi defendit inimicos,
“ vel a latronibus socios; nam plena est justitiæ. Hujusmodi
“ vero opera vindictæ officia sunt quæ boni bono animo implent.
“ Nolite, fratres, nolite timere. Non enim in hujusmodi
“ actionibus homicidio vel taxatione alicujus criminis
“ notabimini: immo rei propositi vestri deserti judicabimini.
“ Non est vero crudelitas pro Deo pietas. Zelo justitiæ, non
“ felle iræ, justum bellum committite. Justum vero bellum,
“ sic Ysidorus noster,* quod ex indicto geritur, de rebus repetendis,
“ aut hostium pulsandorum causa: et quia justa est
“ causa homicidas et sacrilegos et venenarios punire, non est
“ effusio sanguinis homicidii. Et item, non est crudelis qui
“ crudeles perimit, vel qui malos perimit; in eo quod mali
“ sunt, et habet causam interfectionis, minister est Domini.
“ Profecto filii Israel contra Amorreos justum bellum commisere,
“ quibus transitus negabatur innoxius; et vos ergo
“ populus Israel, et filii Christi, et servi Crucis. Numquid
“ hæc libertas permittenda adversariis Crucis ut impune
“ vobis insultent? Absit. Audite quid super his Augustinus
“ dixit ad Donatum presbyterum.† Non est permittenda mala
“ voluntas suæ libertati, sicut nec Paulo permissum uti pessima
“ voluntate ‘qui persecutus est ecclesiam Dei.’‡ Item
“ Chrysostomus super Matthæum, Homilia[1] xvii^a^. Occidit Phinees[2]
“ hominem et reputatum est ei ad justitiam. Abraham
“ non solum homicida, sed quod gravius parricida effectus,
“ magis magisque Deo placuit. Item Jeronymus ad Ripoarium,
“ ‘Legi seiromasten[3] Phinees, austeritatem[4] Heliæ, zelum
“ ‘Symonis Cananæi, Petri severitatem Annaniam et Saphiram
“ ‘trucidantem, Pauli constantiam qui Elymam[5] magum, viis
“ ‘Dominum resistentem, æterna cæcitate[6] damnavit.’§ Unde
“ in lege dicitur, ‘Si frater tuus et amicus et uxor quæ in
“ ‘sinu tuo, te depravare voluerit a veritate, sit manus tua
“ ‘super eos et effunde sanguinem ipsorum.’ ‖ Tale quid in
“ vobis spiritualiter completum est. Percussit in vobis Dominus
“ Saulum et erexit Paulum. Eandem Sauli et Pauli
“ carnem, non eundem mentis affectum sed immutatum. Ecce
“ quam pius, quam justus, quam misericors Deus! nihil
“ vobis detraxit Deus: eadem patriæ vestræ opera, sed affectu
“ solum mutato vobis concessit. Armis et gladio utebamini;

fo. 5 r°.

* Isidore of Seville, *Origines*, lib. xviii. c. i. Opp. p. 155, ed. Cologne 1617.

† Augustine ep. 173, ad Donatum. Opp. ii. 613, ed. Paris 1588.

‡ 1 Cor. xv. 9.

Opp. vii. 231.

§ Hieronymus ad Riparium, ep. 37. Opp. iv. p. ii. c. 280, ed. Paris 1706.

‖ Cf. Deut. xiii. 6.

fo. 5 v°.

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[1] *Homilia*] omelia, MS.

[2] *Phinees*] Finees, MS.

[3] *seiromasten*] chyromachen, MS.

[4] *austeritatem*] auctoritatem, MS.

[5] *Elymam*] Elimam, MS.

[6] *cæcitate*] severitate, MS.

A.D. 1147. June 17. Bishop of Oporto's sermon. " prædas agebatis et cætera militantium facinora de quibus
" non est modo dicendum per singula. Vos, ut videtis, arma
" portatis et rei militaris insignia, sed diverso affectu, ut su-
" perius dictum, non mutantes actum sed voluntatem, atten-
" dentes illud apostoli consilium, ' Sicut exhibuistis membra
" ' vestra servire immunditiæ ad iniquitatem, ita exhibete
Rom. vi. 19. " ' membra vestra, &c.' [Sed quoniam armati venistis, eja!
" ut boni milites agite, quia non est peccatum militare, sed
" propter prædam peccatum est militare] Suscipite ergo vobis
" et vestris Beati Augustini salubre consilium ad Bonefacium
† Ep. 189. Opp. ii. 697, ed. Paris 1688. " comitem.† Corripite manibus arma, oratio aures pulset Auc-
" toris; quia quando pugnatur, Deus apertis oculis spectat, et
" partem quam inspicit justam, ibi dat palmam. [Et vere ad-
" implebitur in vobis prophetia qua ad laudem et honorem
" virtutis et gloriæ filiorum Dei dictum est, ' Quomodo perse-
‡Deut. xxxii. 30. " ' quebatur unus mille, et duo fugarent decem millia;‡ et
§ Leviticus xxvi. 8. " item, ' Cadent inimici vestri coram vobis gladio,'§ nam bel-
" lum quod Deo auctore gerendum suscipitur, recte suscipi,
" dubitare fas non est.]

" De cætero, filius noster dilectus, et frater vester, et in tribu-
" lationibus princeps, Hyldefonxus rex noster contra Olixebonam,
" diebus jam decem retroactis cum omni expeditione sua exiit;
" vestrum adventum prænoscens, nos hic vos expectatum stare
" jussit, ut vos vice ejus alloqueremur, si forte Deus cordibus
" vestris immiserit, vos ut cum omni navigio vestro eum
" adeatis, et cum illo, donec Deo auctore et vobis cooperanti-
" bus civitas Lyxbonensis caperetur, maneatis, pecuniæ vero
" sponsionem, si vobis placeat, proinde facturi vestris, prout
" fisci regiæ potestatis facultas sequetur. Nos vero inde et
" quos volueritis vobiscum obsides habeatis sponsionis persol-
" vendæ. Quid vero placuerit sanctitati societatis vestræ,
" responsionem expectabimus. Sit jam in manibus vestris
" consilium pium, modestum, justum, honestum, ad laudem et
" honorem Nominis Ejus, et Sanctissimæ Suæ genitricis, Qui
" cum Deo Patre et Spiritu Sancto, vivit et regnat, per omnia
" sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

Completo sermone, post expletionem missæ, deliberatum est ab omnibus, ut Christianus dux Flandrensium et comes de fo. 6 r°. Ærescot, et naves plurimæ quæ nondum ex dispersione conve- The pilgrims wait ten days for the count of Aerschot. nerant expectarentur, et advocaretur Johannes archiepiscopus Braccarensis. Congregatis igitur ex dispersione navibus, deliberatum est, ut episcopi una nobiscum in navibus apud

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[1] In the margin "et persequentur "v. de vobis c. alienos, et c. ex vobis "decem millia," from Leviticus xxvi. 8.

civitatem venirent Lixbonensem, ut illinc a rege illorum audiremus præsentes, quæ absentibus mandabantur.

A.D. 1147. June 17.

They sail, June 26, and on June 27 reach the isle of the Phœnix (Peniche),

Die vero quasi decima sequenti, impositis sarcinis nostris, una cum episcopis, velificare incepimus, iter prosperum agentes. Die vero postera ad insulam Phœnicis, distantem a continenti quasi octingentis passibus, feliciter applicuimus. Insula abundat cervis, et maxime cuniculis; liquiricium habet; Tyrii dicunt eam Erictream, Pœni Gaddir, id est, sepem, ultra quam non est terra, immo extremus noti orbis terminus dicitur.

near which are the Berlingas.

Juxta hanc sunt duæ insulæ, quæ vulgo dicuntur Berlinges, id est, Baleares lingua corrupta; in una quarum est palatium admirabilis architecturæ et multarum officinarum diversoria, regi cuidam, ut aiunt, quondam gratissimum secretale hospitium. Habentur autem in continenti a Portugala usque ad insulam, flumina et castra.

Rivers and castles between Oporto and the island.

Est castrum quod dicitur Sanctæ Mariæ inter fluvium Doira et sylvam quæ dicitur[1] Medica in frigore, in cujus territorio requiescit Beatus Donatus apostoli Jacobi discipulus; et post sylvam fluvius Vaga, et post civitas Colymbria super fluvium Mundego; ultra quam est castrum Soyra; et post, castrum quod dicitur Mons Major; et post, castrum Lora, super fluvium qui dividit episcopatum Lyxbonensem a Colymbriensi; et post, sylva quæ vocatur Alchubez lingua eorum, circa quam eremi[2] vastitas usque ad castrum Suhtrium, quod distat a Lyxebona milliaria septem.

June 28. They sail from Peniche.

In insula vero prædicta cum pernoctassemus, summo mane velificare incepimus, iter prosperum agentes donec fere ad ostia[3] Tagi fluminis ventus procumbens a montibus Suchtriis, naves tam admirabili tempestate concuteret, ut pars batellorum cum hominibus absorberetur. Perseveravit autem tempestas usque ad introitum portus fluminis Tagi.

Good omen at the mouth of Tagus.

Nobis vero portum intrantibus signum admirabile in aere visum est. Nam ecce! a Galliarum partibus nubes candidæ magnæ nobiscum venientes, nubibus quibusdam magnis nigredine conspersis a continenti venientibus concurrere visæ sunt atque in modum acierum ordinatarum sinistris cornibus inter se junctis admirabili impetu confligere, quædam in modum velitum, dextra lævaque impressione facta, in aciem resilire, quædam ut aditum invenirent cæteras gyrare, quædam cæteras penetrare easdemque penetratas ab modum vaporis inanire, quædam sursum, quædam deorsum levari, nunc pene aquis contiguæ, nunc ab oculis in sublime ferri. Cum tandem nubes magna, a nostris partibus veniens, omnem aeris impuritatem secum trahens, ut ad modum

fo. 6 v°.

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[1] In the MS. is inserted before *Medica* a reference to the margin, corresponding to which is the word *mei*. (Medica in frigore= Mezanfrio?)

[2] *eremi*] heremi, MS. passim.

[3] *ostia*] hostia, MS. passim.

A.D. 1147. June 28.

azoli purissimi citra hanc videretur, cæteras omnes a continenti venientes impetu suo reprimens, quasi victrix, coram se prædas agens, aeris sola principatum tenuit, cæteris omnibus vel inanitis vel si qua paucula remanserit, apud urbem visa est confugere, nobis acclamantibus, "Ecce nubes nostra devicit; "Ecce nobiscum Deus! dispersa est hostium potentia! confusi sunt, quoniam Dominus dissipavit eos." Et sic demum tempestatis cessavit omnis quassatio. Igitur post parum temporis, circiter horam diei decimam, pervenimus ad civitatem quæ non multum distat ab ostio fluminis Tagi. Est autem Tagus fluvius subterlabens, a Toletanis partibus fluens, in cujus ripis sub primo vere, dum in alveo se recolligit, aurum invenitur; cujus etiam tanta piscium copia, ut duæ partes aquæ, tertia piscium ab incolis credatur: conchyliis abundat ut arena. Hoc autem præcipue, quod hujus aquæ pisces omni tempore pinguedinem suam et saporem innatum retinent, non alternantes vel degenerantes, ut apud nos est, ulla rerum vicissitudine. A meridie hujus est Elmada provincia, quæ abundat vineis et ficis et pomis granatis; segete adeo fertilis, ut bis ex uno semine fructificetur, celebris venatibus, melle abundans. Similiter in ea parte castrum Palmella. A septentrione fluminis est civitas Lyxibona, in cacumine montis rotundi, cujus muri gradatim descendentes ad ripam fluminis Tagi solummodo interclusi pertingunt. Sub nostro adventu opulentissima totius Africæ[1] et magnæ partis Europæ commeatibus: est autem sita super montem Artabrum, pertingentem mare Oceanum Gaditanum. Cœlum, terras, maria distinguit a terris, eo quod ibi littus Hispaniæ finiat et quod a circuitu ejus incipit Gallicus Oceanus et fons septentrionalis, Oceano Atlantico et occasu terminatis ibidem, quo ab Ulixe oppidum Ulixibona conditum creditur. Territoria ejus circumquaque adjacentia optimis comparanda, nulli postponenda, frugique soli copia sive arborarios sive vinearum proventus respicere velis; omni materia affluit, aut quæ pretio ambitiosa aut usu necessaria; aurum et argentum habet, ferrariis nunquam deficit. Vincit olea, nihil in ea otiosum vel sterile, nec quod omnimodam messem neget. Non coquunt sales sed effodiunt: ficis abundat adeo ut vix a nobis portio consumi quiverit. Vigent pabulis etiam arida: venatibus multimodis celebris. Non habet lepores, aves habet multigenas. Aere salubris: habet autem civitas hæc balnea calida. Juxta quam est castrum Suchtrium, distans quasi milliaria octo, in quo fons est purissimus, usus cujus tussim phthisimque[2] sedare dicitur, unde si incolæ tussientes audiverint, non esse indigenas deprehendunt. Habet

They arrive at Lisbon.

Description of the country.

Description of Lisbon.

fo. 7 r°.

Description of Cintra.

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[1] *Africæ*] Affricæ, MS. passim. | [2] *phthisim*] tysim, MS.

A.D. 1147. June 28.

Population of Lisbon.

Deficiency in arms.

Religious liberty at Lisbon.

fo. 7. v°.

Christian remains.

etiam poma citrea.[1] In cujus pascuis equæ lasciviunt mira fœcunditate, nam, aspiratæ Favoniis, vento concipiunt, et postmodum sitientes cum maribus coeunt, sic aurarum spiritu maritantur. Constitit vero sub nostro adventu civitas sexaginta millibus familiarum, aurum reddentium, summatis circumquaque suburbiis, exceptis liberis, nullius gravedini subjacentibus. Cingitur autem muro rotundo cacumen montis, dextra lævaque descendentibus muris urbis per declivum usque ad Tagi ripam; dependentibus sub muro suburbiis vicorum vice in rupibus excisis, ut unusquisque vicus pro castro haberetur munitissimo: tot enim difficultatibus cingitur. Populosa supra quod existimari nequit, nam, sicut postmodum urbe capta, ab eorum Alcaie, id est principe, didicimus, habuit hæc civitas centum quinquaginta quatuor millia hominum exceptis parvulis et mulieribus, annumeratis Castri Scalaphii civibus, et qui in hoc anno a castro suo expulsi, novi hospitesque morabantur, de Suchtria et Elmada et Palmella optimatibus cunctis, ex omnibus Hispaniæ partibus et Africæ, et mercatoribus multis. Sed cum tanti essent, solum armaturam quindecim millium habebant in lanceis et scutis, et cum his egrediebantur adinvicem: sic ex indicto principis constitutum fuerat. Ædificia vero ejus arctissime conglobata, ut vix nisi in vicis mercatoriis vicus inveniri quiverit amplioris quam octo pedum latitudinis. Causa tantæ multitudinis erat quod nullus ritus relligionis inter eos erat, nam quisque sibi lex erat, utpote qui ex omnibus mundi partibus flagitiosissimi quique quasi in sentinam confluxerant, totius libidinis atque immunditiæ seminaria. Sub temporibus regum Christianorum, priusquam Mauri eam obtinuissent, trium martyrum memoria juxta urbem in loco qui dicitur Compolet celebrabatur, scilicet Verissimi et Maximæ et Juliæ virginis, quorum ecclesia a Mauris solotenus destructa tres tantum adhuc lapides in signum ruinæ suæ ostendit, qui nunquam abinde potuere sustolli. De quibus alii dicunt eos fore altaria, alii bustalia. Hæc de civitate ad præsens sufficiant.

June 28. Our men attacked the city as soon as they landed.

Vigilia igitur Beati Petri Apostoli post prandium, cum ibi hora quasi prandii venissemus, quidam ex nostris in littore juxta civitatem ex navibus progrediuntur. Contra quos Mauri, sed nostrorum impetum non valentes ferre, non sine ipsorum detrimento usque ad portam quæ suburbium respicit fugati sunt. Sed Saherius de Arcellis nostros ab impetu, dolum succensens hostium, revocat, gratias agens Deo quod dissimiles prioribus qui ante huc devenerant casus jam in operis prin-

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[1] *citrea*] cetria, MS.; followed in the margin by the mutilated note, *quodammodo odorem . . . . rentia . . . . catur de v . . . medici eorum . . . ver . . . . dicitur.*

A.D. 1147. June 28. Tents pitched close to the suburbs.

June 29. The bishops come from the king to treat with pilgrims.

fo. 8 r°.

The king's speech.

cipio experti sumus. Advocatis qui aderant, tentoria in supercilio montis supereminentis urbem quantum est fere baculi jactus, figi jubet, inhonestum ratus jam primo congressu, ne cedere hostibus videremur, terram relinquere. Cuncti qui aderant favent. Adveniente itaque prima noctis vigilia, nisi duo tantum tentoria, Hervæi de Glanvilla et Saherii de Arcellis usquam apparuere, cæteris omnibus ad naves regressis. Nos vero cum paucis admodum triginta novem, tota nocte non sine metu excubavimus, ut Sancti Petri vigilias solemnes, loricis induti, celebraremus. Mane autem facto, ut citius quis potuit tentorium terra defigere, ac si nostri casus nihil præscissent: episcopi vero qui nobiscum advenerant regem suum adeunt, ut, sicut nobiscum constituerant, eum nobis obviam facerent. Qui brevi cum eo redeunt, nam per dies plus octo in provincia commoratus nostrum adventum existimans expectaverat. Audierat enim per nostros de nostro adventu, qui in navibus quinque a nostra societate segregati, quinque dierum navigatione a portu de Dertemuthe advenerant ante dies octo. Adveniente itaque rege, omnes fere pariter, ut in tali tumultu fieri solet, divites et pauperes, obviam facti sumus. Cum percunctasset vero rex, qui essent ex nobis primates, aut quorum consilia in nobis præcellerent, aut si cuiquam totius exercitus responsum commisissemus, breviter responsum est, nos primates habere hos et hos, et quorum præcipue actus et consilia præminerent, sed nondum deliberatum cui responsionis officia committerent. Si ab ipso primitus audissent, inter tot summæ prudentiæ viros brevi reperturos qui pro omnibus communi omnium consilio responderet. Ad hæc rex pro tempore pauca respondit; "Scimus satis et compertum habemus, vos "fortes et strenuos magnæque industriæ viros fore, et verum "apud nos non vos vestri præsentia quam fama minores fecit. "Non enim quod inter tot tantæque divitiæ viros, nostra "sponsio suffecerit, ut nostris scilicet ditati muneribus ad "urbis hujus obsidionem nobiscum maneatis, vos convenimus. "A Mauris enim semper inquietatis nunquam pecunias adu"nare quibus quandoque secure non contigit vivere. Sed "quoniam facultatem nostram et bonæ mentis erga vos affec"tum vos ignorare nolumus, sponsioni nostræ non inferendam "injuriam, immo quidquid terra nostra possidet vobis manci"patum censemus. Certi vero super his, quod vos magis "pietas vestra ad laborem studiumque tanti operis invitabit, "quam nostræ sponsio pecuniæ ad præmium provocabit. Sed "ne populorum conclamationibus vestrorum nostra turbetur "oratio, ex vobis eligite quos volueritis ut ab invicem sece"dentes benigne placideque sponsionis nostræ causam utrim"que super his quæ proposuimus diffiniamus, sicque inter nos "diffinita in commune coram omnibus explicetur, ut omnibus "deinde utrimque assensum præbentibus, certo fœdere certis- "que pignoribus ad Dei quæstum rata fiat."

A.D. 1147. June 29.

We deliberate on our answer before dinner.

Ad hæc omnes responsuri una in concilium veniunt. Quid vero in hoc quisque prout animi linguæque facilitas abundabat dixerit, nihilque aliud nisi aerem verberare conferret, cum parum auctoritatis constet in fabula, non inconvenienter prætereundum puto. Sed cum multi multa supervacua proferrent, usque post prandium differtur consultum quid potius eligendum esset. Sed interim, quo pacto nescio quibusve internunciis, Flandrenses regis sponsionibus acquiescunt. Nam ut æstimo quos rei familiaris inopia urgebat, hos proculdubio pecuniarum[1] spes capessendarum[2] facilius ad consuetudinem suam reducit. Dum iterum in concilio ventum est, quos paulo ante existimabamus conjurationis socios, nunc regis advocatos in concilio reperimus, hoc solum semper coram nobis excipientes quod a rege pactionem ullam non solum non susciperent, immo nec audirent, sed moris semper ubique terrarum fuisse in hanc partem favere potius qua impetus animi magis duceret; seque cum rege manere velle si omnibus complaceret sociis, neque restare aliquid quin hoc potius fieri aiebant.

Whilst we are at dinner the Flemings join the king.

Interea quisque prout arbitrabatur prudentior sententiam rogatus, diversi diversa protulere. Inter quos Willelmus Vitulus, "adhuc spirans minarum cædisque"* piraticæ,[3] et Radulfus frater ejus, et omnes fere Hamtunenses et Hastingenses, cum iis qui ante hoc quinquennium urbem Ulyxibonam obsidendam convenerant, omnes uno ore regis sponsionem accipere nihil aliud quam proditionem aiebant; plurima etiam super his retractantes, quæ vel ficta, vel si qua vera fuerint, eorum magis deputanda insipientiæ quam alterius pravitati, aut ea quæ magis patebant, longi dispendia laboris in obsidione nolle pati. Insuper maximo quæstui fore si costam Hispaniæ sub festinatione transcurrerent, ac perinde multas pecunias ab Africæ navibus et Hispaniæ mercatoriis leviter extorquerent: ventumque insuper plurimum eo tempore in Jerusalem navigantibus aptum commemorant, nec se quosquam expectaturos si solum octo vel decem naves socias habuerint; et multa his similia quæ potius fortunæ casibus subjacent quam virtuti. Sed nostrorum major pars, omni occasione remota, assensum remanendi præbet, Colonensibus, Flandrensibus, Bolonensibus, Britonibus, Scottis, in hoc idem libentissime assentientibus, cæteris cum Willelmo Vitulo, quasi navibus

fo. 8 vo.

* Acts ix. 1.

William Calf opposes the king's proposal.

The majority wish to join the king.

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[1] *pecuniarum*] peccuniarum, MS.

[2] *capessendarum*] capescendarum, MS. passim.

[3] *piraticæ*] pyraticæ, MS.

A.D. 1147. June 29. octo Normannorum, Hamtonensium, et Bristowensium, adhuc in hac pertinacia immobiliter durantibus. Interim Flandrenses et Colonenses et Bolonenses ad orientalem civitatis partem cum classe sua secedunt. Item post parum perversos exhortatum in concilio venimus, ut exhortationibus blandisque promissis eos nobiscum retineremus, vel quasi fidei juramentique transgressores conjuratæque societatis ab omni nostrorum et a sanctæ matris ecclesiæ communione segregaremus. Hinc illinc acclamantibus cunctis, Hervæus de Glanvilla, vix nactus silentium, orationem hujusmodi habuit:[1]

Hervey Glanvill's speech.

" Piæ recordationis memoria, qua tot nationum populos " piæque eruditionis viros, cruce Dominica insignitos, pridie " apud Portugalam me vidisse recolo, animum licet mœstissi- " mum maxime relevaret, si hanc universitatem gentium sub " unitatis sinceræ vinculo scirem posse restringi. Ad hoc " enim quemque nostrum summa ope deceret eniti, ut cum " jam tanta gentium diversitas, sub conjuratæ unitatis lege " nobiscum astringitur, nihilque in ea quod merito accusari " vel derogari queat in contingenti perpendamus, ne in nos " ejusdem sanguinis generisque socios vitabunda infamiæ in " posterum macula cohæreat; immo ut antiquorum virtutum " memores nostrorum, laudem et gloriam generis nostri " accumulare, potius quam infamatam malitiæ panniculis " obvelare. Insignia enim veterum a posteris in memoriam " reducta, et amoris et honoris indicia sunt. Si boni æmula- " tores veterum fueritis, honor et gloria vos insequitur; si " mali, dedecus improperii. Normannorum gens, quis nesciat " usu continuatæ virtutis laborem recusare nullum, quorum " scilicet in summa asperitate semper durata militia, nec " in adversitate cito subvertitur, nec in prosperitate, tot " difficultatibus exercitata, segni valet otio subjici, nam semper " otii vitia discutere negotiis didicit. Sed quonam perversi- " tatis modo nescio, quasi gloriæ honorisque cupidine, nos " pedissequa subrepit invidia, et dum generis alieni viros " nobiscum nequit inficere, in nosmet ipsos maximam veneni " sui partem transfundit. Attendite, fratres, et recolite corri- " gendo mores vestros. Exemplum e vicino in confusionem " vestram sumite. Colonenses Colonensibus non dissident. " Flandrigenæ Flandrensibus non invident. Quis enim Scottos " barbaros esse neget? nunquam tamen inter nos legem " debitæ excesserunt amicitiæ. Et quid aliud nisi prodigio- " sum quiddam in vobis conspicitur, cum nos omnes unius " matris filii simus, ut si lingua palato, os ventri, pes pari,

fo. 9 r°.

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[1] There is a mutilated note in the margin, *non his verbis sed hoc . . . . d persua . . . . ribus in modo.*

"manus manui, mutuæ servitutis neget officium, et vos hinc "abire vultis; et ut bene fiat optamus. Nos vero, ut jam ab "omnibus in commune decretum est, vobis solum paucis "exceptis, quod non sine dolore cogor dicere, hic remane- "mus. Deo non vos inde injuriam facitis, sed vobis. Si "enim vos hic remanseritis, non augetur ex vobis Dei "potestas; si abieritis, non imminuitur. Si civitas hæc a "nobis capiatur, quid dicetis ad hæc? Et ut de piaculo violatæ "societatis taceam, vos ubique terrarum infames et ignomi- "niosi venietis. Gloriosæ mortis metu vires vestras a sociis "subduxistis vestris. Prædæ solam nondum adeptæ cupidi- "nem æterno comparastis opprobrio. Genus vestrum innox- "ium hoc vestro crimine obnoxium tenebitur, et certe pudet "quod generis nostri mater Normannia, et immerito a tot "nationum quæ hic adsunt gentibus, perpetuum vestri faci- "noris sustinebit opprobrium. Nunc de cætero. Quamobrem "vos et vestram perditum itis? Certe peregrinatio vestra "non videtur caritate fundata, quia non est in vobis dilectio. "Si enim in vobis veræ dilectionis esset affectus, profecto "majori fiducia ea erga nos uteremini. Non litteras didici, "nec populo sermonem facere novi. Didici tamen et scio "quod qui vult peccatis dimitti oportet peccata cæteris "dimittere. Hic enim officium diligentis implet, qui iis a "quibus est appetitus ignovit. Hoc enim ideo de peccatis "dimittendis et malis tolerandis intersero, quia superius in "excusatione hujus operis quædam de rege improbanda pro- "posuistis. Item de quæstu navigantibus proventuro:—quis "novit si in concupiscendo aliena perdamus nostra? De "itinere festinando? quis novit si illa spe quæstus festinatio "fiat tardatio? Malo vero hic aliquid bene operando mea "consumere, quam vagabundus et anceps certa pro incertis "mutare, et me et mea casibus fortuitis, et in malos usus "committere. De rege etsi apud vos culpabilis foret, ut "superius proposuistis, pro Deo tolerandus esset, ut aliquid "lucri majoris a vobis fieret. Ipse tamen, ut nobis refert, "totius pravæ actionis erga vos immunem se asserit, pur- "gandum judicio vestrorum. Misereminí ergo sociorum ves- "trorum. Parcite generis infamiæ vestri. Assentite consiliis "honoris vestri. Ego vero in primis si placet, cum omnibus "meis, genibus flexis, vinctis manibus, omnia mea in mani- "bus vestris tradens, dominium vestri libentissime, solum "maneatis nobiscum, suscipiam. Et si non vultis socios, "exhibete vos saltem nobis dominos." Et cum hæc ad ultimum præ lacrymis vix dixisset, pedibus Willelmi Vituli humiliari voluit, optimatibus astantium militum et cæterorum

A.D. 1147. June 29.

Hervey Glanvill's speech.

fo. 9 vo.

A.D. 1147. June 29.

William Calf gives in.

idem facientibus; sed non sunt permissi ab eo et a causæ suæ circumstantibus. Acquievit tandem Willelmus et socii ejus nobiscum manere, quantum sibi victualia suppeterent, nec amplius die uno, nisi regis vel nostrorum stipendiis teneretur. Et lacrymati sunt omnes præ gaudio dicentes, "Deus, ad- "juva nos."

We choose deputies to treat with the king.

Electi sunt ex optimatibus nostris una cum Colonensibus et Flandrensibus, per quos inter nos et regem sponsionum et conventionum fieret diffinitionis terminatio. Qui una cum rege et archiepiscopo et coepiscopis et clericis et laicis, testamentum confirmationis pactionum postea coram omnibus prolatum in hæc verba fecerunt:

Agreement with the king.

"Notum sit omnibus ecclesiæ filiis, tam futuris quam præ- "sentibus, conventionis pactum inter me et Francos. Quod "scilicet ego Hyldefonxus, rex Portugalensium, omnium "meorum assensu, ut perpetuo sit apud posteros in memoria, "testamento confirmationis assigno, quod Franci qui ad urbis "Lyxbonensis obsidionem una mecum mansuri sunt, hostium "possessiones in omnibus in suam ditionem et potestatem "transferant et habeant, omnibus meis et me omnimodo ex- "pertibus: hostes captos, si qui ut vivant redimi voluerint, "redemptionis pecunias libere habeant, mihi insuper captivos "reddant. Urbem, si forte ceperint, habeant et teneant donec "facto scrutinio spolietur, tam in omnium redemptionibus "quam in cæteris, sicque demum ad eorum voluntatem per- "scrutatam mihi tradant. Postea vero civitas et terræ "subactæ, me præsidente, partiantur secundum conditiones "suas, sicut quosque melius noverim, tenendæ secundum "consuetudines et libertates Francorum honestissimas; mihi "solum in eis remanente advocationis dominio. Naves insuper "et res eorum vel hæredum eorum qui ad urbis Lyxbo- "nensis obsidionem una mecum fuere ab omni consuetudine "mercatoria quæ vulgo pedatica dicitur, a modo et in per- "petuum per totam terram meam firmiter et bona fide con- "cedo. His testibus; Johanne archiepiscopo Braccarensi, "episcopo Petro Portugalensi, episcopo Lameccensi, epi- "scopo Viseos, Frinando Menendiz, socero regis, Frinando "captivo, Gunzalvo Roderici, Gocelino de Seusa, Menendo "Hyldefonxi dapifero, Mutio de Lamega, Petro Pelagio, "Johanne Rainno, Goncelvo Sotheri, et multis quorum non "novimus nomina." Hujus conventionis dati sunt ex parte regis obsides certi viginti per fidem et juramentum, tam episcopi, quam laici. Super his juravit rex conventionem et testamentum præscriptum servare. Insuper autem a nobis non discessurum nisi infirmitate ultima cogente, aut si hostibus

fo. 10 rº.

terra ejus occuparetur, nec inde fallendi occasionem quærere erga nos ullo modo. Nos vero similiter pactionis tenendæ juramentum fecimus, datis inde obsidibus similiter viginti. His ita omnibus confirmatis, communi omnium consilio decretum est, ut legatarii ad urbem hostes conventum mitterentur, ne eos nisi inviti videremur impugnare. Archiepiscopus igitur Braccarensis et episcopus Portugalæ cum paucis ex nostris ad urbem mittuntur. Dato utrimque signo, ipso civitatis Alcaie super murum cum episcopo et primiceriis civitatis stantibus, pax induciarum, ut quid velint dicant, utrimque sancitur. Cum sic archiepiscopus exorsus orationem habuit:

A.D. 1147. June 29. Hostages exchanged.

"Spiritus pacis et dilectionis velamen erroris a cordibus " vestris auferat, et ad se vos convertat. Et nos igitur de " pace locuturi ad vos pervenimus. Concordia enim res parvæ " crescunt, discordia maximæ dilabuntur. Sed ut hæc inter " nos non regnet perpetuo, huc ad vos conciliatum venimus. " Sic enim nos ex uno eodemque principio natura progenuit, " ut fœderi societatis humanæ et vinculo matris omnium con- " cordiæ, aliis alios non ingratos fieri deceret. Nos vero ad " hanc quam possidetis urbem, non vos expugnatum huc " neque exspoliatum, si vultis, venimus. Habet enim hoc sem- " per Christianorum innata benignitas, ut, licet sua repetat, " aliena non rapiat. Urbis hujus sedem nostri juris fore ven- " dicamus, et certe si in vobis justitia naturalis profecerit, " inexorati cum omnibus sarcinis vestris, pecuniis et peculiis, " cum mulieribus et infantibus, patriam Maurorum repeteretis, " unde venistis; linquentes nobis nostra. Sed compertum " habemus jam satis quod inviti vel coacti talia faceretis. " Sed date operam ut libenter faciatis, nam si quæ petimus " libenter suscipitis acerbissimam petitionis partem jam effu- " gistis. Quænam aliter inter nos concordia fieri possit nescio, " cum sors ab initio unicuique data proprio possessore careat. " Vos ex Mauris et Moabitis Lusitaniæ regnum regi vestro " et nostro fraudulenter subripuistis. Urbium et vicorum et " ecclesiarum desolationes innumeræ ab illo tempore usque in " præsens et factæ sunt et per dies fiunt. In uno fides vestra, " in altero societas humanitatis læsa est. Civitates nostras et " terrarum possessiones injuste retinetis jam annis trecentis " et eo amplius quinquaginta octo, ante vos a Christianis " habitas, quos non ad fidem gladius exactoris addixit, sed " quos verbum prædicationis in filios Dei adoptavit, sub apo- " stolo nostro Jacobo et ejus sequacibus, Donato, Torquato, " Secundo, Endaletio, Eufrasio, Tesiphonte, Victorio, Pelagio, " et pluribus apostolicorum signorum viris. Testis est in urbe " ista sanguis martyrum pro Christi nomine sub Ageiano

The Archbishop of Braga addresses alcaide and people of Lisbon.

fo. 10 vo.

A.D. 1147. June 29. The archbishop of Braga's discourse.

"Romano principe effusus, Maximæ scilicet et Verissimi et "Juliæ virginis. Requirite concilium Toletanum sub glorioso "nostro et vestro rege Sisebuto. Testis est inde Ysidorus "Hyspalensis archiepiscopus, et ecclesiæ Lyxbonensis ejusdem "temporis episcopus Viericus cum ducentis et eo amplius "totius Hispaniæ coepiscopis. Testantur adhuc in urbibus "ecclesiarum ruinæ indicia manifesta. Sed quod jam usu "longo et generis propagatione urbem occupatam tenuistis, "utimur ad vos solito bonitatis affectu, solum vestri munimentum castri in manus nostras tradite, libertates huc usque "habitas habeat vestrum unusquisque. Nolumus enim vos "tam antiquis exturbare sedibus. Secundum mores suos unusquisque vivat, nisi gratuito ex vobis augeatur Ecclesia Dei. "Prædives est, ut videmus, et satis felix urbs vestra, sed "multorum aviditati exposita. Quot enim castra! quot naves! "quæ hominum in vos conjurata multitudo! Parcite desolationi agrorum et fructuum. Parcite pecuniis vestris. Parcite saltem sanguini vestro. Pacem dum felix est suscipite, "nam dubium non est quin sit felicior pax nunquam lacessita "quam quæ multo reparatur sanguine. Etenim felicior sanitas "inconcussa quam ex gravibus morbis et extrema minantibus, "vi quadam et exactione in tutum reducta. Gravis est morbus "et præceps qui vos infestat, alterum faciet, nisi salubre "sumatis consilium, aut extinguetur aut extinguemini. Cavete; nam terminum festinat velocitas. Studete incolumitati "vestræ, dum tempus habetis. Vetus est enim proverbium, "Gladiatorem in area capere consilium. Vos deinceps respondeatis si placet." fo. 11 r°.

Answer of Moors.

Ad hæc quidam ex senioribus circumstantibus responsum hujusmodi dedit: "Video verba vos satis in potestate habere, "nec oratio vestra vos effert, nec longius quam destinavistis "protraxit. Ad unum finem, scilicet capessendæ nostræ civitatis, vestra respexit oratio. Sed de vobis satis admirari "nequeo, cum una sylva vel provincia multis elephantibus vel "leonibus sufficiat, vobis autem nec mare nec terra sufficit. "Non enim vos rerum inopia, sed mentis cogit ambitio. "Quod enim superius de sorte unicuique data proposuistis, vos "sortem nostram inquietatis, ambitionem vestram rectitudinis "zelum dicentes, pro virtutibus vitia mentimini. Jam enim "adeo in immensum vestra cupiditas exiit, ut non solum "vobis turpia delectent sed et placeant; et jam fere locus "remedio fieri desiit, quia vestræ cupiditatis consummata infelicitas jam pene modum naturalem transiit. Inopes et "exules nos fieri judicatis, ut gloriosi efficiamini. Hujusmodi "gloriatio iners diffinitur ambitio. Cupiditas vero vestra, dum "modum excessit, in se ipsam strangulata semper emarcuit.

A.D. 1147. June 29.

Answer of Moors to the archbishop of Braga.

“ Quoties[1] vero vestra memoria cum peregrinis et barbaris nos hinc expugnatum advenistis? Numquid vero vobis vestra placent aut ullam domi contrahitis culpam toties migrantes? et certe frequens migratio vestra ex innata animi instabilitate fore convincitur, quia nec animum continere qui nec corporis fugam sistere valet. Urbem nostram vel nobis quietam tradi, vel in ea manentes vobis subjici, nondum nostri consilii fuit. Nondum adeo magnanimitas nostra præcessit ut certa pro incertis relinquamus. De magnis enim rebus magno animo judicandum est. Urbs vero hæc, ut æstimo, vestra olim fuit; nunc autem nostra, in futuro forsitan vestra. Sed et hoc divini muneris erit. Cum voluit Deus, habuimus; cum noluerit, non habebimus. Nullus enim contra voluntatis Ejus arbitrium inexpugnabilis est murus. Placeat ergo nobis quicquid Deo placuerit, Qui toties sanguinem nostrum de manibus vestris eripuit, Ipsumque ideo et merito Suaque mirari non desistimus in hoc quod vinci non potest, et quod mala omnia sub Se teneat, et quod ratione qua nihil præstantius, casus et dolores et injurias nobis subigit. Sed vos hinc abite, non enim aditus vobis patet urbis, nisi ferro experiendus. Non enim minæ vestræ et barbarorum tumultus multi vel magni apud nos constant, quorum virtutem satius quam linguam novimus. Quod vero perniciosa et mala irrefragabilia promittitis, ex futuro si quandoque futura sunt, pendent; et certe dementia est nimis angi futuris, nec aliud quam sibi sponte miserias accersere. fo. 11 vº. Admovendum est igitur optimum consolationis officium, et differendum, quæ licet nequeant discuti, animi autem nostri timiditas omnia experiri suadebit. Nam timor assiduus et acer et extrema quæque minitans, ad audaciam torpentes excitat; et eo acrior virtus efficitur, quanto inevitabili necessitate extunditur. Sed quid vos longius protraham? Facite quod valetis; nos quod divini muneris erit.”

Challenge by the bishop of Oporto.

Ad hæc episcopus Portugalæ: “Si fieri potest ut propitiis auribus vestris loquar, dicam, si minus, iratis. Vos, ut moris est vestri, in hoc solum obstinationis vestræ causam et finem figentes rerum et malorum eventus nostrorum expectatis. Sed fragilis spes et imbecillis quæ non ex propriæ virtutis fiducia sed ex aliena pendet miseria. Jam enim causa vestra, quasi timida aut infirmata, testimonium condemnationi dare videtur. De incerto et futuro loquuti sic apud nos fore decretum experiemini, ut rei cujus toties

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[1] *Quoties*] Quotiens, MS. passim.

A.D. 1147. June 29. "eventus incertus fuerit, ut aliquando procedat, sæpius tentandum. Sed cum toties, ut dicitis, erga vos nostra cassata "sint initia, experiendum adhuc aliquid adjicimus. Sed quis "vos inde finis maneat, experti cognoscetis; ut æstimo, in "discessu nostro ab urbe ista nec salutabo vos, nec salutabor a vobis." Igitur legati nostri omni spe civitatis potiundæ ab hostibus frustrati ad nos revertuntur. Rex cum omnibus suis ad urbis septentrionem in summitate montis distantis a nobis quasi passibus quingentis secedit.

June 30. Mane iterum facto, iterum constabularii nostri et optimates nostræ partis curiam regis adeunt circiter horam diei nonam, ut supradictæ conventionis obsides traderent, et plura obsidioni necessaria providerent, cum interim garciones nostri fundiferi hostes irritando ad campum progredi faciunt, ut sic eminus jactu lapidum irritatis majoris accessionis provocatio fieret. Nostris subinde paulatim arma capientibus infra suburbium se hostes concludunt, prohibentes nostros ab introitu jactu lapidum a tectis domorum quæ ad instar muri circumquaque septa erant. Nostri vero undique patulos si qui forent quærentes aditus, usque ad medium suburbii, quod in devexo montis muro cingebatur, eos præteribant. Ibi vero nobis fortiter restitum est. Nostris paulatim subcrescentibus, fit acrior impetus: multi interim sagittarum et balistarum ictibus cadere; nam propius accedendi licentiam lapidum prohibebat emissio. Sicque diei pars magna consumpta est. Tandem vero sub solis occasu, per quosdam vix etiam inermibus pervios anfractus quandam collis partem maximo belli discrimine nostri præoccupavere. Quo comperto hostes in fugam versi sunt. Nam longe a munimento superioris urbis aberant. Interim his auditis, dominus Saherius de Arcellis a rege et a constabulariis nostris nos retroagendum missus est. Deliberatum enim apud eos fore aiebant, ut in crastino a rege et ab omnibus undique civitas invaderetur, ne inter paucos damni majoris occasio fieret. Sed cum usque ad nos pervenisset, jam fere omnes nostri ex navibus confluxerant, et jam adeo in urbe cum hostibus, ut vix nisi armorum varietate dinosci possent. Jam fere nox aderat, comperto vero quod retroagi nisi nostrorum detrimento maximo nequiremus, jubentur omnes a domino Saherio ex castris proruere, episcopo Portugalensi omnes benedicente atque absolvente. Ipse quoque Saherius cum quibus habere potuit ex nostro tentorio[1] vel ex suo proprio, nam sociorum pars major jam in conflictum ierat, ut cæteris succursum præstaret, armatus urbem ingreditur. Jam vero

Our men attack the suburb.

fo. 12 rº.

A general attack.

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[1] *tentorio*] temptorio, MS.

A.D. 1147. June 30.

We draw up in a cemetery.

Capture of the suburb.

We encamp in the cemetery.

inter vicorum angustias, prout hostium vel nostrorum majora suppetebant per loca præsidia, varia victoria adinvicem erat. Cum tandem nostri in cœmeterio quodam hostium colligati atque in aciem instructi, superveniente domino Saherio, nam cæteri constabularii omnes aberant, omnem hostium impetum repulere. Inde magna eorum strages conficitur. Tum demum in fugam versi sunt, nam a prima unde superius fuga, cum se acrius infestari non posse, præ vicorum quantitate, vel nostrorum lassitudine comperissent, leviter reparati fuerant; nunc tandem in fugam versi prædarum objectione suarum, cum multi nostrorum ad hanc jam intenderent, donec infra portas argumento subtili invenere viam. Milites tamen cum arciferis[1] et quibusdam juvenibus expeditis, præda neglecta, usque ad portas impressionem strenuissimam faciunt. Verum enim prædæ intenti fœdam aliter fugam fecissent, sed nox interim conflictum dirimit, capto suburbio non sine evidenti miraculo, quod quasi tria armatorum millia, quindecim millia familiarum villam tot difficultatibus septam obtinerent. Milites vero, et quique electi juvenes cum domino Saherio, tota nocte armati excubias pervigiles in medio montis, qua erat eorum cœmeterium, agunt, ne relicto quod ceperamus in crastino difficilior aditus pateret. Quod et ita factum est tota nocte, horribili ex omni parte conflagrante incendio.

July 1.

The Moors renew the battle, but are driven into the city.

Discovery of provisions.

fo. 12 v°.

Mane autem facto circiter horam primam hostes ineunt, ut nos ab urbe repellerent; supereminentibus ex omni parte regis et nostrorum familiarium præsidiis, iterum includuntur; sicque denique urbe obsidione inclusa, infra suburbium sub muris eorum hospitati sumus, nec sine magna nostri eventus omnium cæterorum invidia, his ex parte Flandrensium compertis. Muro urbis se includunt Mauri, relicto eis inexpugnato suburbio. Nostri interim, Normanni scilicet et Angli, excubias per noctes singulas per quingentenos disposuere, ut novem revolutis noctibus, iterum primæ vigiliæ initia fierent. Octo vero batellos cum armatis contra urbem in flumine excubandos disposuere. Inventum est dehinc in nostra parte suburbii, in fossis in proclivo montis, ad centum fere millia summarum tritici, et hordei[2] et millii,[3] et leguminum, subsidia scilicet maximæ partis urbis. Nam infra muros, loci quantitas et rerum familiarium copia rupisque solidæ durities, infra vallem, aquarum copia, fossas fieri prohibebant.

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[1] *arciferis*] archiferis, MS. passim.

[2] *hordei*] ordei, MS.

[3] *millii*] milii, MS.

A.D. 1147. July. Attacks by the Moors.

Insults of the Moors.

Interea Mauri per dies sæpius irruptiones faciunt in nostros, nam contra nos tres portas habentes, duas in latere et unam contra mare, facilem exeundi et redeundi licentiam habebant: nobis vero congressus difficilis habebatur. Sed non sine utrorumque detrimento fiebat, sed eorum semper majori. Dum interim per dies et noctes excubaremus sub eorum muris, derisiones atque improperia multa nobis ingerebant, mille nos mortibus dignos judicantes, quippe qui nostra fastidientes quasi vilia, aliena quasi pretiosa concupisceremus, nec aliam se nobis injuriam fecisse commemorant nisi quod nos si quid optimi penes eos haberetur, possessione nostra dignum æstimaremus, ipsosque indignos habendi judicaremus; prolemque domi nascituram multiplicem nobis absentibus improperabant, nec ob id de obitu nostro curæ uxoribus nostris fore, satis cum sibi domi spuria suppeteret progenies. Sed et si qui ex nobis superforent, miseros et inopes repatriandum promittebant, et subsannantes dentibus in nobis fremebant. Conviciis insuper et verbis contumeliosis et probris Beatam Mariam matrem Domini incessanter afficiebant, indignantes nobis, quod filium pauperis mulieris tanto quasi Deum veneraremur obsequio, Ipsum dicentes Deum Deique filium, cum unum Deum solum a quo omnia quæ initia habent cœpta sunt, constet esse, nec aliquem coævum et divinitatis Suæ habere participem; Ipsumque summe bonum atque perfectum, omniaque posse, et cum omnia posset, indignissimum fore et inexpiandum tantam tamque excellentis divinitatis potentiam humanis compagibus membrorumque lineamentis marcari, nec id aliud quam furiosum et saluti nostræ contrarium credere fore; vel hunc Mariæ Filium prophetam inter optimos cur non assererent, cum injuriosum valde sit homini nomen Dei usurpare. Hæc et his similia adversum nos calumniantes obtrectabant, crucis insuper signum cum magna irrisione ostentare nostris, atque in illam exspuentes, fœditatis suæ posteriora extergebant ex illa; sicque demum micturientes[1] in illam quasi opprobrium quoddam, crucem nostram nobis projiciunt. Videbatur vero iterum Christus actualiter ab incredulis blasphemari, falsa genuflexione salutari, indignantium sputis rigari, vinculis affligi, fustibus illidi, crucis affigi opprobio. Cujus ut decebat nos compassione, in crucis adversarios acriores fieremus. Quod et factum est, divina eos obcæcante justitia. Quoties a nobis requisiti sunt, quoties facultates et possessiones eorum, solum ab urbe libere quo vellent secederent, eis concessæ sunt, aut integro jure sibi omnia remanere, solum urbis mu-

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[1] *micturientes*] mingturientes, MS.

A.D. 1147. July.

nimentum tradidissent, nunquam tamen eorum obstinationem nisi ultimo et pessimo dedecore finiri Deus noster permisit. Præviderat enim Deus maxime his temporibus ultionem in crucis adversarios sub qualibuscunque homunciis fieri. Dederat enim eos Deus, ut postmodum vidimus, in passiones ignominiæ.*

fo. 13 r°.

* Romans i. 26.

Interea ecclesiæ duæ a Francis construuntur in sepulturam defunctorum, una ab orientali parte a Colonensibus et Flandrensibus, ubi duo muti a nativitate, Deo adjuvante, officia linguæ susceperunt, altera ab Anglis et a Normannis ab occidentali parte. Cum autem ibi per dies quindecim sedissemus, machinas utrimque facere incepimus, Colonenses et Flandrenses suem, arietem, turrim ambulatoriam, nostri turrim ambulatoriam nonaginta quinque pedum altitudinis. Omnibus ad hæc agenda intentis, prodigiale quid a parte Flandrensium evenire contigit. Die namque Dominica, post expletionem missæ, sacerdos panem benedictum videt[1] sanguineum, quem dum cultello purgare juberet, inventus est adeo cum sanguine permixtus, ut caro quæ nunquam sine sanguine potest incidi. Divisus vero postea per frusta in hujusmodi specie et post urbis captionem multis diebus visus est. Quidam vero hoc interpretantes aiebant gentem illam ferocem et indomitam, alieni cupidam, licet tunc sub specie peregrinationis et relligionis, sitim sanguinis humani nondum deposuisse. Colonenses interim et Flandrenses quinque fundis balearicis muros et hostium turres tentant concutere. Pactis tandem eorum machinis, et ad murum deductis, vix arietem reduxere, cæteris igne et satis contumeliose consumptis.[2] Turris vero nostra cum jam ad murum fere duceretur, sabloni inhæsit immobilis, a tribus eorum fundis irremissibiliter per dies noctesque concussa, ubi non sine magno nostrorum labore et detrimento in defendendo frustra, post dies quatuor comburitur ab hostibus. Inde nostri non parum consternati, animis erectis vix infra dies octo esse valebant. Sed cum tandem per sex hebdomadas urbem obsedissemus, comperto quod eos fames aliquantulum perurgeret, nobis vero panis et vini frugumque inæstimabilis copia suppeteret, paululum resumpsere animos. Naves terræ deducunt, mala submittunt, funalia domibus includunt, hyemandi signum. Colonenses vero subterraneas

Two churches built.

Circa, July 15.

The pilgrims begin to build machines. (To August 1. Arnulf, 801.)

Awful portent.

August 3-15.

The engines of the Germans and Flemings are burnt; our tower sticks in the sands and is burnt.

The Germans begin to mine.

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[1] A word is here erased, which appears to have been *videt*.

[2] Arnulf gives the date of the destruction of the Flemish machines, about the 3rd of August: and the same date for that of the English. Dodechin gives the date "circa assumptionem Beatæ "Mariæ," which agrees better with the six weeks spoken of in the text.

A.D. 1147. August.

Dismay of the Moors.

fo. 13 vº.

Letters to the king of Evora.

fossas quinquies aggressi ut murum præcipitarent, toties cassati sunt. Inde iterum nostri causa consternationis habita, inter se multum murmurantes, quasi aliquid melius alibi egissent, conqueruntur, cum post dies aliquot non parum solaminis divina consulente misericordia, nobis evenire contigit. Nam decem Mauri vespere sub muro ascendentes in scapham contra castrum de Palmella navigantes exeunt. Qui a nostris sub tanta festinatione prosequuti, ut scapha et omnia quæ in ea portaverant desperati relinquerent. Infra quam cartæ plurimis transmissæ, lingua Caldea inscriptæ repertæ sunt. Exemplum unius, sicut per interpretem didici, hujusmodi erat: "Abbati Machumato Eburensi regi, calamitas Lyxbonensium, " regnum cum salute obtinere. Quantæ vero et miserabiles " atque inopinatæ nobis supervenerint clades, civitatis nostræ " desolata vastitas non sine maximo nobilium sanguine, luctus " nobis, heu, heu, monimenta perpetui, protestantur. Jam jam " fere secunda lunatio præteriit quoad Francorum classis " nostris advecta finibus, cœli terræque marisque subsidiis " infra muri arctissimi ambitum inclusos coercuit. Sed " quid in hac miseriarum summa sperandum, perambiguum " est, nisi solum auri beneficio expectare suppetias, vobis una " cooperantibus, et urbem et patriam a barbaris liberatum per " vos non ambigimus. Neque enim adeo sunt multi vel " pugnaces. Turris vero illorum et machinæ vi et armis a " nobis combustæ, hoc testantur. Sin aliter, caveat prudentia " vestra; vos enim idem rerum et malorum exitus manet." Reliquæ vero hæc eadem a parentibus et cognatis et amicis pecuniarumque debitoribus exorabant. Super his etiam Hallo, id est, Deum, pro eis exorare, ut saltem supremos corporum ipsorum spiritus ab illo æternitatis receptaculo quo dilectus suus Machumatus vivit, et gloriatur, fraudari non sinat. Significaverunt etiam de panis et ciborum quantitate.

The king of Evora's answer.

His auditis nostri vehementer animis erecti per dies amplius hostes infestare. Post paululum temporis cadaver cujusdam submersi sub navibus nostris inventum est, brachio cujus carta hujusmodi alligata erat: "Rex Eburensium Lyxbonensibus " corporum libertatem. Jampridem datis induciis cum rege " Portugalensium, fidem refellere nequeo, ut eum scilicet vel " suos bello perturbare velim. De cætero præcavete, salutem " vestram pecuniis vestris redimite, ne sit perniciei causa quæ " salutis esse debuerat. Valete. Huic nostro nuncio aliquid " impendite boni." Sic tandem omni suppetiarum spe cassata nostri vigilantius excubabant. A castro Suchtrio cum præda maxima pars exercitus nostri rediit, nam loci natura a congressu castri vel obsidione eos prohibebat. Dum hæc apud

A.D. 1147. August.

The king dismisses his own forces.

fo. 14 r°.

The Moors take five of our men captive at Elmada.

Engagement between the English and Norman pilgrims and the Moors.

The mines are extended.

New engines.

September.

We begin a great tower, Sept. 8.

fo. 14 v°.

nos geruntur rex omnem exercitum suorum dimisit, exceptis paucissimis militibus, et domus suæ procuratoribus, venditis victualibus suis vel transmissis apud Sanctam Hyreneam. Solus episcopus Portugalensis semper usque ad urbis deditionem nobiscum remansit. Interim fame perurgente Mauros, de pauperibus prout quisque furtim poterat, nostris mancipatum se tradebat. Sicque brevi actum est, ut eorum acta et consilia parum admodum nostris celari poterant. Factum est item in una dierum ut quidam ex nostris Tagum apud Elmadam, piscatum transirent. Erat enim littoris illius arena piscatoribus habilior; et venientes provinciæ illius Mauri plures occiderunt et quinque ex his Brittones captivos inde transtulere. Indignati igitur inde nostri; consilio ab omnibus utrimque diffinito decretum est, ut ducenti milites cum peditibus quingentis Elmadam deprædatum mitterentur. Facta igitur hora transeundi, Colonenses et Flandrenses suos a transitu, invidia vel timore, vel qua causa nescio, a nostrorum societate subtraxere. Normanni igitur et Angli, et qui nobiscum ex nostra parte manebant, omnium societate destituti, Saherium de Arcellis militem tricesimum cum centum aut eo amplius peditibus expeditis ad præfinitum transmisere negotium. Qui vero, cæsis bello amplius quingentis Mauris, cum captivis fere ducentis et capitibus amplius octoginta, non sine magna nostrorum lætitia[k] et hostium mœrore, eadem qua exierant die, victores reversi sunt, uno solum ex nostris interempto. Capita vero hastilibus infixa quando a muris conspexissent Mauri, rogatum nostros obviam supplices, ut capita cæsa reciperent, exeunt. Audita est autem per totam noctem vox doloris et ejulatio planctus miserabilis fere per omnes civitatis partes. Hujus vero ausu facinoris præclari hostibus terrori maximo postmodum semper fuimus, Colonensibus et Flandrensibus et Portugalensibus honori; libera transmeandi in Elmadam amodo via facta est. Tum vero nostri potius intendentes operi inter turrem et portam ferream fossam subterraneam, ut murum præcipitarent, fodere aggrediuntur. Qua comperta quoniam satis hostibus pervia, post urbem obessam maxime nostrorum detrimento fuit, multis diebus in defensando frustra consumptis. Insuper duæ fundæ Balearicæ a nostris eriguntur, una supra ripam fluminis a nautis trahebatur, altera contra portam ferream a militibus et eorum convictualibus. Hi omnes per centenos divisi, audito signo exeuntibus primis centenis, alii centeni subintrassent, ut inter decem horarum spatia quinque millia lapidum jactarentur. Hujusmodi vero actio maxime fatigabat cohortes. Item Normanni et Anglici, et qui cum eis erant turrim ambulatoriam octoginta trium pedum altitudinis incipiunt. Co-

A.D. 1147. August. lonenses iterum et Flandrenses ut murum præcipitarent, fossam contra murum editioris castri effodere incipiunt, opus admirabile dictu, habens aditus quinque, continuatum vero infra quadraginta cubitorum latitudinis a fronte, quod infra mensem consummavere.

Famine in the city. Interea fames et cadaverum fœtor hostes, nam sepeliendi locus infra urbem deerat, miserabiliter angebant; sed et sub muris purgamenta quæ a navibus projiciebantur undis allata comestum colligebant; unde ridiculum quoddam evenire contigit, ut quidam scilicet Flandrenses inter domorum ruinas excubantes ficus comederent, et satiati partem in loco relinquerent. Quo a quatuor Mauris comperto quasi aves ad escam clanculo pedetentim advenere. Quo comperto Flandrenses hujusmodi relliquias sæpius per loca ut eos inescarent, dispergebant. Tandem vero in locis consuetis retibus extensis tres ex Mauris retibus involutos cepere, quod risui deinceps maximo nobis fuit. Subfossato igitur muro impositaque ignis October 16. materia, nocþe eadem sub gallicantu murus quasi cubitorum A breach made in the walls by the Germans. triginta solotenus corruit. At vero Mauri, qui murorum invigilabant excubiis anxie clamare auditi sunt, ut jam finem laboribus diuturnis imponerent, ipsumque diem supremum, et cum morte dividendum fore, et hoc maximum fieri solatium, si ipsam non timentes semet ipsos pro nostris mutuassent. Nam illuc ire necessario unde redire non erat necessario: nam ubique si vita bene finisset non abbreviata diceretur: nam quantum debuisset, non quantum potuisset, perdurasset, nec quamdiu, sed quam bene acta foret referret, bonam tantum clausulam imposuissent. Omnes igitur Mauri circumquaque ad ruinam muri defendendam confluxere, repagula postium opponentes. Exeuntes igitur Colonenses et Flandrenses ut experirentur introitum, repulsi sunt. Nam licet murus corruisset The Germans repulsed. loci natura introitum solo prohibebat aggere. Sed cum eos cominus obtinere[1] nequirent, impetu sagittarum prænimio eos ominus affligebant, ut velut ericii[2] pilis hirsuti immobiliter defendentes ac si nil læsi paterentur, viderentur. Defensi sunt itaque ab eis et ab eorum congressu usque ad horam diei fo. 15 r°. primam, redeuntibus illis ad castrum. Normanni vero atque October 16. Angli ut sociorum vici suffragarent, armati veniunt, ut jam They refuse our aid. vulneratis et lassatis hostibus introitum præsumerent, sed a Flandrensium et Colonensium ducibus conviciis lacessiti, prohibiti sunt, rogantes nos ut per machinas nostras quoquomodo fieri posset, tentaremus aditum, nam hunc qui patebat aditum sibi non nobis parasse aiebant. Sic autem per dies aliquot

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[1] *obtinere*] optinere, MS. passim. | [2] *ericii*] yricii, MS.

A.D. 1147.
October 16.
Our tower is finished.
October 19.
Our tower is blessed by the archbishop of Braga.

ab introitu omnimodo repelluntur. Tunc denique machina nostra compacta vimineis undique coriisque bovinis, ne igne vel saxorum impetu læderetur, involvitur. Indictum super hæc omnibus per naves ut vineas et tuguria cancellata ex virgis facerent. Dominica itaque subsequenti impositis in defensando necessariis, archiepiscopus, ut ipso benedicente promoveretur, advocatur. Igitur post orationem et aspersionem aquæ benedictæ, sacerdos quidam sacrosanctam ligni Dominici tenens in manibus particulam, sermonem hujusmodi habuit:

Sermon by a certain priest.

“Eja! fratres, certamen in promptu est. Fervet opus; urget adversarius; nemo expavescat: magnum enim fragilitatis humanæ solatium, unumquemque angelum sibi delegatum custodem habere sui, et ut hujus custodiæ sanctissimæ moribus respondeatis, Beati Pauli doctoris gentium sententia præcedat, qua ad Romanos dicitur: ‘Reddite omnibus debita, cui honorem, honorem.’* Ad hoc enim mihi videtur respicere, honorem debitum scilicet sic reddi, si quod debetur justitiæ reddatur, et nihil ex ejus parte injustitiæ concedatur. Similiter et veritati, si quæ sua sunt, ita reddantur, ut nihil ex ejus partibus mendacio relinquatur. Sapientiæ quoque et innocentiæ bonitatique, ut nihil ex eorum bonis stultitiæ vel calliditati vel malitiæ permittamus. Quia quacunque occasione, si ea quæ vera sunt suppresseritis, non reddidistis honorem debitum justitiæ et veritati, sed dehonoravistis justitiam et contumeliam veritati fecistis, et cum Christus sit justitia et sanctificatio et veritas, si justitiam conculcatis eritis similes illis qui Christum colaphis ceciderunt et in faciem Ejus conspuerunt, et qui calamo caput Ejus percutientes vertici Ejus spineam imposuere coronam. Et si ab angeli vestri custodia deviastis, reconciliari studete Domino per pœnitentiam, et unde per inobedientiam lapsi estis, illuc per mandatorum Dei obedientiam, redire satagite. Sed forsan dicetis ad hæc, ‘In quo mandata Dei sprevimus?’ Audite quid de vobis Malachias† propheta dixerit; ‘In eo quod admovistis ad altare panes pollutos et escas ex rapina, et quod tales votivas vestras Regi omnium Deo obtulistis, quales si principibus viris obtulissetis non utique susceptæ forent,’ et in his omnibus Deum potius irritastis quam placastis. Stultitiæ atque insipientiæ ultimæ est, ut homo Deum quoquomodo fallere existimet. Nam hujus mundi sapientia apud Deum stultitia est. Sed quia dictum est, ‘In malevolam animam non introibit sapientia,’‡ auferte malitiam de medio vestri, quia nihil aliud est male facere, quam a disciplina deviare. Sapientiam illam, fratres, quærite quæ sursum est, non quæ super terram, sicut docet Apostolus.§ Hanc autem soli mundicordes adipisci queunt. Et ut in

fo. 15 vº.

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* Romans xiii. 7.

† Malachi i. 7, &c.

‡ Wisdom i. 4.

§ S. James iii. 15, 17.

A.D. 1147. October 19.

Sermon at the benediction of the tower.

" summæ contemplatione sapientiæ, quæ utique animus non " est, nam est incommutabilis, aciem mentis figatis, necesse " se ipsum animus, qui commutabilis est, intueatur, et sibi " ipse animus quodammodo in mentem veniat, ut cognos- " cat se esse non quod Deus est, sed tamen aliquo quod " possit placere post Deum Melior autem animus cum pro " Deo obliviscitur sui, et præ caritate incommutabilis Dei, se " ipsum in comparatione nullius contemnit. Si autem sibi " tanquam obvius placet ut ad perverse Deum imitandum " sua potestate frui velit, tanto fit minor quanto se majorem " fieri cupit. Ad hoc est initium omnis peccati superbia, et " initium superbiæ hominis apostatare a Deo. Superbiæ " autem Diaboli accessit malevolentissima invidia, ut hanc " homini persuaderet per quam se damnatum sentiebat. Unde " factum est ut pœna hominem susciperet emendatoria potius " quem interemptoria, ut cui se diabolus ad imitationem " superbiæ præbuit, ei se Dominus ad humilitatis imitationem " præberet. Assumpsit itaque Filius Dei hominem, et in illo " humana perpessus est, ut sicut in carne et anima con- " demnatio fuerat, ita in carne et anima salus æterna fieret. " Christus ergo pro Adam, qui factus est sub peccato, Qui " erat sine peccato introducitur, ut Hujus passione voluntaria, " qui invitus fuerat passus curaretur. Sed et inde isti " omnium impurissimi nobis calumniantur Mauri, cum Dei " sapientia hominem aliter liberare non poterat, nisi sus- " ciperet hominem et nasceretur ex fœmina et omnia illa a " peccatoribus pateretur. Poterat quidem omnino. Si aliter " faceret, similiter eorum stultitiæ displiceret. Si enim non " appareret oculis peccatorum lumen æternum quod per oculos " interiores videtur, mentibus inquinatis videri non posset. " Nunc autem quia visibiliter nos commonere dignatur, ut in- " visibilia præpararet, displicet avaris quia non aureum corpus " habuit: displicet impudicis quod ex fœmina natus est: dis- " plicet superbis quod contumelias patienter tulit: timidis " quia mortuus est; et ut vitia sua videantur defendere, " dicunt non in homine sed in Dei Filio sibi hoc displicere. " Filius vero Dei, ut Catholica credit et veneratur ecclesia, " hominem assumpsit, ut in eo humana pateretur. Hæc est " hominum medicina tanta quæ quanta sit cogitari non " potest. O medicinam omnibus consulentem, tumentia com- " primentem, tabescentia reficientem, superflua resecantem, " necessaria custodientem, perdita reparantem, depravata " corrigentem. Quæ ergo superbia sanabitur si humilitate " Filii Dei non sanatur? quæ avaritia si Filii Dei paupertate " non sanatur? Quæ iracundia si Filii Dei patientia non " sanatur? Quæ impietas quæ caritate Filii Dei non sanatur? " Postremo quæ timiditas sanari poterit, si resurrectione

fo. 16 r°.

"Ejus non sanatur? Et vos, fratres carissimi, Christum sequuti, exules spontanei, qui pauperiem voluntariam suscepistis, audite et intelligite, quia inchoantibus promittitur sed perseverantibus præmium donatur. Sed et hic perseverare nequit, qui adhuc a bonæ actionis initio negligens vel ignorans oberrat. Ignorans si pœnitendo resipiscat, vel recognoscat cum lacrymis et gemitu, oret cum propheta dicens, 'Delicta juventutis meæ et ignorantias meas 'ne memineris,' postea ut adjicere mercatur cum apostolo, 'Misericordiam consequutus sum quia ignorans feci.' Negligentes cum omni diligentia dignos fructus pœnitentiæ agant, ut qui se illicita aliquando perpetrasse meminerit illicitis abstinere consuescat. Si enim vultis, fratres, peccata vestra dimittere Dominum, exorate ut Ejus gratia vos præveniat ut desiderium vestrum in bonis Suis consummare dignetur. Summo ergo opere, in initio conversionis vestræ cavendum est, ne vel ea quæ reliquistis adhuc in mentis effectu vestræ cohæreant, quia nimirum in futuro punietur in opere quod hic male conscia delitescat in mente. Nolite fratres, nolite 'sperare in iniquitate, et rapinas nolite concupiscere.'* Sed sperate in Domino et dabit vobis petitiones cordis vestri.† Reconciliamini iterum Deo et reinduite Christum ut sitis filii Ejus immaculati. Mementote mirabilium Domini quæ operatus est in vobis, cum jam novo pœnitentiæ abluto baptismate de terra vestra et de cognatione egrederemini, quomodo per aquam nimiam et tempestatum procellas vos illæsos transvexerit, hucque insuper advecti, quo impetu Spiritus ducentis suburbium hoc in quo manemus invasimus, quomodo non sine evidenti miraculo captum est fere absque nostrorum sanguine. Exhibete ergo vos iterum ad hoc negotium, quales huc advenistis, et secure promitto vobis hostium vestrorum potentiam frangere. Non enim ego sed Dominus, qui digne petentibus annuit et favet, confitentibusque nunquam veniam negare consuevit. Non resistent adversum vos, quia nimirum quos fidei *ignorantiæ* error dehonestat, hos proculdubio ex difficultate actionis cruciatus affligat. Nam ignorantiam cæcitas sequitur, difficultatem vero mentis angustia cum molestia corporis comitari solet. Nolite, fratres, nolite timere, nolite expavescere, contristari fugite, stupefieri vilipendite; si vos Deus noster ab hujus urbis introitu tam longi laboris dispendio excluserit, idcirco profecto in vobis hoc operatus est, ut assiduitas laboris continui patientiam in vobis solidaret, eademque solidata perseverantiæ probatiores redderet. Expergiscimini aliquando, fratres, et capessite arma, non enim vobis cum

A.D. 1147. October 19. Sermon at the benediction of the tower.

Ps. xxv, 6.

1 Tim. i. 13.

* Psalm lxii. 10.

† Psalm xxxvii. 4.

fo. 16. v°.

A.D. 1147.
October 19.
Sermon at the benediction of the tower.

“ gigantibus pugnandum vel cum Lapithis,[1] fures enim et latrones inermes et timidi sunt, quos etiam tot ineptiis stipatos inordinata ipsorum et confusa multitudo præpediet. Ecce, fratres, ecce lignum crucis Dominicæ, flectentes genua proni in terram decubate, rea tundite pectora, Domini præstolantes auxilium; veniet enim, veniet. Videbitis auxilium Domini super vos. Adorate Dominum Christum, Qui in hoc salutiferæ crucis ligno manus expandit et pedes in vestram salutem et gloriam; in hoc vexillo, solum non hæsitetis, vincetis. Quia si quem hoc insignitum mori contigerit, sibi vita tolli non credimus sed in melius mutari non ambigimus. Hic ergo vivere gloria est, et mors lucrum. Ego vero ipse, fo. 17 r°. fratres, in tribulationibus et laboribus vestris particeps præmiorumque vestrorum socius sicut vobis spondeo mihi fieri opto. Deo opitulante in hac machina, hujus ligni sacrosancti custos et comes inseparabilis, vita comite vobiscum manebo; certus quia nec fames, neque gladius, neque tribulatio, neque angustia, nos a Christo separabit. Et profecto securi de victoria hostes invadite, quibus victoriæ præmia sunt gloria sempiterna. Paulus vero Judæorum advocatus, et magister noster, qui ex gentibus ad fidem venimus, pro vobis etiam orare audet, ultra quam fas est pro fratribus suis secundum carnem: vestris precibus juvantibus, opto ut simile aliquid pro vobis audeam dicere. Nam ultra mandatum Dei mandatum Dei nititur qui proximos non sicut se sed plusquam se diligit. Denique etiam se abjecto nos pro se induci orat ad Christum.* O singularem mentis magnificentiam! O cœlestem spiritus calorem, extra pietatem, ut ita dicam, pro pietate, fieri cupit, dum anathema optat a Christo, tantum ut isti salvi fiant. Deus pacis et dilectionis Qui facit utrumque unum, et nos invicem tradidit nobis, Qui elevat de terra inopem et de stercore erigit pauperem;† Qui elegit Davidem servum suum et sustulit eum de gregibus ovium,‡ cum esset junior in filiis Jesse, Qui dat verbum evangelizantibus virtute multa, ad perfectionem prædicationis Suæ et exhibitionem operis Sui, tenens manus nostras in voluntate Sua nos dirigat, et cum gloria nos assumat; Ipse regentes regat, ut pascamus gregem Ejus cum disciplina et non in vasis pastoris imperiti.§ Ipse virtutem et fortitudinem populo Suo præstet. Ipseque Sibi mundum et candidum gregem atque in omnibus immaculatum ac supernis ovilibus dignum exhibeat, ubi est habitatio lætantium in

* Romans ix. 3.

† Ps. cxiii. 7.

‡ Ps. lxxviii. 72.

§ Zechariah xi. 15.

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[1] *Lapithis*] Laphitis, MS. The writer has confounded apparently the Lapithæ with the Centaurs.

A.D. 1147.
October 19.

"splendoribus Sanctorum, ut in templo Ejus omnes dicamus "gloriam, grex et pastores, Jesu Christo Domino nostro, Cui "est gloria in sæcula sæculorum. Amen."

Ad hanc vocem ceciderunt omnes proni cum gemitu et lacrymis, in facies suas. Iterumque ad jussum sacerdotis omnes erecti venerabili crucis Dominicæ signo, in nomine Patris et Filii et Spiritus Sancti, consignati sunt. Sicque demum cum magna voce Dei postulantes auxilium, quasi cubitis quindecim machinam contra murum appropinquavere. Ibi quidam nostrorum a muris percussus jactu fundæ interiit. Iterum in crastino contra turrim quæ est in angulo civitatis contra fluvium, machina deducitur. Ad quam autem hostes omnia suæ defensionis præsidia comportaverant. Quo comperto eorum præmeditata facile cassantur; nam nostri machinam contra fluvium ad dextram declinantes, turrim quasi cubitis viginti præterierunt juxta murum fere ad portam ferream quæ turrim respicit. Ibique balistæ et arciferi nostri a turri prædicta hostes fugaverunt, non valentes impetum sagittarum ferre. Nam a parte posteriori, quæ urbem respicit, turris patebat. Hostibus autem a turri et a muro machinæ vicino nostræ, turbatis, nocte superveniente, paululum quievimus, redeuntibus omnibus ad castra, relictis in ejus custodia ex nostris centum militibus et ex Gallæcianis centum, cum arciferis et balistis et juvenibus aliquot expeditis. Prima igitur noctis vigilia maris alluvio machinam circumfluens exeundi vel commeandi nostris prohibebat viam. Comperto autem a Mauris quod nos maris refluvium seclusisset, in duas cohortes per portam prædictam machinam pedetenus invasere. Cæteri autem super muros, incredibilis multitudinis, admota lignorum materia cum pice et lino et oleo et omnimodis ignium fomentis machinæ nostræ injiciunt. Alii vero super nos saxorum intolerabilem projiciebant grandinem. Habebatur autem sub alis machinæ, inter ipsam et murum, tugurium vimineum quod vulgo cattus Waliscus dicitur, in quo septem de provincia Gipeswicensi commanebant juvenes, qui illud semper prius machinam conduxerant. Sub hoc autem cum his qui infra erant, quidam nostrorum frustatim ignium materias quantum poterant concidebant. Cæteri vero effossis sub machina scrobibus in eisque manentes, globos ignium distrahebant. Alii in superioribus tabulatis per foramina coria desuper tensa irrigabant, in quibus caudarum scopæ forinsecus in ordine dependentes totam irrigabant machinam. Cæteri vero instructi in aciem, a porta progressis viriliter restiterunt. Defensa est itaque ea nocte labore admirabili, paucis ex nostris, Deo protegente, admodum læsis, Maurorum vero parte maxima cominus eminusque cæsa.

The tower is advanced towards the wall.

fo. 17 v°.

October 20.
The engine is brought up against one of the towers of the city.

The defenders of the tower of the city are driven from the wall.

The engine is surrounded by the tide in the night; and the Moors try to set it on fire.

Seven Ipswich men in a Welsh cat.

Successful defence of the engines.

fo. 18 r°.

A.D. 1147. October 21. Our engine flooded again.

The Gallicians desert us.

The machine is brought nearer to the wall.

We bring out our bridge, and whilst we are throwing it from our tower to the wall, the Moors beg a truce.

fo. 18 vº.

Hostages given by the Moors.

Mane autem facto, machina nostra maris alluvione iterum secluditur. Convenientes iterum Mauri, alii per portam in nostros proruunt, quo congressu rector de galeata regis percussus interiit. Alii a muris saxorum turbine nostros concutiunt, admotis super hæc fundis Balearicis, supermurales vero scaphas incentivis ignium repletas machinæ nostræ octo solum pedibus a muro distanti injiciunt, ut dictu difficillimum sit quantis laboribus, sudoribus, verberibus, ac plagis innumeris, maximam diei partem protraxerint omni sociorum auxilio destituti. Ibi vero artifex noster saxo crure læsus omni nos spe solatii destituit. Gallæciani quoque cum se mari circumdatos conspexissent, vel vulnerati, vel vulneratis similes, quidam armis projectis, quidam armati, turpiter legentes vadum consuluere fugæ, exceptis solum sex ex eorum numero. Tum demum refluente mari, hostes lassati conflictum dimittunt, omni bona spe in perpetuum destituti. Milites vero nostri, et qui in machinæ custodia fuerant electi exeuntes, alios vice eorum suffraganeos prius introduxerunt, cum illam duobus diebus et nocte una, nunquam armis depositis, agonia fere intolerabili defendissent. Hora autem quasi decima, mari retrahente, nostri in arena conveniunt, ut machinam muro pedibus solum quatuor adjicerent, ut sic facilius pontem elicerent. Ad hanc igitur muri defensionem omnes circumquaque Mauri conveniunt. Sed cum pontem quasi duorum cubitorum emissum viderent, et jam pene fieri nobis introeuntibus, ut nec vita reliqui victis foret, voce magna conclamantes, nobis videntibus arma deponunt, manus submittunt, inducias vel usque ad mane suppliciter postulantes. Advocato itaque Frinando captivo ex parte regis, Hervæo de Glanvilla ex nostris partibus, datæ sunt induciæ, acceptis inde obsidibus quinque, ne machinas nostras noctu impedirent vel sibi aliquid interim nostri detrimento repararent; noctuque insuper deliberandum, ut in crastino civitatem nobis traderent, si sic apud eos deliberatum foret; sin aliter, armis experiri cætera. Frinandus vero captivus et Hervæus de Glanvilla cum jam fere esset noctis vigilia prima, acceptis obsidibus eos regi tradunt, quod fere maximum discordiæ seminarium fuerat, quod non nostris eos tradidissent. Nam existimabant proditionem per hos a rege, nam moris sui erat, velle fieri, Frinandum captivum et Hervæum de Glanvilla in hoc succensentes.

October 22. The Moors capitulate.

Summo igitur mane, convocatis Colonensibus et Flandrensibus, constabularii nostri una cum senioribus castra regis adeunt, auditum quid veteratores illi sibi deliberassent. Interrogati, urbem regi tradendam, aurum et argentum cæterasque omnes civium facultates in manibus nostris dandum, favent. Ad hoc responsuri nostri exeunt. Fremit igitur et

A.D. 1147. October 22.

Dismay of the old enemy.

tabescit hostis antiquus jure pristino nunc demum spoliandus; vasa iniquitatis suæ in omnes et per omnes excitat. Cujus adeo malitiæ nixus invaluit, ut vix aut nullatenus alter alteri assensum per diem præbuerit, invicem discindentes. Nam cum jam fere ad introitum portarum ventum, nisi Suæ propitiationis dexteram Deus noster opposuisset, concordia læsa foret. Ea namque bonitatis Suæ clementia ab initio societatis nostræ semper erga nos usus est, ut cum multis et intractabilibus discidiorum causis, etiam duces nostri moderaminis sui gubernacula desperati relinquerent, tum denique Spiritus Sancti inspirans Favonius quasi quodam solis meridiani vibraculo, caliginosæ nubis intemperiem reverberans, concordiæ recurrentis gratiorem nexum conficeret.

Mutiny of a Bristol priest.

Cum igitur in concilio nostræ responsionis essemus, nautæ nostri cum sibi similibus fatuis, conspiratione facta per quendam sacerdotem Bristowensem sacrilegum in arena convenere. Erat autem hic moribus pessimis, ut postmodum eo latrociniis deprehenso cognovimus.

fo. 19 r°

Qui ab humili sermone paululum incitari ut ad vociferationem usque pertransirent incepere; indignum ferentes tot et tantos domi militiæque præclaros ditioni senatuique paucorum subjacere, quibus potius super his negotiis consulto opus non fore sed impetu: quippe qui præveniente Spiritu huc advecti quicquid agerent Ejus impetu optime fieri. Nam penes primates suos neque consilium neque cœptum unquam nisi frustra fuit, nam illis absentibus suburbium captum est, iisdem nescientibus Elmada subacta; si hoc ut deceret veherentur impetu, jampridem urbem recepisse vel aliquid lucri majus egisse, aiebant.

Reflexions.

Sed quid de hujusmodi injuriosis dicemus, nisi vim quandam malis moribus insitam naturaliter, ut paucorum scelus multitudinis innocentiam devenustet, cum e diverso bonorum raritas flagitia multorum excusare nequeat, si velit? Sed quis non exacerbescat cum virtutum sinceritatem vitiorum criminatione sordidari videat, quid velint, quidve nolint, nec in bonis quid placeat, nec in malis quid displiceat, discernentes nesciant? Si humilem viderint, abjectum vocant, si erectum, superbire censent; si minus instructum, propter imperitiam irridendum credunt; si aliquatenus doctum, propter scientiam dicunt inflatum; si severum, horrent tanquam crudelem; si indulgentem, facilitate culpant, si simplicem, ut brutum despiciunt; si acrem, vitant ut callidum; si diligentem, superstitiosum decernunt; si remissum negligentem judicant; si sollertem, cupidum; si quietum, ignavum pronunciant; si abstemium avarum prædicant; si prandendo pascatur, edacem damnant: si pascendo jejunantem, vanum loquuntur; liberum pro improbo condemnant; verecundum pro rustico; rigidos ab austeritate caros non habent: blandi apud eos communione vilescunt, ac si

A.D. 1147. October 22.

Mutiny against Hervey Glanvill.

fo. 19 v°.

Deliberations between the king and the hostages.

utrolibet genere vivatur, semper tamen bonarum partium mores, pungentibus maledicorum linguis, bicipitibus hamis inuncabuntur. Hujus igitur tumultus eruptio in Hervæum de Glanvilla delata est, qui non sibi sed regi obsides tradidisset, simulque quosdam ex ipsis, quasi degeneres, expertes urbis pecuniarum abjudicasset. De quibus amplius quadringentis ex castris provenientes circumquaque armati perscrutantur, licet eum absentem noverint, voce magna clamantes, "Tollatur impius, "puniatur proditor." Hoc itaque comperto, cum castris interessemus regis, a quibusdam senioribus nostrorum obviam itum est compescendum eorum vehementiæ initia. His retroactis, ad ea quæ superius responsuri convenimus. Obsides vero, comperto quod inter se nostri contentiose egissent, orationis primæ verba retractantes dissimulant, regi vero et suis omnia nobis superius promissa vel prædicta velle facere et tenere, aiebant, nostris nec pro morte quicquam; nam impuros, infidos, impios, crudeles, qui nec dominis suis etiam parcere nossent. Quæ res nostros maximo pudore suffudit. Iterum cum rege in concilio ventum est; maxima diei parte sic consumpta, acquieverunt tandem in hoc obsides, ut si eorum Alcaiz una cum genero suo omnibus facultatibus suis libere potiretur, concivesque cuncti cibariis suis, fore uti civitas traderetur nobis: sin autem, armis experiri cætera.

Contrast between the English and Germans.

The count of Aerschot insists on having the Alcaide's mare.

Mutiny among the Germans.

fo. 20 r°.

Normanni quoque et Angli quibus bellorum casus gravissimo oneri fuerat, longa fatigati obsidione, concedi oportere aiebant, honestumque nec pecuniam vel cibaria honori urbis capessendæ præponendum: Colonenses vero et Flandrenses quibus semper habendi innata cupiditas, longi itineris dispendia suorumque interitum multumque itineris superesse commemorantes, nil reliqui fieri posse hostibus decernebant. In hoc tandem luctamine adducti, ut omnes facultates suæ et cibaria soli Alcaie donarentur, sola ejus Arabica jumentina excepta, quam ut sibi aliquo extorqueret argumento, comes de Ærescot concupierat. In hoc demum eorum fixa sententia stetit; nostris quam indigne ferentibus, nocte dirimente concilium, obsides in sententia sua perseverant, Francis ad utrumlibet se habentibus, pacem vel bellum scilicet. In crastino autem bis aditum ferro experiendum decreverunt, reversis omnibus ad castra; cum interim Colonenses et Flandrenses indignati, quod rex obsidibus, ut videbatur, favisset, ex castris armati proruunt ut obsides a castris regis, vindicandum in eos, violenter eriperent. Tumultus atque armorum strepitus fit undique. Nos vero, cum in meditullio inter regis et eorum castra adhuc colloquentes expectaremus, quæ parabantur regi nunciamus. Christianus vero dux Flandrensium, et comes de Ærescot, eorum tumultu comperto, vix etiam armati eorum

A.D. 1147. October 22.

October 23.

All the forces do fealty to the king.

inceptum compescunt. Dein conciliatum prorsus sedato tumultu regem adeunt, protestantes hujus actionis immunes se fore. Accepta itaque ab eis securitate, tandem animo recepto jubet suos arma deponere, obsidionem relicturum in crastinum se multum asserens, sed et honestatem urbi capessendæ non postposuisse, immo pro nihilo omnia ducere, si ea caruisset, aiebat; verum tamen[1] his affectum injuriis, hominibus impuris, audacissimis, quodlibet ausuris ultra associari nolle. Recepto vix tandem animo, ut quid in crastino vellet deliberaret, acquievit. Deliberatum est itaque in crastino ut omnes utrimque duces nostri pro se et suis fidelitatem regi tenendam facerent, dum in terra sua morarentur.

Arrangement as to plunder.

Greedy conduct of the Flemings and Germans.

fo. 20 v°.

Te Deum sung.

The Flemings and Germans try to plunder

His ita utrimque firmatis, sicut pridem poposcerunt Mauri, concessum est de urbe tradenda. Decretum est itaque inter nos ut centum et quadraginta armatorum ex nostris partibus et centum et sexaginta ex Colonensibus et Flandrensibus civitatem præ omnibus ingrederentur, atque munimentum superioris castri in pace tenerent, ut in ipso hostes pecunias et facultates suas omnes juramento probatas coram nostris deferrent, et his ita coadunatis, urbem postea a nostris perscrutari, si quid amplius allati penes aliquos inventum in cujus Penatibus fuerit, dominum ipsius capite plectendum: et hoc modo omnes spoliatos extra urbem in pace dimittendos. Aperta itaque porta, et ad hoc delectis data intrandi copia, Colonenses et Flandrenses argumentum fallendi callidum excogitantes, ut sui honoris causa præintrarent, a nostris impetraverunt. Accepta itaque hujusmodi licentia et præintrandi occasione, amplius ducentis ex eis cum denominatis supra, subintrant, exceptis aliis quos jam per muri ruinam quæ ex eorum patebat partibus intromiserant, nullo nostrorum nisi denominatis præsumente aditum. Præcedente itaque archiepiscopo et coepiscopis cum Dominicæ crucis vexillo, duces nostri una cum rege, et qui ad hoc fuerant delecti, subintrant. O quanta omnium lætitia! O quanta omnium specialis gloria! O quanta præ gaudio et pietate lacrymarum affluentia! cum ad laudem et honorem Dei et sanctissimæ Virginis Mariæ crucis salutiferæ vexillum in summa arce positum, subactæ in signum urbis, ab omnibus videretur, præcinente archiepiscopo et coepiscopis cum clero et omnibus, non sine lacrymis, admirabili jubilo, "Te Deum laudamus," cum "Asperges "me"* et orationibus devotis. Rex interim muros editioris castri pedes circuit. Colonenses igitur et Flandrenses, visis in urbe tot adminiculis cupiditatis, nullam jurisjurandi vel fidei relligionem observant: hinc illinc discurrunt: prædas

* Psalm li. 7.

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[1] *verum tamen*] verumptamen, MS.

A.D. 1147. October 25. the city, and ill-treat the inhabitants agunt: fores effringunt; penetralia cujusque domus rimantur: cives proturbant, et contra jus et fas contumeliis afficiunt, vasa vestesque dissipant, in virgines contumeliose agunt, fas et nefas æquipendunt, furtim omnia distrahunt quæ fieri omnibus communia debuerant. Episcopum vero civitatis antiquissimum, præciso jugulo, contra jus et fas occidunt, ipsumque civitatis Alcaiz, asportatis omnibus a domo sua, capiunt. The count of Aerschot seizes the Alcaide's mare. Jumentinam suam de qua superius ipse comes de Ærescot propriis manibus arripuit eamque requisitus a rege et ab omnibus nostris in tanta obstinatione retinuit, ut diceret ipse Alcaiz quod jumentina sua sanguinem micturiens pullum perdidisset, actionis obscœnæ callide imprimens vitium. Normanni vero atque Angli, quibus fides et relligio maximo constabat, contemplantes quid hujusmodi portenderet actio, in loco denominato quieti sedebant, malentes observare manus ab omni rapina, quam fidei et societatis conjuratæ statuta violare. Shame of the Flemish nobles. Quæ res comitem de Ærescot et Christianum et eorum primarios maximo pudore suffudit, quorum jam evidenter jurejurando postposito nostris non permixta patebat cupiditas. Sed tandem in se reversi, precibus obnixis apud nostros impetraverunt, ut reliquas urbis partes nostri pariter cum suis pacifice ad partes adunarent, ut sic denique post portiones fo. 21 r°. acceptas, omnium injurias et subreptiones in pace discuti, emendatum parati quod male præsumpsissent. October 25 to October 29. Despoliatis igitur in urbe hostibus, a primo sabbati mane per tres portas usque ad quartam feriam subsequentem indesinenter ex-Departure of the Moors from Lisbon. euntes visi sunt tanta gentium multitudo, ac si tota in ea Hispania confluxisset. Compertum est deinceps magnæ admirationis miraculum, quod ante urbis captionem per dies quindecim hostium cibaria fœtore intolerabili ingustabilia sibi facta, quæ postmodum nobis et ipsis grata acceptaque gustavimus. What we saw inside the city. Spoliata igitur civitate, inventa sunt in fossis ad modum octo millium summarum tritici et hordei, olei autem ad modum duodecim millium sextariorum. De ritu et eorum relligione quæ supra diximus oculis postmodum vidimus. Nam in eorum templum quod septem columnarum ordinibus cum tot cumulis[1] in altum consurgit, mortuorum cadavera ferme ducenta, exceptis languidis amplius octingentis, cum omni squalore et fœditate sua in eo manentibus, inventa sunt. Capta vero urbe cum eam sexdecim hebdomadibus obsedissemus, Suctrienses data munitione sui castri, regi se Palmella taken. dedere. Castrum vero de Palmella a custodibus relictum, a rege vacuum suscipitur. Receptis igitur circumquaque munitionibus civitati pertinentibus, magnificatum est Francorum nomen

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[1] *cumulis*] cumalis, MS.

A.D. 1147.
November 1.
Gilbert of Hastings made bishop of Lisbon.
Diocese of Lisbon.
fo. 21 v°.
Pestilence among the Moors.
Gratitude of the pilgrims.
Reflexions.

per universas Hispaniæ partes, irruitque timor supra Mauros, quibus verbum hujus actionis divulgabatur. Electus est subinde ad sedem pontificatus ex nostris Gislebertus Hastingensis, rege, archiepiscopo, coepiscopis, clericis, laicis omnibus electioni ejus assensum præbentibus. Die vero quo Omnium memoria Sanctorum celebratur, ad laudem et honorem Nominis Christi et Sanctissimæ Ejus Genitricis purificatum est templum ab archiepiscopo et coepiscopis quatuor, et reparatur urbis sedes episcopatus, cum his castris et vicis subscriptis: Trans Tagum Castro Alcacer, Castro de Palmella, Elmada provincia: Citra Tagum Castro Suchtrio, Castro Scalaphio, Castro Lora. Sunt autem termini ejus ab Alcacer Castro usque ad Castrum Lora, et a mari occidentali usque civitatem Eburensem. Subsequuta est deinceps tanta Maurorum lues ut per eremi vastitates, per vineas, et per vicos et plateas domorumque ruinas innumera cadaverum millia feris avibusque jacerent exposita, exsanguibusque similes vivi supra terram graderentur, signumque Crucis suppliciter amplectentes deoscularentur, Beatamque Dei Matrem Mariam bonam prædicarent, ut ad omnes actus vel sermones et in extremis agentes, Mariam Bonam, Bonam Mariam intermiscerent miserabiliterque reclamarent. Et quid aliud nobis hoc intuentibus videri potest? nisi illud Esaiæ vaticinium impletum in nobis cum gaudio, quo dicitur "et frænum erroris quod erat in maxillis populo-"rum versum est in canticum factæ solemnitatis."* Recolentes igitur nos tales fuisse, gratias agamus Creatori, quod a servitio creaturæ colla mentis excussimus. Nam dum fræno erroris maxillas constricti, laudem confessionis Deo dare nesciebamus; ergo dum confessionis laudem Deo reddimus, in sanctificata solemnitate gaudemus. Respondeamus igitur moribus tantæ misericordiæ Redemptoris nostri, et quia lucem cognovimus, pravorum operum tenebras declinemus, prædicantes magnalia Dei quæ operari dignatus est in nobis. Tradidit enim Deus noster Crucis adversarios in manibus nostris; severissima namque super eos ultio divina adeo incubuit, ut dum urbem destructam castrumque eversum, agros depopulatos, terram in solitudinem redactam, nullum in agris incolam, luctus gemitusque eorum conspicimus, vicis eorum et eventus malorum misereri libeat, condolerique et compati eorum infirmantibus, et quod nondum finem habeant flagella cœlestis justitiæ, certe quia nec inter nos Christianos etiam correctæ sunt inter flagella actionis culpæ. Dolendum et gaudendum est. Nam cum perversos quosque Deus omnipotens percutit, pereuntium miseriæ condolendum et justitiæ Judicis congaudendum. Ergo nostrum quisque semet ipsum districte dijudicans, divina consideret

* Isaiah xxx. 28, 29.

A.D. 1147. November 1. Reflexions.

judicia, non solum ad vindictam malorum sed ad eruditionem bonorum facta, donis quosdam reficiens, alios flagellis erudiens. Non autem in justificationibus nostris hostes prostravimus, sed in miseratione Dei multa. Mentem ergo nostram donorum abundantia non elevet, nec nos habere quod alteri deest jactemus, nec hostium miseriam gloriam nostram existimemus, quos forsan sua miseria trahet ad gloriam, nos autem elatio ad miseriam: quos enim vult Deus indurat,* et quos vult ad misericordiam provehit, ut in Job dicitur, "Ipso concedente "pacem quis est qui condemnet, et ex quo absconderit "vultum Suum quis est qui contemplatur Eum?" † Nemo ergo discutiat cur stantibus nobis Christianis gentilitas hæc in infirmitate succubuerit. Nemo discutiat cur alius venustetur ex dono, alter affligatur ex merito. Si enim miretur quis nos Christianos venustatos, ipso concedente pacem quis est condemnet? Si hostes consumptos obstupescit, vel afflictos, ex quo absconderit vultum Suum, quis contempletur Eum? Itaque consilium summæ et occultæ virtutis sit satisfactio apertæ rationis, unde in Evangelio Dominus cum de hujusmodi causa loqueretur, ait, "Confiteor tibi, Pater Domine cœli et terræ, quia "abscondisti hæc a sapientibus et prudentibus et revelasti ea "parvulis:" ‡ atque mox tanquam rationem quandam absconsionis ac revelationis adjungens, ait, "Ita, Pater, quoniam sic "placitum fuit ante Te." Quibus nimirum verbis exempla humilitatis accipimus, ne temere superna consilia discutiamus, de aliorum electione et aliorum depressione. Videntes ergo sed non intelligentes divinæ animadversionis judicium hostibus inculcatum, conscientiæ nostræ immunditiam atque impuritatem consideremus, et angustia spiritus dicamus Domino, "Parce "jam, Domine, parce operi manuum Tuarum. Quiescant, Do"mine, opera iræ Tuæ. Cesset jam manus Tua, sufficit, Do"mine. Jam vero jam satis est, quod hucusque adversus hos "pro nobis decertasti: sed convertatur potius, si fieri potest "luctus eorum in gaudium, ut cognoscant Te solum Deum "vivum et verum, et quem misisti Jesum Christum Filium "Tuum,§ Qui vivis et regnas per omnia sæcula sæculorum." Amen.

* Romans ix. 18.

fo. 22 rº

† Job xxxiv 29.

‡ S. Matt. xi. 25.

§ S. John xvii. 3.

II. NEOPHYTUS DE CALAMITATIBUS CYPRI.

This piece is given here as showing the character in which Richard was received in Cyprus, and affording a literal confirmation of the statement of the author of the Itinerarium (p. 201) that he was welcomed as a deliverer. It was printed from a MS. in the King of France's Library, No. 2,376, by the learned Cotelier, in the "Ecclesiæ Græcæ Monumenta." Paris, 1681; tom. ii. p. 457, &c.

Neophytus, priest, monk, and incluse, on the misfortunes of the land of Cyprus.

The cloud hides the sun, and mist the mountains and hills, whereby the heat and light-giving ray of the sun are intercepted at certain times: and now us also for twelve years the cloud and mist of the calamities which have one upon another befallen our country, have shut in. For since Jerusalem was seized by the godless Saladin, and Cyprus by Isaac Comnenus, thenceforth fightings and wars, tribulations and confusions, despoilings and terrible occurrences have covered the land in which the aforesaid have borne sway, more than cloud and mist. For behold! the life-bearing sepulchre of our Lord and the rest of the holy places have been given on account of our sins to the Mussulman dogs, and every pious soul mourns over such a calamity, and "the heathen have made much ado and "the kingdoms are moved,"* as it is written; he of Germany, I say, and he of England, and almost every nation, have been stirred up on behalf of Jerusalem, and they have wrought nothing, for Providence was not pleased to drive out the dogs and to bring in the wolves in their stead.

*Psalm xlvi. 6.

II. And behold, for twelve years the waves have been rising to the worse; and moreover, he himself, our spiritual son, to whom indeed we write these words, not enduring to see and hear, and in part to suffer these dreadful things, after many plans and expedients, escaped the hands of the murderers with all his people, by the providence of God, and having betaken himself to Angelus, the emperor of Constantinople, was honourably received, and accepted from him the dignity of Sebastos. And behold, I, fulfilling my promise, write with God's help, the rest also as I promised, declaring to those to whom this shall come the present wretchedness of our state; of which wretchedness knoweth none among men where it shall end, unless it be He only who rebuketh the winds and the sea and they are still.† Strange and sad to hear are the terrible things that have befallen this land, and such that all its rich men forgot their riches, their splendid dwellings, kinsfolk, servants, slaves, the abundance of their flocks and herds, their pigs, (?)[1] their various cattle, their corn-bearing lands, their fruitful vines, and cunningly-devised pleasances, and sailed away in great haste secretly to foreign lands and to the queen

†S.Matthew viii. 26.

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[1] I give this on Cotelier's authority, who conjectures λακτινίων, or λακταίων, and translates *porcellorum*.

Νεοφύτου, πρεσβυτέρου, μοναχοῦ, καὶ ἐγκλειστοῦ, περὶ τῶν κατὰ χώραν Κύπρου σκαιῶν.

Νεφέλη καλύπτει ἥλιον, καὶ ὁμίχλη ὄρη καὶ βουνοὺς, δι' ὧν ἀπείργεται θάλψις καὶ φωταυγὴς ἡλίου ἀκτὶς χρόνῳ τινί. 'Είργει δὲ καὶ ἡμᾶς δώδεκα χρόνους ἤδη νεφέλη καὶ ὁμίχλη ἀλλεπαλλήλων δεινῶν τῶν τῇ χώρᾳ συμβεβηκότων. Κρατηθείσης μὲν γὰρ τῆς 'Ιερουσαλὴμ ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀθέου Σαλαχαντὶ, τῆς δὲ Κύπρου ὑπὸ 'Ισαακίου τοῦ Κομνηνοῦ, μάχαι λοιπὸν καὶ πόλεμοι, ταραχαὶ καὶ ἀκαταστασίαι, λαφυραγωγίαι καὶ δειναὶ συναντήσεις τὴν γῆν ἐν ᾗ οἱ δηλωθεντὲς ἦρξαν κατεκάλυψαν νεφέλης καὶ ὁμίχλης πλέον. 'Ιδοὺ γαρ· ὁ ζωηφόρος τοῦ Κυρίου ἡμῶν τάφος καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ ἅγια ἐδόθησαν τοῖς κυσὶ Μουσουλμάνοις διὰ τὰς ἁμαρτίας ἡμῶν. Καὶ δακρύει ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ συμφορᾷ πᾶσα ψυχὴ φιλόθεος, ταραχθέντα δὲ καὶ τὰ ἔθνη, καὶ βασιλεῖαι κλιθεῖσαι,* κατὰ τὸ γεγραμμένον, ὁ 'Αλαμανίας, φημὶ, καὶ ὁ 'Εγκλινίας καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος σχεδὸν, κεκίνηνται ὑπὲρ τῆς 'Ιερουσαλὴμ, καὶ ἤνυσαν οὐδὲν, οὐδὲ γὰρ ηὐδόκησεν ἡ πρόνοια κύνας ἐξεῶσαι, καὶ λύκους ἀντεισάξαι.

*Psalm xlvi. 6.

II. Καὶ ἰδοὺ ιβ' χρόνους ἐπὶ τὸ χεῖρον τὰ κύματα κορυφοῦνται· ἔτι τε καὶ αὐτὸς ὁ νἱὸς ἡμῶν ὁ πνευματικὸς, πρὸς ὃν δηλαδὴ ταῦτα ἐγράφομέν, τὰ δεινὰ μὴ ὑποφέρων βλέπειν τε καὶ ἀκούειν, καὶ ἐκ μέρους αὐτῶν πάσχειν, μετὰ πολλὰς περινοίας καὶ μηχανὰς, ἐξέφυγε χεῖρας μιαιφόνους σὺν παντὶ τῷ λαῷ αὐτοῦ, θείᾳ ῥοπῇ, καὶ προσφοιτήσας 'Αγγέλῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ Κωνσταντινουπόλεως, προσεδέχθη ἐντίμως καὶ τὸ Σεβαστοῦ γέρας εἴληφεν ἐξ αὐτοῦ. 'Εγὼ δὲ τὴν ὑπόσχεσιν ἐκπληρῶν, ἰδοὺ, σὺν Θεῷ γράφω καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα ὡς ὑπεσχόμην, τοῖς ἐντυγχάνουσι παραδηλῶν τὴν ἐνεστῶσαν δυσχέρειαν τῶν πραγμάτων· ἥτις ἄρα δυσχέρεια ποῦ δὴ καταλήξει, οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ἐν ἀνθρώποις, εἰ μὴ μόνος ὁ ἐπιτιμῶν τῇ θαλάσσῃ, καὶ τοῖς ἀνέμοις καὶ γαληνιῶσιν.† Ξένα τινὰ καὶ δυσήκουστα τὰ τῇ χώρᾳ ταύτῃ συμβεβηκότα δεινὰ, καὶ τοιαῦτα ὡς πάντας τοὺς αὐτῆς πλουσίους ἐπιλαθέσθαι πλούτου αὐτῶν, λαμπρῶν οἰκημάτων, συγγενῶν, οἰκετῶν, ἀνδραπόδων, πλήθους ποιμνίων, βουκολίων, λακινιῶν, βοσκημάτων παντοίων, χωρῶν σιτοφόρων, καὶ παμφόρων ἀμπέλων, καὶ παραδείσων ποικίλων, καὶ μετὰ πολλῆς σπουδῆς ἀποπλεῦσαι λάθρα πρὸς χώρας ἀλλοδαπὰς καὶ πρὸς τὴν βασιλίδα τῶν πόλεων.

†S. Matthew viii. 26.

of cities. But as many as had not strength to flee, who can tell the tragic story of their afflictions, the trials, the public imprisonments, the weight of the moneys demanded of them, up to so many and so many thousands? And these things have been suffered to come to pass on account of the swelling of sin, by the just judgment of God, that having been humbled we may perhaps be thought worthy of pardon.

III. There is a country, England, beyond the land of the Romans to the north, whence a cloud of English, with their ruler, having embarked in large vessels named naccs, made the voyage to Jerusalem. For at that time also the ruler of the Germans, with 900,000 soldiers as they say, himself set out to Jerusalem; but when he had passed the country of Iconium, and was going through the eastern parts, his soldiers perished with the length of the way and with hunger and thirst, and the emperor himself, sitting upon his horse, was drowned in a certain river. But the Englishman having landed in Cyprus, found her, wretch as he was, a nursing mother; and if this had not been so, he would perhaps have himself suffered the fate of the German. And how Cyprus was conquered, this also I will briefly tell you.

IV. When the most pious emperor, Manuel Comnenus, who is in blessed rest, had occasion to send a warden to the imperial strongholds of Armenia, he sends one of his own kinsfolk, a very young man, Isaac by name, who having guarded the fortresses for some years, engages in war with the Armenians, and having been taken prisoner by them is sold to the Latins. And they kept him in chains for many years, for his uncle, the emperor Manuel, was dead, having left the empire to Alexius his son, who was then a child. For which reason his uncle Andronicus, who reigned conjointly with him, seizes the empire and murders the child. And, importuned by the council, he sends abundant ransoms and redeems from the Latins the aforesaid Isaac: who, having come to Cyprus, seizes the government and calls himself emperor. And he holds it for seven years. But he not merely ill-treated the country and altogether plundered the substance of the rich, but even his own officers, inflicting penalties upon them daily, and oppressing them so that they all lived in despair, and seeking somehow to protect themselves against him.

V. Now these things being so, behold! the Englishman also lands in Cyprus, and all of them in haste went over to him. Then the Emperor being left deserted by his people, surrendered himself also to the hands of the Englishman. And having bound him in chains, and plundered his treasures, which were very great, and ravaged the land terribly, he sails away to

Ὅσοι δὲ διαφυγεῖν οὐκ ἴσχυσαν, τίς ἱκανὸς ἐκτραγῳδῆσαι τὰς θλίψεις αὐτῶν, τοὺς ἑτασμοὺς, τοὺς δημοσίους φυλακισμοὺς, τὴν ὁλκὴν τῶν ἀπαιτουμένων χρημάτων, μέχρι χιλιάδων τόσων καὶ τόσων; Ταῦτα δὲ συγκεχώρηται γενέσθαι δι' ἁμαρτίας ὄγκον, ψήφῳ Θεοῦ δικαίᾳ, ἵνα ταπεινωθέντες, καταξιωθῶμεν ἴσως συγγνώμης.

III. Χώρα ἔστιν Ἰγκλιτέῤῥα, πόῤῥω τῆς Ῥωμανίας κατὰ βοῤῥᾶν· ἐξ ἧς νέφος Ἰγκλίνων, σῦν τῷ ἄρχοντι αὐτῶν, εἰς πλοῖα μέγαλα λεγόμενα νάκκας συνεισελθόντες, τὸν πλοῦν πρὸς Ἱεροσόλυμα ἔδρων. Τότε γὰρ καὶ ὁ Ἀλαμάνων ἄρχων μετὰ ἐννακοσίων χιλιάδων, ὥς φασι, στρατοπέδων, πρὸς Ἱεροσόλυμα καὶ αὐτὸς τὴν ὁρμὴν ἐποιεῖτο· παρελθὼν δὲ τὴν χώραν τοῦ Ἰκονίου, καὶ τὰ ἀνατολικὰ μέρη διερχόμενος, διεφθάρησαν τὰ στρατόπεδα τῷ μήκει τῆς ὅδου καὶ τῷ λίμῳ, καὶ τῷ δίψει· ὁ δὲ αὐτῶν βασιλεὺς, ἔν τινι ποταμῷ ἀπεπνίγη, ἐποχούμενος ἵππῳ. Ἰγκλίτερ δὲ τῇ Κύπρῳ παραβαλὼν, εὗρεν αὐτὴν ὁ πανάθλιος ὡς τιθηνοῦσαν μητέρα, καὶ εἰ μὴ γέγονε τοῦτο, τὰ τοῦ Ἀλαμάνου ἴσως ἔμελλε πείσεσθαι καὶ αὐτός. Πῶς δὲ Κύπρος ἑάλω, ἐπιδρομαδὴν λέξω καὶ τοῦτο.

IV. Ὡς ἐγένετο ἐν χρήσει ὁ ἐν μακαρίᾳ τῇ λήξει εὐσεβέστατος βασιλεὺς Μανουὴλ ὁ Κομνηνὸς φρουρὸν στεῖλαί τινα πρὸς τὰ βασιλικὰ φρουρία τῆς Ἀρμενίας, στέλλει τινὰ τῶν αὐτοῦ συγγενῶν, κομιδῇ νέον, Ἰσαακίον τοὔνομα· ὃς χρόνους τινὰς τὰ κάστρα περιφυλάξας, συνάπτει πόλεμον μετὰ τῶν Ἀρμενίων. Καὶ παρ' αὐτῶν ἁλωθεὶς πιπράσκεται τοῖς Λατίνοις. Οἱ δὲ σιδηροδέσμιον αὐτὸν κατεῖχον χρόνοις ἱκανοῖς, ἧν γὰρ τελευτήσας ὁ βασιλεὺς Μανουὴλ, ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ, ἐάσας τὴν βασιλείαν Ἀλεξίῳ τῷ υἱῷ αὐτοῦ, παιδαρίῳ ὄντι καὶ αὐτῷ. Δι' ἣν αἰτίαν, συμβασιλεύσας αὐτῷ Ἀνδρόνικος ὁ θεῖος αὐτοῦ, ἀναιρεῖ τὸ παιδάριον, κρατήσας τῆς βασιλείας. Δυσωπηθεὶς δὲ παρὰ τῆς συγκλήτου βουλῆς στέλλει πάμπολλα λύτρα, καὶ ἐξωνεῖται ἐκ Λατίνων τὸν ῥηθέντα Ἰσαακίον· ὃς ἐλθὼν ἐν τῇ Κύπρῳ κρατεῖ αὐτὴν καὶ φημίζεται βασιλεύς. Καὶ κρατεῖ αὐτὴν ἐπὶ χρόνους ζ', ἐκάκωσε δὲ οὐ τὴν χώραν ἁπλῶς, καὶ τῶν πλουσίων τοὺς βίους καθόλου διήρπασεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοὺς ἰδίους ἄρχοντας αὐτοῦ ποινηλατῶν καθἑκάστην καὶ θλίβων, ὥστε πάντας ἐν ἀμηχανίᾳ διάγειν, καὶ τρόπον τινὰ ἐπιζητοῦντας φυλαξάσθαι ἀπ' αὐτοῦ.

V. Τούτων δε οὕτως ἐχόντων, ἰδοὺ, καὶ Ἰγκλίτερ προσβάλλει τῇ Κύπρῳ, καὶ θᾶττον πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔδραμον πάντες. Τότε ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐρῆμος ἐναπομείνας λαοῦ, προύδωκε καὶ αὐτὸς χερσὶ τῶν Ἰγκλιτέῤῥων. Ὃν καὶ δήσας σιδήροις, καὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ θησαυροὺς διαρπάσας σφόδρα πολλοὺς, καὶ τὴν χώραν σκυλεύσας δεινῶς, ἀποπλεῖ

Jerusalem, having left behind him vessels to ravage the land and to send after him. The emperor of Cyprus, Isaac, he shuts up in chains in the castle called Markapp. And having accomplished nothing, sinner as he was, against his fellow sinner Saladin, he accomplished this and this only, the selling of the country to the Latins for 200,000 pounds of gold, wherefore great is the lamentation and intolerable the smoke that came, as was foretold, from the north, about which he who will may set forth part by part, and time will fail him.

VI. But now the fortunes of our country come short in no measure, of the sea raging with much swell of waves and much storm. Nay, rather, worse than the raging sea, for its rage is followed by a calm, but here the surge every day rises and the tearing of it has no end, unless indeed it shall hear the words, "Hitherto shalt thou come and shalt not pass over, "and here shall thy waves be broken upon thyself."* In the book of Leviticus † are clearly written the calamities that have come upon our country: that is to say, wars, defeats, sowings in vain, the eating up by our enemies of our labours: and our strength has become nothing: and we have become few: and a strange nation has multiplied in our land. Ye have walked contrarily towards me, saith God, and I will walk in a contrary mind towards you. And so it is: for unless a man be sick and raging the physician does not apply the knife with fire and bitterness. It is plain that if we also had not in many things grieved our Physician and walked contrarily towards Him, He would not have been disposed contrarily towards us, afflicting us to our own salvation.

* Job. xxxviii. 11.

† Leviticus xxvi. 14, &c.

πρὸς Ἱερουσαλὴμ, πλοῖα καταλείψας τοῦ σχιδεύειν τὴν χώραν, καὶ στέλλειν ὄπισθεν αὐτοῦ. Τὸν δὲ βασιλέα Κύπρου Ἰσαάκιον κατακλείει σιδηροδέσμιον ἐν καστέλλῳ καλουμένῳ Μαρκάππῳ. Κατὰ δὲ τοῦ ὁμοίου αὐτῷ Σαλαχαντίνου ἀνύσας μηδὲν, ὁ ἀλιτήρος ἤνυσε τοῦτο καὶ μόνον, διαπράσας τὴν χώραν Λατίνοις χρυσίου χιλιάδων λιτρῶν διακοσίων. Διὸ καὶ πολὺς ὁ ὀλολυγμὸς καὶ ἀφόρητος ὁ καπνός, ὡς προείρηται, ὁ ἐλθὼν ἐκ τοῦ βοῤῥᾶ, περὶ ὧν ὁ θέλων δηλῶσαι κατὰ μέρος καὶ ὁ χρόνος ἐπιλείψει.

VI. Μαινομένης θαλάσσης ἐκ πολλῆς τρικυμίας καὶ πολλῆς καταιγίδος οὐδὲν ἀποδέει νῦν τὰ τῆς χώρας ἡμῶν· μᾶλλον δὲ καὶ χεῖρον ἀγρίας θαλάσσης. Ἐκείνης γὰρ τὴν ἀγριότητα διαδέχεται γαλήνη· ἔνθα δὲ ὁ κλύδων καθ' ἑκάστην ἐπαύξει, καὶ τὸ ῥαγδαῖον αὐτοῦ τέλος οὐκ ἔχει· εἰ μή που ἀκούσειε, “Μέχρι τούτου ἐλεύσῃ, “ καὶ οὐχ ὑπερβήσῃ, ἀλλ' ἐν σεαυτῇ συντριβήσεταί σου τὰ κύματα.” Ἐν τῇ Λευιτικῇ βίβλῳ γέγραπται διαῤῥηδὴν τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν συναντήσαντα πήματα, ἤτοι πόλεμοι, ἧτται, σποραὶ διὰ κενῆς, ὑπεναντίων ἐδωδὴ καμάτων ἡμῶν· καὶ ἡ ἰσχὺς ἡμῶν ἐγένετο εἰς οὐδέν· καὶ ἐγενόμεθα ὀλιγοστοί· καὶ λαὸς ἀλλότριος ἐπληθύνθη ἐν τῇ γῇ ἡμῶν. “Ἐπορεύθητε πρός με πλάγιοι,” λέγει ὁ Θεὸς, “καγὼ πορεύ- “ σομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ἐν θυμῷ πλαγίῳ.” Καὶ γὰρ οὕτως ἔχει. Εἰ μή πω γάρ τις νοσήσας χολανεῖ, οὐδ' ὁ ἰατρὸς ἐπάγει τομὴν μετὰ πικρίας καὶ καύσεως. Δῆλον ὅτι καὶ ἡμεῖς, εἰ μή που πολλὰ τὸν πανάγαθον ἰατρὸν ἡμῶν παρεπικράναμεν καὶ πλαγίως πρὸς αὐτὸν ἐπορεύθημεν, οὐκ ἂν καὶ αὐτὸς πλαγίως πρὸς ἡμᾶς διετέθη, σωτηριωδῶς καταπικραίνων ἡμᾶς.

ERRATA.

Page cxv, line 22, *for* 11th, *read* 20th.
„ 20, margin, line 3, *for* July 30, *read* August 6.
„ 22, note 9, *for* m^{o}c^{o}lxx^{o}viii^o, *read* m^{o}c^{o}lxxx^{o}viii^o.
„ 45, line 2, omit the comma after *Maccedoniam.*
„ 62, note 1, line 12, *for* Wiken, *read* Wilken.

ITINERARIUM REGIS RICARDI.

PROLOGUS.

PROLOGUS IN GESTA RICARDI REGIS ANGLIÆ ET REGIS FRANCIÆ ET IMPERATORIS ALEMANNIÆ.[1]

To preserve the memory of great deeds, the Greeks devised historical writing.

The Romans added statues.

SOLET nonnunquam accidere, ut res quantumlibet notas et eximie gestas, tractu[2] temporis vel fama languidior minuat, vel oblivio posteritatis extinguat. Sic regum quamplurium[3] emarcuit gloria, et ipsis consepultum evanuit, quod ab eis magnifice factum et suis celebratum temporibus novitas excepit in favorem, fama in præconium, populus in exemplum. Hoc Grai veteres divinitus[4] attendentes, scripti remedium objecere prudenter,[5] et[6] scriptores suos, quos dixere historiographos ad conscribendas regum[7] historias studiosius exciverunt. Unde feliciter contigit ut vocis vivæ silentium vox scripta suppleret, ne ipsis mortalibus eorum commorerentur virtutes. Romani vero, Græcorum æmuli, perpetuandæ virtutis obtentu, non solum stili assumpserunt officium, sed et statuas adjecerunt; et sic tam veteres repræsentando, quam provocando posteros, virtutis amorem, tum per oculos, tum per aures, ad interiora multipliciter demissum, imitantium mentibus firmius impresserunt. Quis iter Jasonis, labores Her-

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[1] Prologus in Itinerarium peregrinantium in Terram Sanctam tempore Salahadini, et in Gesta Regis Angliæ Ricardi et Regis Franciæ et Imperatoris Alemanniæ. A.

[2] *tractu*] tactu, G.

[3] *quamplurium*] quam plurimum, G.

[4] *divinitus*] om. A.

[5] *objecere prudenter*] prudenter objecerunt, A.

[6] *et*] ac, A.

[7] *regum*] om. A.; rerum, G.

The Church uses histories for purposes of example.

The best histories have been written by eye-witnesses, as was the following: and therefore the writer needs no apology for the rudeness of his style.

culis, Alexandri gloriam, Cæsaris victorias nosset, si scriptorum beneficia defuissent. Porro, patrum gesta sanctorum, quos frequentius commemorat et commendat ecclesia, neminem ad imitandum accenderent,[1] si conscia veritatis antiquitas legendam nobis historiam non reliquisset. Sane reges antiqui, cum variis extollerentur præconiis, id vel maxime in votis habebant, ut in ore præsentium celebres,[2] ad posteritatis notitiam devenirent. Cæterum cum innumeri rerum gestarum scriptores extiterint, plurimi quod audierunt, pauci quod videre,[3] scripserunt. Quod si Phrygio[4] Dareti de Pergamorum eversione ideo potius creditur, quia quod alii retulere auditum, ille præsens conspexit, nobis etiam historiam Jerosolimitanam tractantibus[5] non indigne fides debetur; qui[6] quod vidimus, testamur, et res gestas, adhuc calente memoria, stilo duximus designandas. At si cultiorem dicendi formam deliciosus exposcit auditor,[7] noverit nos in castris fuisse[8] cum scripsimus; et bellicos strepitus tranquillæ meditationis otium non admisisse. Ipsa sibi veritas ad gratiam[9] sufficit, et licet pomposo non expolita ornatu, quemcunque saltem secreti sui alliciet auditorem.

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[1] *Porro . . . . accenderent*] Et ut sanctorum patrum utamur exemplis, nec Job patientia, nec Abraham liberalitas, nec David mansuetudo fidelibus posteris ad exemplum viveret. A.

[2] *in . . . celebres*] om. A.

[3] *audierunt . . . . videre*] audierant . . . viderant, B.

[4] *Phrygio*] Frigio, A. B. C. G.

[5] *historiam . . . . tractantibus*] om. A.

[6] *qui*] quia, A.

[7] *exposcit auditor*] tr. B.

[8] *fuisse*] non domi, add. B.

[9] *gratiam*] gloriam, B.

ITINERARIUM REGIS RICARDI.

LIBER PRIMUS.

[Capitulum I.]

A.D. 1187.

[1] *Quia pro peccatis populorum Dominus exterminavit populum Syriæ.*[2]

The degeneracy of the people of the Holy Land provoked the anger of God.

Anno Verbi Incarnati M°C°LXXXVII°,[3] apostolicæ sedis apicem obtinente Urbano tertio; imperante in Alemannia Frederico, apud Constantinopolim Ysaakio, Philippo regnante in Francia, Henrico in Anglia, in Sicilia[4] Willelmo,[5] aggravata est manus Domini super populum Suum, si tamen recte dixerimus Suum, quem[6] conversationis immunditia, vitæ turpitudo, vitiorum fœditas fecerat[7] alienum. Jam enim eousque flagitiorum consuetudo proruperat, ut omnes, abjecto erubescentiæ velo, palam et passim[8] ad turpia declinarent. Cædes, rapinas, adulteria, longum esset evolvere, ac proposito nostro contrarium, qui res gestas delibare decrevimus, non formare tractatum; sed cum hostis ille antiquus corruptionis spiritum longe lateque diffudisset, specialius tamen Syriam occupaverat, et unde regiones cæteræ susceperant relligionis exordium,[9] inde totius immunditiæ sumebant exemplum. Hinc igitur Dominus terram Nativitatis Suæ, locum Passionis Suæ

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[1] The MS. A. has the following rubric: *Incipit Itinerarium Regis Anglorum Ricardi in Terram Sanctam a Magistro Gaufrido Vinsauf editum. Incipit liber primus. Capitulum primum.*

[2] *Quia . . . Syriæ*] om. A. G.

[3] *Anno . . . &c.*] Anno Incarnationis Dominicæ m°c°lxxx°., A.; m°c°lxx°vii°, G.

[4] *Sicilia*] Cecilia, B.

[5] *Willelmo*] Guillelmo, A.

[6] *quem*] quæque, B.

[7] *fecerat*] fecerant, A. G.

[8] *passim*] passius, B.

[9] *exordium*] principium,

A.D. 1187. Saladin was His instrument of vengeance.

in abyssum turpitudinis decidisse conspiciens, hæreditatem Suam sprevit, et virgam furoris Sui Salahadinum ad obstinatæ gentis exterminium debacchari[1] permisit; maluit enim Terram Sanctam per aliquantum tempus[2] profanis gentilium ritibus ancillari, quam illos florere diutius quos ab illicitis nullius honestatis compescebat respectus. Hanc futuræ demolitionis instantiam[3] casus præloquebantur diversi, fames, terræ motus, frequens tam lunæ quam solis defectus. Sed et ventus ille validus quem de planetarum concursu proventurum astronomici prænunciaverant,[4] in hujus rei significantiam commutatus migravit. Ventus vere validus,[5] qui quatuor mundi cardines concussit, ac orbem totum in seditiones et prælia concitandum præmonstravit.

[Capitulum II.]

Qualiter Saladinus fugavit Magistrum Templi et alios.[6]

Saladin sends an army under Modaffer-ed-din, emir of Edessa, into Palestine. Battle near Nazareth (May 1, 1187, *Chron. Terræ Sanctæ*, § 5).

Salahadinus igitur,[7] contractis armatorum[8] copiis Palæstinam violenter aggressus, admiralium[9] Edessæ Manafaradinum cum septem millibus Turcorum qui Terram Sacram depopularentur, præmisit. Hic autem Manafaradinus,[10] cum in partes Tiberiadis processisset, casu[11] sibi obvios[12] magistrum Militiæ Templi Girardum de Bidesfordia[13] et magistrum Hospitalis Rogerum de Molendinis, illum quidem fugatum, istum vero interfectum

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[1] *debacchari*] debachare, B.

[2] *tempus*] temporis, B.

[3] *instantiam*] om. B.

[4] *prænunciaverant*] pronunciaverant, G. C.

[5] *vere validus*] vero, C.; calidus, G.

[6] The rubric in A. has been so cut by the binder as to be illegible; no rubrics are given in the "Gesta "Dei per Francos."

[7] *igitur*] om. B.

[8] *armatorum*] armorum, B.

[9] *admiralium*] ad mirabilium, A.; Edissæ, B.

[10] *Manafaradinus*] om. A. G.

[11] *casu*] casus, G.

[12] *obvios*] habuit, ins. A. G.

[13] *Bidesfordia*] nomine de Ridefordia, A.; de Bideffordia, G.; de Rifford, C.

A.D. 1187.

Prowess of Jakelin of Mailly, a Templar of Touraine.

inopino Marte confecit. In quo conflictu, cum nostrorum paucissimi ab immenso concluderentur exercitu, insigne quiddam[1] et memoria dignum contigit; nam quidam Templarius, officio miles, natione Turonicus,[2] nomine Jakelinus de Mailliaco,[3] quadam virtutis præminentia in se omnium provocabat insultus; cæteris autem commilitonibus suis qui quingenti æstimabantur, vel captis, vel interfectis, belli totius impetum solus sustinuit, et pro lege Dei sui athleta gloriosus effulsit. Hic hostium vallatus cuneis et humano prorsus[4] auxilio destitutus, cum tot millia hinc inde irruentia conspiceret, collegit in vires[5] animum, et unus contra omnes bellum animosus suscepit: virtus ejus ad gratiam hostium commendanda enituit, ut[6] ei plerique compassi, ipsum ad deditionem affectuosius hortarentur. Quorum monita dissimulans, mori pro Christo non timuit,[7] sed telis, lapidibus, lanceis, oppressus magis quam victus, vix tandem occumbens, ad cœlos feliciter cum palma martyrii triumphator migravit. Mors quidem mitior, et ad sensum dolor non venerat, cum unius viri gladius tantam circumjacentis turbæ struxisset coronam. Dulce viro sic occumbere, ubi victor ipse in medio, et in circuitu impii, quos dextera victrice consumpsit. Et quia in equo nitido et armis albicantibus tunc casu pugnator incesserat, Gentiles qui Sanctum Georgium in hujusmodi habitu[8] militare noverant, se militem nitentis armaturæ Christianorum propugnatorem, interfecisse jactabant.[9] Erant in loco ubi pugnabatur,[10] stipulæ, quas messor post grana paulo ante decussa, reliquerat inconvulsas; Turcorum autem multitudo tanta irruerat, et vir[11] unus contra tot acies tam

The Saracens flatter themselves that they have slain St. George.

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[1] *quiddam*] quoddam, B.

[2] *Turonicus*] Turonius, G. MS. C. reads *Tutonicus* over an erasure.

[3] *Mailliaco*] Mailiaco, B.

[4] *prorsus*] rursus, B.

[5] *vires*] vares, B.

[6] *ut*] *et*, A.

[7] *timuit*] abhorruit, A.

[8] *habitu*] om. B.

[9] *Et quia . . . jactabant*] om. A.

[10] *pugnabatur*] pugnabat, G.

[11] *vir*] vix, G.

A.D. 1187. diu conflixit, ut campus in quo stabant totus resolveretur in pulverem, nec ulla[1] prorsus[2] messis vestigia[3] comparerent. Fuere, ut dicebatur, nonnulli qui corpus viri jam exanimum pulvere superjecto consparserunt, et ipsum pulverem[4] suis imponentes verticibus, virtutem ex contactu hausisse credebant. Quidam vero, ut fama ferebat, ardentius cæteris movebatur; et abscissis[5] viri genitalibus, ea tanquam in usu[6] gignendi reservare disposuit, ut vel mortua membra, si fieri posset, virtutis tantæ suscitarent hæredem. Hac ergo suorum victoria Salahadinus impendio hilaratus, animum occupandi regni ambitione succensum, ad majora intendit.

[Capitulum III.]

Quod[7] *genus et*[8] *quæ initia Saladinus habuit.*[9]

Saladin properly called Youssef, Verum ut tantus Christiani nominis persecutor cupidæ posteritati plenius innotescat, de principiis ejus aliquid, quantum brevitas captata permiserit, præmittemus. Fuit itaque de genere Mirmuræni[10] parentum non ingenuorum proles, nec tamen obscuri sanguinis humilitate plebescens. Pater ejus Job, ipse vero[11] Joseph[12] nuncupatus.[13] Nam juxta Mahumeti traditionem, hæc apud plerosque Gentilium viget observantia, ut cum charactere[14] circumcisionis etiam Hebræorum nomina circumcidendis imponant: principes vero,

the son of Ayoub,

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[1] *nec ulla*] ut nulla, B.
[2] *prorsus*] om. A.
[3] *penitus*, ins. A.
[4] *pulverem*] om. A.
[5] *abscissis*] abscisis, A.
[6] *usu*] usum, B. G.
[7] *Quod*] Quæ, B.
[8] *et*] vel, A.
[9] *habuit*] haberet, A.
[10] *Mirmuræni*] Mairmuræni, B.
[11] *vero*] om. A.
[12] *Joseph*] Josep, A.
[13] *nuncupatus*] nuncupabatur, B.
[14] *charactere*] caractere, A. B. G.

ut nominibus suis admoniti legis Mahumetiæ[1] studiosi defensores existant, ab ipso legis vocabulo nomina sortiuntur. Lex siquidem lingua Gentili Hadin dicitur. Unde et Salahadinus dictus[2] est, quod legis corrector vel pacificator[3] interpretatur. Et sicut principes nostri[4] imperatores dicuntur vel reges, sic apud illos, qui præeminent Soldani, quasi soli dominantes, nominantur.

A.D. 1187. surnamed the Corrector of the Law.

Quæ initia habuit.[5]

Salahadinus itaque[6] sub Soldano Damascenorum Norahadino,[7] hoc primum potestatis suæ auspicium habuit, quod de puellis Damasci quæstuariis quæstum sibi colligebat infamem: eas enim[8] non aliter licebat prostitui nisi ab ipso[9] primitus libidinis exercendæ copiam pretio[10] impetrassent. Quicquid autem hujusmodi lenocinio lucrabatur, in usus histrionum prodigus refundebat, sicque largitionis obtentu, venalem vulgi gratiam totis desideriis comparavit. Hic cujusdam Suriani vaticinio in spem regni adductus, ab illo futurum audierat, ut Damasci et Babylonis ditione potiretur. Sic ergo ascensiones in corde suo disposuit, et jam cœpit regno majora sperare,[11] cujus ambitus angustæ possessionis limites non excedebat. Processu temporis, cum jam ætas robustior officium militare deposceret, ad Enfridum de Turone, illustrem Palæstinæ principem, paludandus accessit, et Francorum ritu cingulum militiæ[12] ab ipso suscepit.

Saladin's first preferment under Noureddin, sultan of Damascus.

Prophecy about him.

He is knighted by the constable Henfrid of Toron.

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[1] *Mahumetiæ*] Mahumeticæ, A.
[2] *dictus*] appellatus, A.
[3] *vel pacificator*] om. A. G.
[4] *vel*, ins. A. G.
[5] Om. A.
[6] *itaque*] utique, B. G. and Barth.
[7] *Norahadino*] Norahaldino, B.
[8] *enim*] autem, A.
[9] *ipso*] eo, B.
[10] *pretio*] om. A.
[11] *sperare*] spirare, G.
[12] *cingulum militiæ*] tr. A. B. G.

[CAPITULUM IV.]

A.D. 1187.

Qualiter Saladinus occupavit regna Ægypti,[1] *Damasci,*[2] *Indiæ, et aliarum terrarum.*

Shawer, vizier to the Emir-al-Mumenim, El Adid, caliph of Egypt.

Eo tempore Gentilis quidam, Sawarius[3] nomine, sub Molano, quem patria lingua Dominum dicunt, universam procurabat Ægyptum,[4] quem victoriosus Jerosolimorum rex Amalricus[5] ad tributum coegerat annuatim solvendum. Molanus siquidem[6] ter in anno tantum se visibilem et adorandum[7] exhibebat Ægyptiis, qui apud subditos credebatur tantus, ut ejus imperio Nilus effluere diceretur. Porro, Gentilitiæ[8] relligionis statuta observanter adimplens, dies anni concubinarum numero[9] exæquabat[10]; sicque inter mulierculas consenescens, tractanda regni negotia Seuuario[11] committebat. Hos Salahadinus cum patruo suo Saracuno[12] tunc temporis apud Ægyptios militans, proditiose peremit incautos; et sic totius Ægypti obtinuit principatum. Postea[13] vero, non multo tamen[14] interfluente tractu,[15] Norahadinus diem clausit extremum, cujus uxorem Salahadinus matrimonio sibi copulans, cum ipsa regni regimen fugatis hæredibus occupavit. Hæc fortunæ ludentis potentia, has rerum vicissitudines voluit; quæ de paupere divitem, de humili sublimem, de servo suscitat dominantem. Quod si rerum pretia judicio, non opinione, metimur, quantalibet terrenæ felicitatis potentia vilis æstimanda est, quam pessimi et indigni sæpius nanciscuntur. Leno ille, cujus regnum in prostibulis, militia in ta-

Shawer and El Adid deposed by Saladin and his uncle Shiracouh. (A.D. 1169.)

Saladin succeeds Noureddin. (A.D. 1174.)

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[1] *et*, ins. A.

[2] *et*, ins. A.

[3] *Sawarius*] Sewarius, A. B. G.

[4] *sub . . . Ægyptum*] sub Calepho De Baldac Ægyptiorum tenebat imperium, A.

[5] *Amalricus*] Almaricus, A. C.

[6] *siquidem*] quidem, A.

[7] *adorandum*] ad orandum, B.

[8] *Gentilitiæ*] gentilicæ, A.

[9] *concubinarum numero*] tr. A.

[10] *exæquabat*] adæquabat, G.

[11] *Seuuario*] Sewarino, A.

[12] *Saracuno*] Saracurio, B.; Saradunco, MS. Barth.

[13] *Postea*] Postmodum, A.; post multum, G.; post modicum, Barth.

[14] *tamen*] temporis, A. B. G.

[15] *tractu*] tracto, G.

bernis, studium in aleis et aliis,[1] subito sublimatur; sedet cum principibus, immo major principibus; et solium gloriæ tenens † Ægyptiis imperat, Damascenos subdit, terram Roasiæ cum terra Gesiræ[2] occupat, et[3] intima citerioris Indiæ penetrat regnaturus.

A.D. 1187. Saladin reigns over Egypt, Damascus, Edessa, and Al-Jezireh, or Mesopotamia.

† 1 Sam. ii. 8.

[4] *Saladinus unam monarchiam de regnis efficit.*

Regna itaque circumjacentia nunc dolis, nunc armis impugnans et expugnans, de sceptris pluribus monarchiam efficit,[5] et tot regum solus vendicat principatum. Nec his contenta tyranni cupiditas, quo plura possidet, ad plura incenditur, et hæreditatem Domini totis viribus occupare conatur. Tempus autem votis accommodum nactus, jam obtinere sperat quod[6] nunquam optare præsumpserat.

[CAPITULUM V.]

[7] *De seditione orta per principes Christianorum.*

Nam[8] propter regnum dissidentibus Tripolitano comite Reimundo,[9] et Guidone[10] Latinorum rege octavo, perniciosa seditio populum distrahebat.[11] Hæc igitur opportunitas cupientem animum acrius accendit, et tam celerem[12] quam certum gerendi negotii pollicetur effectum. Cæterum, non sine causa prorsus,[13] a Soldano bellum indicitur; nam princeps Antiochiæ Reginaldus, fœdus induciale ruperat, quod nostri cum gentilibus hinc inde sanxerant observandum.

Raymond, count of Tripoli, and Guy, king of Jerusalem quarrel, and give Saladin his opportunity.

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[1] *aliis*] alliis, A. G.

[2] *Gesiræ*] Gesiriæ, A.; Gesyræ, G.; Gessyræ, B.

[3] *et*] ad, ins. A.

[4] Om. A.

[5] *efficit*] effecit, G.

[6] *quod*] quam, B.

[7] Om. A.

[8] *Nam*] Itaque, B. G.

[9] *Reimundo*] Raimundo, A. G.

[10] *Guidone*] Gwidone, B., *passim.*

[11] Here MS. A has the following rubric: *Capitulum V. Cum quanto exercitu Salahadinus exercitum Christianorum confecerit, et crucem Dominicam cum rege Gwidone et Achon ceperit, et Terram Promissionis sibi subegerit.*

[12] *celerem*] celebrem, G.

[13] *prorsus*] om.

A.D. 1187.

[1] *Quomodo princeps Antiochiæ, rupto fœdere induciarum, itinerantes extra fines proprios paganos occidit.*

Reginald of Châtillon, prince of Kerak and ex-prince of Antioch, captures a caravan of pilgrims in time of truce.

Quodam enim[2] tempore cum plurimus et opulentus Gentilium[3] comitatus a Damasco in Ægyptum transiret, et præter limites terræ Christianorum, ob induciarum fiduciam, itinerare non formidarent, in eos[4] subito princeps prædictus irruit, et ipsos cum universis sarcinis, minus decenter captivos abduxit. Soldanus itaque[5] tum ambitione fervens, tum injuria sibi facta permotus, totius imperii sui excito robore, Jerosolimorum fines tam potenter quam violenter invadit. Si numerus hominum, dissimilitudo gentium, cæremoniarum[6] diversitas, prout lex historiæ postulat, plenius describerentur, tractatus diffusior brevitatis propositum conturbaret,[7] quorum quamvis innumerabilis multitudo, nominatis tantum his qui eis præminebant, aliquatenus poterit æstimari.

Cum quanto exercitu Saladinus venit contra Christianorum exercitum debellandum.

The princes who came with Saladin. The emirs of Amida, Rahaba, Rakka, Myafarekin, Samosata, Nisibis, Bira,

Venit itaque cum universo comitatu suo Norahadinus admiralius de Amiza.[8] Venit Jarafarahadinus[9] admiralius de Robis; et admiralius de Raechis, et admiralius de Faraquinis; admiralius de Mossetar; admiralius de Nesebino[10] ducens secum ducem Mezaedinum. Venit et admiralius de Byla[11] et admiralius de Torvesello, ad-

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[1] Om. A.

[2] *enim*] om. B. G.

[3] *Gentilium*] Gentacium, B.

[4] *eos*] eo, A.

[5] *itaque*] igitur, A. B. G.

[6] *cæremoniarum*] cerimoniarum, MSS.

[7] *conturbaret.*] The whole of the enumeration of Saladin's princes is omitted in A. and G., which proceed thus: "Parthi, Bedoini [Bedcuini, "G.] et Arabes, Medi, Cordini et "Ægyptii, sicut loco, ritu, et no-"mine diversi sic in excidium "Terræ Sanctæ unanimiter omnes "accensi."

[8] *Amiza*] Elmiza, B.

[9] *Jarafarahadinus*] Jerafarahadinus, B.

[10] *Nescbino*] Neselimis, B.

[11] *Byla*] Bila, B.

A.D. 1187.

Turbessel, Damascus. The caliph of Bagdad and his emirs: the Egyptian emirs.

The sultan of Iconium. The emir Karakoush. The Emirs of the Kurds, of Buseireh, of Gibel, Crach, and others.

miralius Damascenus, et Caliphes[1] de Baldach, admiralius Alirius,[2] admiralius Myrchalius,[3] admiralius Mestoch. Venit dux Sanscous de Doada. Venit Bellegeminus,[4] admiralius Megesimus, admiralius Gwahadinus Sanscous, dux Acalatinus, admiralius de Rohequis,[5] admiralius Alexandrinus, venit dux Hælicalinus,[6] ducens secum fratrem suum Sanguinum.[7] Venit et admiralius de Damiatis, admiralius de Maelis, Safahadinus Berbensis, Sensedinus de Montanis, admiralius Babiloniæ, Soldanus de Coimo, Baffadinus Archadius, dux Ayas de Stoi,[8] admiralius Carracoensis, Sanscous Halabiensis, dux Dorderinus Hedredinus, dux Serbeth de Harengo, admiralius de Souz, admiralius Bedredinus, admiralius de Cordis, admiralius de Boysseleth,[9] admiralius de Gibel,[10] admiralius Sassachius,[11] admiralius de Crach, admiralius Waradinus,[12] et Helyas et Jebedinus, dux Altilabanus, cum trecentis Turcis, secum decem admiralios adducens, expeditos cum singulorum comitatu sufficienter armis instructo. Præter hos etiam[13] prænominatos habuit Salahadinus quingenta millia Saracenorum, Parthos, Bedewinos, et[14] Arabes, Medos, Cordinos, Ægyptios, qui sicut loco ritu et nomine diversi, sic in excidium Terræ Sanctæ unanimiter omnes erant[15] accensi.

[16] *De fraude comitis Tripolis.*

Comes igitur Tripolitanus fraudulenter, ut dicebatur, se ingerens ad exercitum nostrum producendum in hostes juxta quod inter ipsum convenerat et Salahadinum, suorum intendebat potius proditioni.

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[1] *Caliphes*] Califes, C.

[2] *Alirius*] Alizius, B.

[3] *Myrchalius*] Myrcalius, B.

[4] *Bellegeminus*] Bellegezemnus, B.

[5] *Rohequis*] Roequis, B.

[6] *Hælicalinus*] Hænedinus, B.

[7] *Sanguinum*] om. B.

[8] *Stoi*] Stoy, B.

[9] *Boysseleth*] Boisseleth, B.

[10] *Gibel*] Cibel, B.

[11] *Sassachius*] Cassachius, B.

[12] *Waradinus*] Wadiranus, B.

[13] *hos etiam*] om. B.

[14] *et*] om. B.

[15] *erant*] om. B.

[16] This section is omitted in A. G

A.D. 1187.

[1] *De visione quæ apparuit camerario regis Guidonis.*

Evil omen before the battle of Hittin.

Nostris obviam procedentibus, cum jam funesta dies[2] instaret, camerario regis visio tremenda contigit: quod quædam aquila Christianum transvolaret exercitum, quæ septem missilia et balistam gestans in pedibus voce terribili personabat, Væ tibi Jerusalem.[3] Ad cujus[4] visionis eliciendum mysterium sufficere[5] credimus quod scriptum legitur, Tetendit Dominus arcum Suum et in eo paravit vasa mortis.† Quid autem septem missilia, nisi septem criminalia typice indicant, quibus infelix exercitus erat in proximo periturus? Potest tamen[6] illius septenarii nomine, pœnarum quæ Christicolis imminebant universitas intelligi,[7] quod[8] post non multum fidelis nimium et dirus interpres, rerum declaravit eventus.

† Ps. vii. 12, 13.

[9] *Qualiter Christiani confecti sint, et crux Christi cum rege Guidone et Achon capta sint, et Terra promissionis subacta.*

Battle of Hittin, July 4, 1187.

Conflictu nondum inito, cum non longe a Tiberiade, in loco qui Marescallia dicitur,[10] acies hinc inde[11] produxissent, in ipso belli articulo, Comes prædictus[12] loco cessit, fugamque simulans ut acies nostræ dissiparentur, ut fama erat, divertit ab eis, ut suis quibus debuerat adesse præsidio timorem incuteret, et hostes juxta condictum animositate incitaret. Perplexum igitur in dis-

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[1] Om. A.

[2] *funesta dies*] tr. A. G.

[3] *Jerusalem*] Jerl̄m., B. A.

[4] *cujus*] hujus, A. G.

[5] *sufficere credimus*] tr. B.

[6] *tamen*] etiam, A.

[7] *pœnarum . . . intelligi*] pœnarum universitas quæ Christicolis imminebat intelligi, A.

[8] *quod . . . fidelis*] sic postmodum fidelis, A.; quæ post multum, B.

[9] Om. A.

[10] *in loco . . . dicitur*] om. A.

[11] *acies hinc inde*] hinc inde acies A.

[12] *prædictus*] Tripolis, B.

A.D. 1187. July 4.

† Ps. lxxviii. 26.

crimine[1] conclusit Dominus[2] in gladio populum Suum,† et hæreditatem Suam peccatis hominum exigentibus, in cædem tradidit et direptionem. Quid plura? Nec tenor propositi, nec ipsa doloris immensitas[3] ad singula threnos aptare indulget; sed ut multa paucis claudantur, tot ibi cæsi, tot vulnerati, tot in vincula fuerant[4] conjecti, quod ad hostium miserationem gens nostra consumpta deperiit. Illud etiam[5] vivificum salutiferæ[6] Crucis lignum, in quo Dominus ac Redemptor noster pependit,[7] in cujus stipitem[8] pius Christi sanguis defluxit, cujus signum adorant angeli, venerantur homines, dæmones expavescunt, cujus præsidio nostri semper in bello extitere[9] victores,—heu nunc ab hoste capitur; et[10] Crucis bajulatores[11] episcopus Achonensis et cantor Sepulcri Dominici,[12] ille cæsus, iste captus, pariter cum ipsa succumbunt. Cruci quoque rex Guido decidenti in terram compatiens, immo et sibi in ea spem ponens, irruens et ipsam amplexatus est, vel ut ipsam si Deo placeret, reciperet, vel certe cum ipsa occumberet.[13] Hanc alteram[14] post Cosdroen regem Persarum Crux sancta propter scelera nostra contumeliam pertulit, et quæ nos a veteri captivitatis jugo absolvit, propter nos captiva ducitur, et profanis gentilium manibus contrectatur. Videat si est intelligens, quæ sit ira Dei;[15] immo quanta servorum iniquitas, cum ad Crucis custodiam Gentiles quam Christiani minus[16] reputentur indigni. Nihil æque lugendum ætas antiqua[17] protulit, quia nec arca Domini,

The True Cross taken.

The king taken.

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[1] *in ipso . . . discrimine*] om. A.

[2] *Dominus*] om. A.

[3] *immensitas*] indulget immensitas . . . aptare, A.

[4] *fuerant*] om. A. G.

[5] *Illud etiam*] Istud, A.; etiam, om. A. G.

[6] *salutiferæ*] salutiferum, A.

[7] *in . . . pependit*] om. B.

[8] *stipitem*] stipidem, B.; stipite, A.

[9] *in . . . extitere*] in bellis victores extiterant, A.

[10] *ipsius*, ins. A. G.

[11] *duo*, ins. A. G.

[12] *et. . . Dominici*] et episcopus Sancti Georgii, A.

[13] *Cruci . . . occumberet*] om. A.G.

[14] *alteram*] autem, G.

[15] *Dei*] Domini, A. G.

[16] *minus*] nimius, B.

[17] *antiqua*] antiquam, B.

A.D. 1187. July 4.

nec reges Judæorum captivati, nostri casum temporis[1] æquiparare possunt, in quo gloriosæ Cruci[2] rex ducitur concaptivus. De captivis,[3] quorum multitudo non minus miranda quam miseranda exstitit, pars pro victoris arbitrio reservatur illæsa, partem vero tam felici quam festino[4] compendio ad cœlum gladius mactator transmittit.[5]

[6]*Qualiter Saladinus caput principis Antiochiæ amputat, præcipiens Templarios et bellatores præcipuos occidi.*

The sad death of Reginald of Châtillon, lord of Kerak.

Inter cæteros princeps[7] Antiochiæ Reginaldus Soldani conspectibus præsentatur; cui tyrannus ipse, vel furorem suum secutus, vel viri tanti deferens excellentiæ,[8] manu propria caput emeritum et longævum abscidit.[9] Templarios quoque, quotquot erant præter Magistrum militiæ decapitari præcipiens, ipsos penitus[10] exterminare disposuit[11] quos in bello cæteris[12] noverat prævalere. O zelus fidei! O fervor animi! quamplures assumpta Templariorum tonsura. certatim ad carnifices confluunt, et sub pio[13] novæ professionis mendacio lætam ferientium gladiis cervicem dependunt. Inter hos[14] Christi milites, Templarius quidam nomine Nicholaus, ita cæteris subeundæ mortis persuaserat amorem,[15] quod[16] aliis prævenire certantibus, ipse martyrii gloriam vix primus poterat obtinere,[17] quod tamen summopere affectabat. Nec defuit miraculosa divinæ miserationis potentia; nam per tres noctes proximas[18] cum sanc-

Massacre of the Templars.

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[1] *temporis*] intemporis, B.
[2] *Cruci*] Crucis, A.
[3] *autem*, ins. A. G.
[4] *festino*] festivo, G.
[5] *transmittit*] transmisit, A.
[6] Om. A.
[7] *princeps*] principes, C.
[8] *deferens excellentiæ*] tr. A.G.
[9] *abscidit*] abcidit, A.
[10] *penitus*] stirpitus, A.
[11] *disposuit*] statuit, A.
[12] *omnibus*, ins. A.
[13] *pio*] ipso, A.
[14] *Inter hos*] tr. A. G.
[15] *persuaserat amorem*] tr. A. G.
[16] *jam*, ins. A.
[17] *poterat obtinere*] tr. A. G.; potuit, B.
[18] *proximas*] proximorum, B.

A.D. 1187. July 4.

Reflexions on the battle of Hittin.

torum martyrum corpora adhuc insepulta jacerent, cœlestis radius ignis desuper manifestus infulsit. Saladinus itaque cum jam belli fremitus conquiesceret, et hinc captivos trahi, inde cæsos passim jacere conspiceret, erectis ad cœlum oculis de adeptione victoriæ grates Deo reddit.[1] Sic enim facere in omnibus quæ prospere[2] accidebant consuevit; at inter cætera hoc sæpius fertur dixisse,[3] quod non sua potentia sed iniquitas nostra[4] hanc illi victoriam contulit; et hoc ipsum non insolitus rerum comprobat[5] eventus. In congressibus aliis nostrorum exercitus, quantumlibet modicus, divino semper vincebat præsidio;[6] nunc autem quia nec nos cum Domino nec nobiscum Dominus, gens nostra penitus ante conflictum succubuit, cum tamen milites plus quam viginti millia[7] censerentur. Adeo sane totius regni robur edicto regio ad bellum illud[8] funestum confluxerat, ut illi tantum in castrorum et urbium residerent custodia, quos ætatis et sexus infirmitas armorum prorsus habebat immunes. Hoc bellum die translationis Sancti Martini, fato infelici commissum, sub uno temporis articulo[9] omnem regni gloriam transtulit et extinxit.[10]

Saladin takes the strongholds of Palestine: Acre first (July 9, *Bohadin*, 71).

Soldanus ergo munitiones terræ[11] cæsis defensoribus, faciles ad occupandum confisus, regem captivum victor per castra Syriæ circumducit, ut in ludibrium reservatus et capiendis ostendatur urbibus, et populum incitet ad deditionem. Achon[12] itaque veniens, ipsam primam[13] et quam primum absque insultu recipit, civibus ex

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[1] *reddit*] reddidit, A. G.

[2] *prospere*] om. A. G.

[3] *fertur dixisse*] tr. A. G.

[4] *iniquitas nostra*] nostrorum iniquitas peccatorum, A.

[5] *comprobat*] comprobabit, B.; comprobabat, G.

[6] *semper . . . præsidio*] præsidio semper prævaluerat, A.

[7] *plus quam viginti millia*] plus quam mille et pedites plus quam viginti millia, A. G.

[8] *bellum illud*] istud bellum, A.

[9] *temporis articulo*] actu temporis, A.; astu, G.

[10] *extinxit*] extinguit, G.

[11] *terræ*] om. B.

[12] *Achon*] Accon, A. G.; Acon, B.

[13] *primam*] primum,

A.D. 1187. condicto libertatem habentibus, et[1] se ac sua quo mens duceret[2] transferenda.[3]

[CAPITULUM VI.]

De captione Christianorum incaute apud Achon[4] applicantium.

The Christians landing at Acre are taken captive.

Interea nautæ cursus solitos Achon dirigunt, qui ab orbe Christiano profecti alii merces, alii transvehunt peregrinos;[5] heu, rerum gestarum inscii, ad portum hostilem applicant captivandi. Casus quidem miserabilis: littus a longe conspectum salutant, et vincula parantur egressis; naufragia evasisse lætantur et incidunt in gladios;[6] pacem fatigati expectant, et inveniunt persequentem;[7] plerique reservantur captivi, quamplures habentur ludibrio, pauci sinuntur reverti, quos hostis ex industria nudos et inopes abire permittit, ut illorum exemplo exterreantur venturi.

[CAPITULUM VII.]

Qualiter Marchisus Conradus captionem prædictam evadens, Tyrum petit defensurus eam.[8]

Narrow escape of the Marquis Conrad of Montferrat.

Inter cæteros Marchisus per Constantinopolim[9] veniens, extra portum Achon, sole in occasum vergente, velis demissis[10] subsistit. Urbis enim silentia suspicionem inducunt; cum alias semper in adventu navium ad plausum soleat concitari. Vexilla Saladini[1] per urbem conspecta,[2] majorem timendi causam incutiunt. At cæteris diffidentibus cum jam galeas Gentilium cernerent adventare,[3] Marchisus omnes imperat silere,[4] et se omnium prolocutorem opponit. Missis itaque[5] quinam essent sciscitantibus, navem asserit esse vectoriam,[6] et se dominum navis, rei gestæ non inscium, ac Soldano devotum, die crastina illucescente[7] venturum ad urbem[8] cum mercibus constanter promittit.

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[1] *et*] om. A. B. G.

[2] *quo . . . . duceret*] qua mens duxerit, A.

[3] *transferenda*] transferendi, A. B. G.

[4] *Achon*] Antiochiam, B.

[5] *et*, ins. A. G.

[6] *incidunt in gladios*] tr. A. G.

[7] *persequentem*] comprehensorem, Barth.

[8] *evadens . . . eam*] evaserit, et Tyrum petierit, A.

[9] *per Constantinopolim*] a Constantinopli, A.; G. omits *per*.

[10] *demissis*] dimissis, G.

A.D. 1187. July.

[9]*De natione Marchisi Tyrum defendentis.*

Nocte ipsa, vento favente, Tyrum secedens, ipsam suscepit defensurus;[10] cujus adventus et venturis Christicolis processit ad commodum et ipsi cessisset ad gloriam, si qualis esse[11] cœperat perstitisset. Marchisus iste, Conradus nomine, natione Italus, vir quidem singularis industriæ et ad quævis aggredienda strenuus; sed quantumlibet insigne principium, si turpi claudatur exitu,[12] vituperium potius meretur quam laudem.[13]

Conrad of Montferrat throws himself into Tyre.

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[1] *Saladini*] Soldani, A. G.

[2] *conspecta*] suspecta, A.

[3] *cernerent adventare*] tr. A. G.

[4] *imperat silere*] tr. A. G.

[5] *itaque*] namque, A.

[6] *navem . . . vectoriam*] institoriam, B.; navem institoriam esse asserit, A. G.

[7] *illucescente*] illucente, G.

[8] *venturum ad urbem*] ad urbem venturum, A. G.

[9] Om. A.

[10] *suscepit defensurus*] tr. A. G.; suscipit, A. B. G.

[11] *esse*] om. A. G.

[12] *exitu*] fine, B.

[13] *meretur quam laudem*] quam laudem meretur, A. G.

[CAPITULUM VIII.]

A.D. 1187.

Salahadinus Beritho et Sidone captis a Tyro fugatur, et Ascalonem[1] *cepit falsa pactione ejus deceptam.*

Berytus taken (July 30, *Bohadin*, 72).

Sidon taken, (July 27, *Bohadin*, 72).

Ascalon besieged.

Soldanus post Achon redditam, Berritum[2] et Sidonem impugnans et expugnans,[3] cum Tyrum eadem facilitate vendicare speraret, turpiter repulsus abscessit. Exinde rege Guidone[4] secum perducto,[5] Ascalonem pervenit, et erectis petrariis, urbem impugnat, quam captu facilem, rarus et inermis defensor efficit, licet loci munitio multiplex invincibile robur prætendat. Urbem sibi reddi, insatiabilis prædo, votis omnibus instat, tandem vero,[6] prorsus ab expugnatione diffidens, rerum quidem inscius et statum urbis in armis, viris, victualibus inopem ignorans, paciscitur autem, et cives cum rebus suis libere discessuros; et regem cum aliis quindecim electioribus captivis, quam citius absolvendum. Die ipsa qua pactio præscripta[7] in urbis traditionem processit, "sol quasi compatiens," beneficium luminis, defectu ecliptico, "urbi subtraxit et orbi."[8] Porro tyrannus perjurus et perfidus, tenorem pacti ex parte transgreditur. Rex enim inde[9] Damascum transmissus, ibidem usque ad Maium sequentem tenetur in vinculis; nec aliter potest captivus absolvi, nisi regno primitus abjurato.

Ascalon taken. Sept. 4.

[CAPITULUM IX.]

Jerusalem capitur,[10] *et populus redemptus expellitur, non redemptus captivus ducitur.*[11]

Jerusalem besieged (Sept. 20, *Bohadin*, 73).

Fatis itaque successum[12] urgentibus, Jerosolimam victor tam festinus quam infestus aggreditur, urbem

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[1] *Ascalonem*] Aschalonem, B.

[2] *Berritum*] Beritum, A. G.

[3] *impugnans et expugnans*] occupans, A. G.

[4] *Guidone*] om. A. B. G.

[5] *secum perducto*] abducto, B.

[6] *tandem vero*] om. A. G.; tantum, B.

[7] *præscripta*] hæc, B.

[8] *subtraxit et orbi*] et orbi subtraxit, A. G.

[9] *inde*] om. A. B. G.

[10] *capitur*] et ludibrio habetur, A.

[11] *captivus ducitur*] captivatur, A.

[12] *successum*] succensum, G. and Barth.

A.D. 1187. Sept. 20.

obsidet, machinas exstruit, loca sacra[1] sacrilegus irreverenter invadit. Erat[2] crux quædam lapidea quam olim milites nostri, cum hanc urbem[3] post Antiochiam victoriose cepissent, in titulum facti supra murum erexerant; hanc ictu phalaricæ, gens sæva diruit; et cum ipsa partem muri non parvam prosternit./ Cives equidem, quas possunt defensiones objiciunt sed quicquid tentatur[4] a nostris caret effectu,[5] profectum non invenit; arcus, balistæ, petrariæ inutiliter tractantur; sicque tam arma quam machinæ iram Domini manifeste denunciant,[6] et urbis præloquuntur excidium.[7] Illuc undique quamplurimi e castris vicinis confluxerant, de loci potius sanctitate quam de munitione confisi, sed in tanta hominum multitudine bis septem milites vix[8] poterant inveniri. Cæterum sacerdotes et clerici, quanquam professioni suæ indebitum, pro tempore tamen[9] officium militandi assumunt; et pro domo Domini strenue dimicant, illud tenentes memoriter, quod vim vi repellere, omnes leges permittunt et jura.[10] Vulgus vero tam ignavum, quam pavidum, ad patriarcham et ad reginam, qui tunc urbi præerant frequenter occurrit,[11] flebiliter queritur, instanter supplicat, ut cum Soldano de urbe tradenda quam citius paciscantur. / Verum flenda magis quam commendanda pactio intercedit; nam singuli capitis sui censum dependunt; vir quidem bizantios decem, mulier quinque, infans unum; et quisquis ad solvendum non sufficit, tenetur captivus. Sic ergo contigit ut cum plerique, vel de rebus propriis vel aliunde mendicato[12] subsidio, salutis suæ pensionem dedissent, reliquorum qui sine

Jerusalem taken (October 3).

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[1] *sacra*] om. A.

[2] *Erat*] Et, A.

[3] *hanc urbem*] tr. A.

[4] *tentatur*] temptatur MSS. passim.

[5] *caret effectu*] tr. A. G.

[6] *denunciant*] nunciant, A. G.

[7] *præloquuntur excidium*] tr. A. G.

[8] *vix*] om. A.

[9] *tamen*] tantum, A. B.

[10] *permittunt et jura*] et omnia jura permittunt, A. G.

[11] *occurrit*] recurrit, A.

[12] *mendicato*] vindicato, G.

A.D. 1187.

Surrender of Jerusalem, Oct. 3.

The Christians held it from A.D. 1099 to A.D. 1187; the Turks had held it for about forty years before.

redemptore superfuerant[1] quatuordecim millia jugum perpetuæ servitutis subirent.[2] Illis autem qui libertatem emerant, hæc optio fuit proposita,[3] ut vel Antiochiam pergerent vel Alexandriam transfretandi gratia, dato conductu migrarent. Dies illa, dies amara valde, qua[4] populus exul abinvicem discedit, in diversa iturus, urbemque tam sacram deserit, urbem quæ domina urbium in servitutem redigitur; urbem quæ filiorum hæreditas alienigenis subditur, a malitia habitantium in ea. Gloriosa civitas Dei Jerusalem, ubi Dominus passus, ubi sepultus, ubi gloriam resurrectionis ostendit, hosti spurio[5] subjicitur polluenda; nec est dolor sicut dolor iste, cum hii sepulchrum possideant, qui sepultum persequuntur; crucem teneant qui Crucifixum contemnunt. Hanc autem sacratissimam civitatem circiter octoginta novem annos[6] gens nostra tenuerat, ex quo ipsam pariter cum Antiochia victoriosa Christianorum recuperavit potentia, cum eam[7] prius gentiles per annos quadraginta possedissent.[8] Anno enim Domini M^{o}XC^{o}IX^{o} Boimundus, Raimundus, Tancredus, dux Godefridus, Robertus comes Normanniæ, et alii Franci eam ceperant, expulsis Saracenis. Saladinus autem, expulsis Christianis, eandem cepit anno Domini M^{o}C^{o}LXXX^{o}VIII^{o}.[9] Urbe reddita, præco legis Mahumeticæ eminentem Calvariæ rupem conscendit; et ibi lex spuria declamata personuit, ubi legem mortis Christus in cruce consumpsit. Nefas[10] aliud atrocissimi[11] hostes aggressi: crucem quandam quæ supra pinnaculum ecclesiæ Hospitalariorum[12] posita

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[1] *sine redemptore superfuerant*] tr. B.

[2] *subirent*] subierunt, A.

[3] *fuit proposita*] tr. A. G.

[4] *qua*] quia, A.

[5] *hosti spurio*] hosti Manzero, Barth.

[6] *circiter octoginta novem annos*] nonaginta et sex annos, A. G.; circiter, om. B.; annis B.

[7] *eam*] enim, B.

[8] *possedissent*] post sedissent, B.

[9] *anno enim . . . . m^{o}c^{o}lxx^{o}viii^{o}*] om. A. G.

[10] *Nefas*] nephas, B.

[11] *atrocissimi*] atrocissimum, A.

[12] *Hospitalariorum*] Hospitalarium, G.; Hospitaliorum, B.

A.D. 1187.

eminebat, alligatis funibus dejecerunt, et eam turpiter consputam et cæsam per urbis sterquilinia in improperium fidei nostræ traxerunt.

[CAPITULUM X.]

Qualiter iterum Saladinus a Tyro quam terra marique obsederat, fugit.

The movements of queen Sibylla.

[1] Regina regis Amalrici filia, Sibylla nomine, una cum patriarcha Heraclio, cum Templariis, Hospitalariis, et cum [2] immenso coexulantium cœtu, versus Antiochiam iter direxit. Quod autem apud Neapolim cum rege marito et captivo colloquium triste habuerit,[3] quod navem in qua transfretare [4] disposuerat, Marchisus violenter Tyrum abduxerit [5] brevitatis studio supersedemus. Illud quidem silentio supprimi omnino arbitramur indignum quod Salahadinus occupandæ [6] urbis desiderio fervidus, Tyrum rursus totis viribus expugnare contendit: nec terrestri contentus obsidione,[7] urbem, qua mari cingitur, galeis obsidet, et undique molitur insultum; nihil vero relinquens intentatum,[8] patrem Marchisi quem in bello superiori ceperat sub hac fiducia præsentat [9] captivum, ut filius necessitudinis affectu permotus, patris concambio contradat civitatem.[10] Nunc ergo reddendum offert, nunc perdendum minatur; variosque tentat accessus. Sed in omnibus fallitur; nam Marchisus [11] flecti nescius offerentem irridet, minantem contemnit; quoties [12] autem provocandæ compassionis intuitu, illi pater in vinculis videndus ostenditur, confestim corripit balistam,[13] obliquos in patrem ictus designat, manum

Saladin besieges Tyre (November 9, *Bohadin*, 75).

He holds as a prisoner William of Montferrat, Conrad's father.

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[1] Sane regina regis Almarici filia Sibilla, A.; regina, om. B.; Almarici, C.

[2] *cum*] om. A. G.

[3] *habuerit*] habuit, G.

[4] *transfretare*] transfretatura, Barth.

[5] *abduxerit*] abduxit, G.; abduxerat, C.

[6] *Illud . . . . occupandæ*] Saladinus autem occupandæ, B.

[7] *contentus obsidione*] tr. A. G.

[8] *relinquens intentatum*] tr. A. G.

[9] *præsentat*] repræsentat, B.

[10] *civitatem contradat*] tr. A.

[11] *Marchisus*] Marchio, C. G.

[12] *quoties*] quotiens, A. B.

[13] *corripit balistam*] tr. A. G.

A.D. 1187. November. Conrad refuses to save his father by surrendering Tyre.

quidem volens oberrare,[1] sed similis percussuro. Missis etiam Soldani[2] nunciis,[3] qui patris interitum crebrius minitentur,[4] id se votis omnibus asserit expetere,[5] ut et maleficus ille post tot flagitia bonos tamen[6] inveniat exitus, et ipse patrem mereatur habere martyrem.[7] Hac igitur tyrannus urbis obtinendæ[8] delusus fiducia, fortunam alio pertentat aditu; et quia nil arte proficit, quid armis valeat experitur.

[9] *De Tyri munitione quam originem habuerit.*

Tyrus siquidem in corde maris sita, undique ambitur mœnibus, et modica sui parte, qua ponto non clauditur, muro munitur multiplici; quæ[10] suis olim famosa regibus, Thebarum et Carthaginis peperit conditores. Hæc regnante in Judæa Salomone proprio rege gaudebat; et quæ regni sui tunc caput extitit, tractu temporis regno Jerosolimorum in partem concessit.[11] Hanc hostis cupidus, terra marique[12] aggreditur, et introrsus fame afflictam varia incursione lacessit. Crastina Innocentium,[13] festo scilicet gloriosi martyris Thomæ, celebrem cives nanciscuntur victoriam; nam illucescente[14] aurora, cum naviculis paucis et parvis egressi, obsidionem maris[15] navali congressu dissolvunt. Cæterum ad fugam potius quam ad bellum prodire videntur. Sed in primo impetu, tota hostium classis ita virtute divina succumbit,[16] quod pars in urbem cum remigibus ipsis abducitur, pars vero refuga, ultro arenis[17] illiditur peritura. Gentiles viso

Dec. 29. The Christians defeat the Turkish fleet,

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[1] *volens oberrare*] aberrare volens, A.; ab errore, B., corrected.

[2] *Soldani*] Salahadini, B. G.

[3] *nunciis*] om. A. G.

[4] *minitentur*] minitantur, A. G.

[5] *asserit expetere*] tr. G.; exoptare asserit, A.

[6] *tamen*] tandem, A. B. G.

[7] *mereatur habere martyrem*] habere martyrem mereatur, A. G.

[8] *obtinendæ*] reddendæ, B.

[9] Om. A.

[10] *quæ*] hæc, B.

[11] *concessit*] cessit, B.

[12] *marique*] mari, B.

[13] *Innocentium*] Innocentum, B.G.

[14] *illucescente*] illucente, G.

[15] *maris*] om. A.

[16] *Sed . . . succumbit*] om. C.

[17] *arenis*] harenis, MSS.

A.D. 1187. Dec. 29.

navali conflictu, urbem defensoribus vacuam esse credunt, et eam de victoria certi certatim impugnant. Jam[1] mœnibus applicantur acies et ad conscensum festinant quamplurimi, cum Marchio[2] pandi portas præcipit, et adire volentes Hugo de Tiberiade cum fratribus suis et alio comitatu prosternit.

[3] *Saladinus a Tyro secedit confusus.*

and Saladin breaks up the siege (Jan. 1, 1188, *Bohadin*, 76. *Hoveden*, 368).

Salahadinus fata sibi adversa[4] conspiciens, petrariis suis et galeis, quæ superstites fuerant, igne ad ipsius visionem[5] consumptis, recedit inglorius; et Mahumetum[6] execratur infensus.[7] Post non multum[8] circa principium Maii, regem a vinculis liberat, et læsa pactione priori,[9] facta cum civibus Ascaloniæ, novam et duram, videlicet ut abjuraret regnum, ut prædiximus, absolvendi legem imponit.

[Capitulum XI.]

De occursu regis et reginæ apud Tortosam.

A.D. 1188.

Guy being released in May, meets Sibylla at Tortosa.

Est insula quæ Arados dicitur, cujus civitas Antarados[10] vulgo Tortosa nominatur. Hic in occursum regis, regina procedit; miscentur oscula, nectuntur amplexus, suas lætitia lacrymas elicit, et casus quos dolent incidisse,[11] evasisse lætantur. Rex siquidem ad petitionem novi principis Antiochiæ, aliquantum temporis moratur

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[1] *Jam*] Nam, B.

[2] *Marchio*] Marchio portas pandi præcipit, quem Hugo de Tiberiade cum fratribus suis et alio comitatu strenuo exeuntem secutus, innumeros rara manu prosternit, A. G. omits *et adire volentes*, and inserts *quem*.

[3] Om. A.

[4] *adversa*] adversantia, A.

[5] *visionem*] jussionem, A. G.

[6] *Mahumetum*] Mathomum, A. G.

[7] *infensus*] infessus, A.

[8] *Post non multum*] Postmodum, A.; Post multum, G.

[9] *priori*] After priori, MS. A. proceeds: "Novam et duram con-"ditionem imponit." G. reads: "Novam et duram, ut prædiximus, "absolvendi legem imponit."

[10] *Antarados*] Antharados, A.B.G.

[11] *dolent incidisse*] tr. A. G.

A.D. 1188.
Guys stays in Syria.

Antiochiæ, post apud Tripolim, transmarinos[1] Christicolas in Terræ Sanctæ subventionem venturos, expectat. Eo tempore frater regis, Gaufridus de Leziniaco repulsam passus per Marchisum ne ingrederetur Tyrum, venit ad Tripolim ad fratrem suum regem.[2]

[CAPITULUM XII.]

De pecunia regis Henrici.

The money of Henry II. of England spent.

[3] Sane hoc inter cætera nullatenus silendum censemus, quod[4] rex Anglorum Henricus pecuniam multam apud Templarios et Hospitalarios dudum[5] congesserat, qua et Tyrus est[6] defensa, et cætera regni negotia[7] utiliter expedita.[8] Hanc autem[9] pecuniam rex magnificus pia et necessaria provisione in Terræ subsidium[10] per multos annorum circulos Jerosolimam transmiserat; cujus summa, ut dicitur, in triginta millia marcarum excrevit.

[CAPITULUM XIII.]

[11] *Saladinus oppida plurima tam in Palæstina quam apud Antiochiam cepit.*[12]

Saladin takes Gabala (July 16) and Laodicea (July 23, *Bohadin*, 82).

Saladinus igitur a[13] Tyro discedens, cum castra Palæstinæ quamplurima occupasset, in partes Antiochiæ festinus secedit; et impetu potius quam obsidione Gabelum, Laodiciam, et quasdam alias provinciæ munitiones

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[1] *Rex . . . . transmarinos*] Rex siquidem per annum sequentem nunc Antiochiæ, nunc apud Tripolim commoratur et transmarinos, A. G.

[2] *Eo tempore . . . regem*] om. A.G.

[3] MS. A. begins here a new chapter with the rubric: *De pecunia regis Henrici apud Templarios quondam reposita.*

[4] *Sane . . quod*] om. B.

[5] *dudum*] om. A.

[6] *est*] om. A. G.

[7] *regni negotia*] tr. A. G.

[8] *sunt*, add. A.

[9] *autem*] om. B.

[10] *rex . . . subsidium*] om. B.

[11] *Salahadinus a Tyro discedens oppida*, &c., A.

[12] *cepit*] capit, A.

[13] *a*] om. A. B. G.

A.D. 1188.

He advances to Antioch; but grants that city a respite (of seven months from September 1188. *Bohadin*, 86).

expugnat. Terror quidem ipsi[1] urbi non parvus[2] incutitur. Sed civium[3] communi consilio patriarcha et princeps[4] deditionem tyranno promittunt, si citius infra datum terminum sperati non venerint adjutores.[5] [6] Mœror quidem inconsolabilis universos Christicolas turbasset,[7] si urbs tam inclyta, quæ Christiani nominis inventione lætatur, rursum gentilibus cessisset immundis, quos longo et diro bellorum discrimine nostri dudum expulere victores. Cæterum nova defensionis auxilia unde venient, vel quando venient, vel quomodo venient? Terra non patet accessus, mare ab hostibus tenetur obsessum; Christianorum naves a veniendo temperant,[8] dum galeas gentilium quæ sedent in insidiis, incidisse formidant.

[CAPITULUM XIV.]

Willelmus rex Siciliæ mittit Margaritum cum quinquaginta galeis et quingentis militibus in subventionem Terræ Sanctæ.

William of Sicily sends a fleet under Margarit.

Verum perire non[9] potest quod[10] Dominus salvare disponit; ecce, optati veniunt; expectati accedunt, nam egregius rex Siculorum Willelmus primos terræ subsidiarios destinat, qui comites duos, milites quingentos, galeas quinquaginta transmittit. Ejus ergo beneficium esse, quis dubitat, quod Antiochia retenta, quod Tripolis defensa, quod Tyrus servata, qui harum urbium incolas a fame et gladio viribus suis securos conservat? Margaritus classi regiæ regendæ

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[1] *quidem ipsi*] om. B.

[2] *non parvus*] om. B.

[3] *Sed civium*] om. B.

[4] *princeps*] principes, A.

[5] *infra . . adjutores*] adjutores non venerint, B.

[6] *Mœror . . formidant*] Here B. reads thus: "Sed nova defensionis "auxilia unde, vel quando, vel "quomodo venient? terra non patet "accessus, mare obsidetur ab hos-"tibus quorum galeas sedentes in "insidiis Christianorum naves "incidisse formidant."

[7] *Christicolas turbasset*] tr. A. G.

[8] *temperant*] temperantur, G.

[9] *perire non*] tr. B.

[10] *quod*] quem, B.

A.D. 1188.

Margarit was lord of Cephalonia; he relieves Tripoli.

præerat, vir admodum strenuus, qui cum galeis præcurrens, ausus piraticos reprimit, et prætentata veniendi fiducia sequentes invitat.[1] Hic, insulas procul positas premens imperio et tot casus æquoreos fato felici expertus, victoriis multis obtinuit ut rex maris et a nonnullis[2] alter diceretur Neptunus.[3] Jam Tripolis navigantibus in prospectum occurrit; cives eminus vela conspiciunt: et cum nuncii salutis adveniant, sinistra prænunciat

> "Pessimus in dubiis augur timor:"[*]

[*] Statius, *Theb.* iii. 6.

Nec mora, muros coronant, propugnacula conscendunt incerti tamen an deditionem offerant, an pugnam pertentent.[4] At cum propius in eminentiis puppium, vexilla crucis et alia Christianæ relligionis insignia conspicantur, clamor ingens tollitur, consalutantium voce resultant æquora: turbis occurrentium littus impletur, et ineffabile gaudium cunctos accendit. Inter alios Henricus[5] de Danziaco sed præ aliis fama factorum insignis, maturum terræ præsidium commodat: sicque manu in brevi[6] multa et valida confluente, nostrorum maritima servatur illæsa.[7]

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[1] *ecce . . invitat.*] Here B. reads: "Nam rex Siculorum Willelmus "mittit Margaritum cum quinquaginta galeis et quingentis militibus in subventionem Terræ "Sanctæ qui insulas, &c."

[2] *a nonnullis*] om. B.

[3] *Neptunus*] After Neptunus, MS. B. proceeds: "Cives eminus vela "conspicientes incerti an Christiani "sint, propugnacula conscendunt. "At cum vexilla crucis propius "spectant, et Christianæ relligionis "insignia, clamor ingens tollitur, "consalutantium voce resultant "æquora: ineffabile gaudium cunctos accendit. Henricus de Danziaco tunc venit præ aliis fama "factorum insignis: manu multa "confluente nostrorum maritima "servantur illæsa."

[4] *pertentent*] pertentant, G.; prætentent, A.

[5] *Henricus*] Hervicus, G. The MSS. all read *Henricus*, but the hero was probably Hervey III., lord of Donzy and Giems. See Du Chesne's History of the House of Chastillon, p. 70. He is mentioned as *Herveius de Gienis*, below, ch. xxxi.

[6] *manu in brevi*] tr. A. G.

[7] *servatur illæsa*] tr. A. G.

[CAPITULUM XV.]

Crachum oppidum et Mons Regalis capiuntur, obsessi duobus annis a Saladino, pro liberatione Reinfridi et Gerardi de Bidsford magistri Templi.[1]

A.D. 1188.

Kerak and Montreal (Shobek) besieged by Saladin, A.D. 1187.

Est castrum quod Crachum[2] dicunt, ubi civitas olim Petras nomine; nunc vero Metropolis, sed loci antistes nomen antiquum retinet et archiepiscopus Petracensis appellatur. Castrum illud in sinu regni interiore[3] consistens, per admiralios Soldani dudum[4] tenebatur obsessum; locus quidem si sola recedat fames quæ loca etiam tuta expugnat,[5] ab omni est[6] securus insultu. Est et castrum quod Mons Regalis dicitur, quod ab urbe jam dicta viginti leugarum interjectu distans, ulterius versus Ægyptum secedit.[7] Huc etiam[8] admiralios suos a principio rerum tyrannus transmiserat; ut diutina[5] obsidione fames vinceret quos loci munitio

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[1] *Eratum oppidum a Salahadino capitur et Mons Regalis post obsessionem duorum annorum ei redditur, pro liberatione Reinfridi de Turone et Girardi magistri Templi*, A.

[2] *Crachum*] Erathum, B. C. G.

[3] *interiore*] penitiore, A. B. G.

[4] *dudum*] jamdudum, G.

[5] *si . . expugnat*] si sola recedat expugnat quæ tuta fames, A. G. See Lucan's *Pharsalia*, iv. 410.

[6] *est*] om. A. G.

[7] *Est . . . secedit*] Est castrum quod Erathum dicunt nunc Metropolis, olim civitas Petras nomine, unde Petracensis archiepiscopus appellatur, locus quidem si sola recedat fames, ab omni securus insultu. Est et alius locus Mons Regalis a prædicta vingiti leugarum interjectu distans versus Ægyptum, B. The place intended by Erathum is Kerak, Cracha, or Crachum, as it stands in MS. A. The Erathum of B. and C. may safely be corrected as an error of transcription, notwithstanding the confusion prevailing among the historians of the Crusades, between the famous Petra of Edom, called by the Arabs Rekem, and in a Latinised form Errakimum, and Kerak, Kir of Moab, or Crach, to which they gave the name of Petra Deserti. Montreal, or Shobek, is not far from the true Petra, and, of course, much nearer to Egypt than Kerak. Compare on this subject E. Robinson, Biblical Researches in Palestine, vol. ii. pp. 653–659, ed. 1841, with Schultens' Geographical Index to the Vita Saladini, sub vocibus, Errakimum and Caracha.

[8] *etiam*] om. B.

[9] *diutina*] diurna, A.

Kerak surrendered (Nov. 1188, *Bohadin*, 88).

Montreal surrenders (May 1189, *Bohadin*, 90).

Henfrid III. of Toron, lord of Kerak, Gerard of Biddesford and William of Montferrat released.

servabat invictos. Verum nec eriguntur machinæ, nec tentatur insultus; ridiculum enim esset os in cœlum ponere, et ibi[1] expugnandi habere fiduciam ubi nec[2] impugnandi datur accessus. Cumque in duos annos fere protraheretur[3] obsidio, nostri cœperunt egere. [4] Sed victor animus adversis non frangitur, et ex vitæ periculo, virtutis periculum enitescit. Quicquid autem triste vel durum apud Saguntum Hiberos, apud Perusium[5] pertulisse Romanos, testis narrat antiquitas, nostrorum constantia sustinet;[6] nec abhorret egestas edulium quod usus et natura condemnant; suas insuper affectiones pietas abdicat, suas amor abjurat delicias, nam pater progeniem parvulam,[7] filius parentes decrepitos, nuptam proscribit maritus,[8] et ejecti cum lacrymis[9] hostibus exponuntur invalidi, ut alimentis residuis diutius militent pugnaturi. [10] Tandem fame confecti et semianimes, honestæ tamen deditionis pactum inveniunt;[11] nam et sibi recessus liberos, et domino suo Reynfrido[12] scilicet de Turone qui tenebatur captivus, liberationem acquirunt: pari fato[13] magister Militiæ Templi, Girardus de Biddesfordia[14] quarundam munitionum deditione absolvitur; sed et pater Marchisi quodam gentilium captivorum concambio liber abscedit.

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[1] *ibi*] in, B.

[2] *nec*] non, A. G.; in, ins, B.

[3] *protraheretur*] pertraheretur, G.

[4] *Sed . . delicias*] Instead of this MS. B. reads only: "Multa autem "dura et aspera perpessi sunt."

[5] *Perusium*] Parisium, A.

[6] *sustinet*] sustinetur, A. B.

[7] *parvulam*] om. B.

[8] *proscribit maritus*] tr. A. G.

[9] *cum lacrymis*] om. B.

[10] *Tandem . . abscedit*] Tandem fame confecti sibi liberos recessus, et domino suo Reinfrido de Turone qui captivus tenebatur liberationem acquirunt; sed et Gerardus de Bidesfordia liberatur et pater Marchisi quodam gentilium captivorum concambio liber abscedit, B.

[11] *inveniunt*] ineunt, A. G.

[12] *Reynfrido*] Enfrido, G.; Gaufrido, A. The names Henfrid, Reinfrid, and Humfrey are used indiscriminately of this prince by the historians of the Crusades. He was son of Henfrid II., by Stephania, heiress of Kerak, daughter of Philip of Naplous; and succeeded his stepfather, Reginald of Châtillon, in the lordship.

[13] *fato*] facto, A.

[14] *Biddesfordia*] Ridesford, G.; Bisford, C.; Riddefordia, A.

[CAPITULUM XVI.]

Qualiter jactanti se Saladino de victoriis fatuus quidam respondit.[1]

A.D. 1188.

Saladin rebuked by a fool.

[2]Salahadinus[3] jam toto regno fere potitus, cum cuncta sibi succederent ad nutum,[4] elatione fastuosa lasciviens, legem Mahumeti[5] magnificentius extulit, et eam Christianæ relligioni præcellere rerum gestarum probabat eventu. Cujus superbientis gloriam cum se victor coram Christicolis insolentius jactitaret,[7] fatuus quidam propter dicacitatem ipsi non incognitus, Deo quidem[8] inspirante tali responso delusit: "Deus fidelium Pater, delinquentes Christicolas corripiendos et corrigendos judicans, te ministrum, O princeps, in hos usus[9] assumpsit: sicut carnalis pater, ira nonnunquam accensus, baculum immundum e luto corripit quo cum filios excedentes pulsaverit, eundem rursus in sterquilinium unde assumptus erat demergit."

[CAPITULUM XVII.]

[10]*Qualiter archiepiscopus Tyri per orbem terrarum nunciat destructionem Terræ Sanctæ.*

William of Tyre carries the news into the West.

Talia dum apud Palæstinam aguntur[11] archiepiscopus Tyri, navi[12] conscensa, tantæ cladis nuncium jam ad orbem Christianum detulerat, et terræ tam modicæ

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[1] *Salahadinus [legem Mathomi] extollens a [fatuo] deluditur*, A. The rubric is mutilated; the words in brackets are supplied from Gale.

[2] *Salahadinus . . gloriam*] Quadam die, B.

[3] *itaque*, ins. A.; ita, ins. G.

[4] *succederent ad nutum*] tr. A. G.

[5] *Mahumeti*] Mathomi, A. G.; Machometi, C.

[6] *insolentius*] om. B.

[7] *jactitaret*] de victoria superbus, ins. B.

[8] *quidem*] om. B.

[9] *usus*] om. A.

[10] *Comes Ricardus Pictaviensis primus, deinde rex [Anglorum] Henricus et Philippus [rex] Franciæ et populus usque . . . cru . . . . ac . . . p*, A.; mutilated in the margin.

[11] *Talia dum apud Palæstinam aguntur*] om. B.

[12] *navi*] nave, B.

A.D. 1188.

vulnus terris omnibus intulit læsionem. [1] Fama rerum ad aures principum allapsa decurrit, et universis fidelibus hæreditatem Christi a gentibus occupatam nuncians, quosdam concitat ad lacrymas [2] alios accendit ad vindictam.[3]

Ricardus comes Pictaviensis primus crucem suscepit.[4]

Richard, count of Poitou, takes the cross (November A.D. 1187).

Primus omnium magnanimus Pictaviæ comes Ricardus ob [5] ulciscendam crucis injuriam [6] cruce insignitur, et omnes præcedit facto, quos invitat exemplo. Pater ejus rex Anglorum Henricus jam vergebat in senium; ipse tamen et patris canitiem, et regni jus sibi debitum, et itineris tanti difficultates dissimulat, nec ullis occasionibus a cœpto declinat.[7] Hanc viri constantiam Dominus remunerandam judicans, quem primum aliorum omnium incentorem elegit, eum cæteris principibus vel defunctis vel regressis [8] negotii Sui executorem reservavit.[9] Hic licet comes crucem accepit, iter tamen peregrinationis post mortem patris rex factus arripuit.[10]

[11] *Rex Franciæ et rex Angliæ crucizantur.*

Henry II. and Philip Augustus take the cross (Jan. 21, 1188. *Hoveden*, 365).

Post aliquantum tempus rex Francorum Philippus et rex Angliæ Henricus apud Gizortium crucizantur, quos utriusque regni principes et [12] innumeri tam ecclesiasticæ quam etiam sæcularis militiæ [13] viri, voto pariter et effectu sequuntur. Sed de his tribus principibus, et de peregrinatione Ricardi regis Angliæ et Philippi regis Franciæ,[14] latius infra dicemus et plenius.[15] [16] In tantum vero novæ peregrinationis fervebat studium ut jam non esset quæstio quis crucem susciperet, sed quis nondum suscepisset. Plerique colum et pensa sibi mutuo transmittebant innuentes occultius,[1] ut ad muliebres operas turpiter demigraret quisquis hujus militiæ inveniretur immunis; ad tam insigne certamen et nuptæ viros, et matres incitabant filios, quibus dolor unicus erat propter sexus ignaviam comproficisci non posse.

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[1] *Fama . . . vindictam*] om. B.

[2] *concitat ad lacrymas*] tr. A. G.

[3] *accendit ad vindictam*] tr. A. G.

[4] *Ricardus . . . suscepit*] om. A.

[5] *ob*] ad, G.

[6] *ob . . . injuriam*] om. B.

[7] *declinat*] declinabat, A.

[8] *defunctis vel regressis*] reversis, tr. A. G.

[9] *Hanc . . . reservavit*] om. B.

[10] *Hic . . . arripuit*] om. A. G.

[11] *Rex . . . crucizantur*] om. A.

[12] *et*] om. B.

[13] *tam . . . militiæ*] om. B.; etiam, om. A. G.

[14] *tribus . . . Franciæ*] om. B.

[15] *latius . . . plenius*] latius et plenius dicemus, B.; sed . . . plenius, om. A. G.

[16] *In tantum . . . licentius*] om. B.

A.D. 1188. The prevailing zeal for the crusade.

Claustrales cum cœteris crucizantur.[2]

Hac militandi gloria vagante licentius, de claustris quamplures migrabant ad castra, et abjectis cucullis, loricas induti, jam vere Christi milites,[3] non[4] armariis studere gaudebant sed armis.[5] Ecclesiarum[6] vero prælati nutricem virtutum sobrietatem publice indicebant, exhortantes attentius, ut omnes et cibariorum[7] et vestium nitore postposito, a luxu solito temperarent. Institutum etiam[8] communi consilio tam principum quam præsulum fuit, quod[9] ad sustentandos pauperes peregrinos, alii[10] qui remanebant, rerum suarum decimas impenderent; sed malitiosa multorum cupiditas hinc sumpsit occasionem,[11] ut graves et indebitas[12] exactiones exercerent in subditos.[13] His diebus rex Siculorum Willelmus in fata concessit, cujus obitus universo fideli populo tanto fuit[14] flebilior, quanto ipse ad subsidium Terræ Sanctæ et propior existebat et pronior.[15]

Death of William, king of Sicily (November 1189, *Hoveden*, 378).

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[1] *innuentes occultius*] om. A. G.

[2] *Claustrales . . . crucizantur*] om. A.

[3] *jam . . . milites*] om. B.

[4] *non*] nec, B.

[5] *studere gaudebant sed armis*] tr. A. G.

[6] *ecclesiarum . . temperarent*] om. B.

[7] *cibariorum*] mensarum, A. G.

[8] *etiam*] est, B.

[9] *tam . . . quod*] om. B.

[10] *alii*] ut, B.

[11] *sumpsit occasionem*] tr. A. G.

[12] *et indebitas*] om. B.

[13] *exercerent in subditos*] tr. A. G.

[14] *fuit*] erat, A. G.

[15] *existebat et pronior*] et pronior existebat, A. G.

[Capitulum XVIII.]

A.D. 1188.

Fretherícus imperator Alemanniæ crucem suscipit, et Saladinum per nuncium diffiduciat.

The crusade of the emperor Frederick I., and his son Frederick, duke of Suabia.

Tempore decurso,[1] Romanorum imperator Fretherícus sacræ peregrinationis assumit[2] insignia, et veri formam peregrini, tam exteriore habitu, quam interiore depromit affectu. Vir tantus, cujus imperium hinc Mare Mediterraneum, hinc Borealis claudebat Oceanus, cujus gloria continuis crevit victoriis, cujus fidelitas[3] non sensit offensam, omnem blandientis sæculi postponit illecebram, et humilis pro Christo accingitur pugnaturus. Ejus strenuitas, præsertim in annis algentibus, non minus stupenda quam laudanda est; nam cum senior esset, et filios haberet, quibus et ætas et virtus ad militandum aptior videbatur; eos tamen tanquam insufficientes reputans, ipse Christianismi negotium procurandum suscepit; filiis autem instantibus, ut vel pro illo vel cum illo susceptæ militiæ munus implerent, illum qui natu major erat, regnantem reliquit; alium vero quem ducem Suavorum fecerat, secum assumpsit. Et quia imperialis majestas neminem citra diffiduciationem[4] impetit; hostibus suis bella[5] semper indicit: destinatur ab imperatore nuncius cum litteris suis signatis[6] ad Salahadinum, ut vel Christianorum universitati, quam læsit, satisfaciat in plenum; vel diffiduciatus, se præparet ad congressum. Talis est itaque tenor imperatoris epistolæ.[7]

Frederick sends a letter of defiance to Saladin.

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[1] *Tempore decurso*] tr. A. G.

[2] *assumit*] assumpsit, A.

[3] *fidelitas*] felicitas, A.

[4] *diffiduciationem*] defectionem, G. In MS. A. it is, "neminem "subito impetens," corrected in the margin in a later hand, "citra "diffiduciationem impetens."

[5] *bella*] bellum, A.

[6] *cum . . . signatis*] om. A.

[7] *Talis . . . epistolæ*] om. A.

Epistola Fretherici ad Salahadinum.

A.D. 1188.

The letter.

Frederick challenges Saladin to meet him in November 1189, in the field of Zoan,

Fretherícus, Dei gratia Romanorum imperator et[1] semper Augustus, et hostium imperii magnificus triumphator,[2] Salahadino præsidi Saracenorum, quondam[3] illustri exemplo Pharaonis fugere Jerusalem.[4] Devotionis tuæ litteras multis retro temporibus ad nos destinatas super arduis negotiis, tibi quidem si fides verbis subfuisset profuturis, prout majestatis nostræ decuit magnificentiam suscepimus, et epistolarum[5] alloquiis magnitudini tuæ consulere dignum duximus. Nunc vero[6] quia terram Sanctam prophanasti, cui æterni Regis imperamus imperio, in præside Judeæ,[7] Samariæ, Palæstinorum in tanti sceleris præsumptuosam et plectibilem audaciam debita animadversione decernere imperialis officii sollicitudo[8] nos admonet. Quamobrem nisi occupatam terram et[9] omnia restituas, adjuncta satisfactione sacris constitutionibus pro tam nefariis excessibus taxata: ne minime legitimum videamur[10] gerere bellum, a capite kalendarum Novembris evoluto anni spatio terminum præfigimus,[11] ad experiendam belli fortunam in Campo Taneos[12] in virtute vivificæ crucis et in nomine veri Joseph. Vix enim credere possumus hoc te latere, quod ex scripturis veterum, et in[13] historiis antiquis nostri temporis factum[14] redolet. Numquid scire dissimulas ambas Æthiopias, Mauritaniam, Persiam, Syriam,[15] Parthiam ubi a Parthis Crassi dictatoris

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[1] *et*] om. A.

[2] *triumphator*] totiusque monarchiæ fortunatus moderator, ins. A.

[3] *quondum*] viro, ins. A.

[4] *exemplo . . . Jerusalem*] Jerusalem fugere exemplo Pharaonis, A.

[5] *epistolarum*] nostrarum, ins. A.

[6] *vero*] autem, A.

[7] *Judeæ*] Judex, A.

[8] *officii sollicitudo*] tr. A.

[9] *et*] ante, A.

[10] *minime . . videamur*] minimum videamur et legitime, A.

[11] *præfigimus*] præstituimus, A.

[12] *Taneos*] Thaneos, A.

[13] *in*] ex, A.

[14] *factum*] et facti novitatem, A.

[15] *Syriam*] Sitiam,

A.D. 1188.

and threatens him with the prowess of his German and Italian subjects.

nostri fata sunt præmaturata,[1] Judæam, Samariam, Maritimam, Arabiam, Chaldæam, ipsam quoque Ægyptum, ubi, proh dolor, civis Romanus Antonius vir insignis,[2] virtute præditus, citra nitorem temperantiæ, et secus quam deceret[3] militem a tanto culmine rerum emissum, minus sobriis Cleopatræ inserviebat amoribus? Numquid etiam scire dissimulas Armeniam, et innumerabiles alias[4] terras nostræ ditioni subjectas? Norunt hoc reges quorum cruore gladii Romani sunt crebrius[5] inebriati, et tu quidem in ipsa rerum experientia Deo auctore intelliges, quid possint[6] nostræ victrices aquilæ, quid cohortes diversarum nationum, quid furor Teutonicus etiam in pace arma capessens, quid caput indomitum Rheni,[7] quid juventus Histri,[8] quæ fugam nunquam novit, quid procerus Bavarus,[9] quid Swevus astutus, quid Franconia circumspecta, quid in gladio ludens Saxonia, quid Thuringia, quid Westpharia, quid agilis Brabantia, quid nescia pacis Lotharingia, quid inquieta Burgundia, quid Alpini salaces,[10] quid Frisonia in amento prævolans, quid Boemia ultro mori gaudens; quid Bolonia[11] suis feris ferior, quid Austricia, quid Bugrensia, quid partes Illyricæ, quid Leonardia, quid Tuscia,[12] quid Anconitana Marcia, quid Venetus proretha,[13] quid Spinanus[14] nauclerus, denique qualiter[15] dextera nostra, quam senio arguis effœtam,[16] gladios[17] vibrare didicerit, dies illa plena lætitiæ et[18] jocunditatis et reverentiæ[19] Christi præfixa te docebit.

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[1] *ubi . . præmaturata*] ubi Marci Crassi nostri doctoris facta sunt præmaturata, A.

[2] *insignis*] insigne, A.

[3] *deceret*] decebat, A.

[4] *innumerabiles alias*] tr. A.

[5] *sunt crebrius*] tr. A.

[6] *possint*] om. C.

[7] *Rheni*] Regni, C.

[8] *Histri*] om. C.

[9] *Bavarus*] Boywarus, A.

[10] *salaces*] acies, C.

[11] *Bolonia*] Bolenia, C.

[12] *quid Austricia . . . . Tuscia*] quid Austria, quid Styria, quid Ruwennia, quid Histria, quid Rocumphia, quid partes Illiricæ, quid Lumbardia, quid Tuscia, A.

[13] *proretha*] spreta, A.

[14] *Spinanus*] Pisanus, A.

[15] *qualiter*] quid, A.

[16] *effœtam*] affectam, A.

[17] *gladios*] gladium, A.

[18] *lætitiæ et*] om. A.

[19] *reverentiæ*] triumpho, ins.

A.D. 1188.

Huic mandato imperatoris responsoriam etiam Soldani epistolam[1] libello nostro duximus inserendam.[2] Nam superba tyranni fiducia, quam ad resistendum conceperat, ex ipsius tenore clarescit. Eam quidem in ipsa simplicitate verborum in qua fuerat conscripta,[3] recitando proponimus, nihil penitus immutantes.

Saladin's answer to Frederick, acknowledging the receipt of the message delivered by Henry of Dietz.

Illi regi sincero, amico, magno, excelso, Frederico regi Alemanniæ; in nomine Dei miserentis: per gratiam Dei unius, potentis, exsuperantis, victoris, perennis; cujus regni non est finis. Gratias[4] ei agimus perennes, cujus gratia est super totum mundum: deprecamur eum ut infundat orationem suam super prophetas suos; et maxime[5] instructorem nostrum nuncium suum Mahumetum[6] prophetam, quem misit pro correctione rectæ legis; quam faciet[7] apparere super cunctas[8] leges. Attamen notum facimus regi sincero, potenti, amico, magno,[9] amicabili, regi Alemanniæ, quod quidam homo Henricus nomine, venit ad nos, dicens se nuncium vestrum esse; et detulit nobis quandam cartam, quam dixit esse vestram. Nos legi fecimus cartam; et audivimus eum viva voce loquentem, et verbis[10] respondimus. Sed hoc est responsum cartæ. Quod si computatis eos qui vobiscum concordant veniendi super nos, et eos nominatis, et dicitis: Rex talis terræ, et rex alterius terræ; et comes talis,[11] et tales archiepiscopi, et marchiones et milites; et si nos vellemus enunciare eos qui sunt in nostro servitio; et qui sunt intendentes nostro præcepto, et prompti nostro sermoni,[12] et qui dimicarent coram manibus nostris, non posset hoc in scriptis redigi. Et

The numbers of the Moslems and their allies are greater than those of all the Christians.

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[1] *Huic . . . . epistolam*] epistolam [vero, G.] Soldani responsoriam, A. G.

[2] *duximus inserendam*] tr. A.

[3] *fuerat conscripta*] tr. A.

[4] *Gratias*] Grates, A. G.

[5] *maxime*] super, ins. A. G.

[6] *Mahumetum*] Mahumet, A. G.

[7] *faciet*] faciat, A.

[8] *cunctas*] omnes, A.

[9] *amico magno*] tr. A. G.

[10] *verbis*] quæ ore dixit, verbis, ins. A. G.

[11] *talis*] G. repeats, "et comes talis."

[12] *sermoni*] servitio,

A.D. 1188. si Christianorum computatis nomina, Saracenorum sunt plura, et plura abundantius, quam Christianorum. Et si inter vos et eos quos nominastis Christianos mare est, inter Saracenos, qui non possunt æstimari, non est mare inter eos et nos; nec ullum impedimentum veniendi ad nos. Et nobiscum sunt[1] Bedwini, quos si opponeremus inimicis nostris, sufficerent; et Turkemanni, quos si[2] effunderemus super inimicos[3] nostros destruerent eos; et rustici nostri qui dimicarent strenue si juberemus, contra gentes, quæ venturæ sunt super terram nostram, et ditarentur de eis, et exterminarent eas. Et quomodo? nos habemus nobiscum Soldanos[4] bellicosos, per quos terram apertam habemus, et acquisitam, et expugnatos inimicos. Et hi[5] omnes reges Paganismi non tardabunt cum eos submonuerimus.[6] Et vos, cum congregati fueritis, sicut carta vestra dicit; et ducetis infinita multitudine[7] sicut nuncius vester narrat, obviabimus vobis per potentiam Dei. Nec sufficit nobis terra ista quæ est in maritima; sed transibimus voluntate Dei[8] et obtinebimus terras vestras universas, fortitudine Dei. Nam si veneritis, cum toto posse vestro venietis; et præsentes eritis cum omni gente vestra; et scimus, quod in terra vestra nullus remanebit qui se defendere possit, nec terram tueri. Et quando Deus victoriam nobis, sua fortitudine, de vobis donaverit, nihil amplius erit, quam ut terras vestras libere capiamus, fortitudine Sua et voluntate. Adunatio enim legis Christianorum bis venit super nos in Babylone; una vice apud Damiatam, et altera apud Alexandriam, et erat[9] maritima terræ Jerusalem in manu Christianorum, et in terra Damasci, et in

The Moslems have beaten the whole of Christendom twice in Egypt.

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[1] *sunt*] habentur, A. G.

[2] *opponeremus . . . si*] om. A.

[3] *inimicos*] hostes, A. G.

[4] *Soldanos*] Soldarios, A. G.

[5] *hi*] et, ins. A.

[6] *submonuerimus*] nec morabuntur, cum eos vocaverimus, ins. G.

[7] *infinita multitudine*] om. A. G.

[8] *voluntate Dei*] per voluntatem Dei, G.

[9] *erat*] in, ins. C. G.

A.D. 1188.

terra Saracenorum, in singulis castellis, singuli erant Domini[1] proficientes. Nostis qualiter Christiani, utraque vice redierunt, et ad qualem exitum venerunt. Et hæ nostræ gentes refertæ sunt cum regionibus suis; et Deus adunavit nobis regiones affluentius, et coadunavit eas longe lateque in potestate nostra; et Babyloniam, cum pertinentiis suis; et terram Damasci, et maritimam Jerusalem, et terram Gesiræ, et castella sua,[2] et terram Roasiæ, cum pertinentiis suis; et regionem Indiæ, cum pertinentiis suis; et per gratiam Dei, hoc totum in manibus nostris est; et residuum regnum Saracenorum nostro paret[3] imperio. Nam si mandaremus excellentissimis regibus Saracenorum, non retraherent se a nobis. Et si moneremus[4] Calephum de Baldach, quem Deus salvet, veniendi ad nos, de sede excelsi sui imperii assurgeret; et veniret in auxilium excellentiæ nostræ. Et nos obtinuimus, per virtutem Dei et potentiam, et Jerusalem, et terram ejus; et remanent in manibus Christianorum tres civitates Tyrus, Tripolis, et Antiochia; et de his non est aliud nisi ut occupentur. Attamen si bellum vultis, et si Deus voluerit, ut sit per voluntatem Suam, quod totam terram Christianorum acquiramus, obviabimus per virtutem Dei, sicut scriptum est in litteris vestris. Verum si nos de bono pacis requisieritis, mandabimus[5] procuratoribus istorum trium locorum prædictorum, ut nobis ea sine contradictione consignent,[6] et vobis sanctam crucem reddemus; et liberabimus omnes captivos Christianos, qui sunt in tota terra nostra; et habebimus vobiscum pacem, et permittemus vobis ad sepulcrum esse[7] unum sacerdotem; et reddemus abbatias, quæ solent[8] esse in tempore Paganismi, et bonum eis

He trusts in God for victory.

But offers terms of peace to the Christians.

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[1] *Domini*] sibi, ins. A.

[2] *et terram Gesiræ . . sua*] om. A.

[3] *paret*] est, A. G.

[4] *moneremus*] submoneremus, A. G.

[5] *mandabimus*] mandabitis, A. G.

[6] *consignent*] assignent, A. G.

[7] *esse*] om. A. G.

[8] *solent*] solebant, A. G.

A.D. 1188. faciemus; et permittemus venire peregrinos, in tota vita nostra, et habebimus vobiscum pacem. Quod si carta quæ ad nos venit per manum Henrici nominati sit carta regis, scripsimus cartam istam pro responso, et Deus erigat nos ad consilium suum[1] sua voluntate. Carta hæc scripta fuit anno adventus prophetæ nostri Mahumeti DLXXXIV. gratia Dei solius. Et Deus salvet prophetam nostrum Mahumetum et suam progeniem; et salvet salvationem Salvatoris Domini excelsi Regis victoriosi, adunatoris veridici verbis, comptoris vexilli veritatis, correctoris orbis et legis, Soldani Saracenorum et Paganorum, servatoris[2] duarum sanctarum domorum, et sanctæ domus Jerusalem, patris victorum, Joseph filii Job, suscitatoris progeniei Murmuræni.[3]

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[1] *suum*] om. A.

[2] *servatoris*] servitoris, A.

[3] The letter of Frederick to Saladin occurs in this place in MS. C. only; in B. and G. it is omitted altogether, and in A. it is inserted a few folios further on; but it appears from a marginal note, "Hic "intrare debet hæc epistola, Frede-"ricus Dei gratia Rom. quæ post-"scripta est," appended, with a cross and capital B to the word "con-"gressu," that it should be read in this place. It would be a hopeless task to attempt to give all the variations that occur in these celebrated letters, in the several versions of them found in different writers. The version given in MS. A. seems to be nearest the one used by Giraldus Cambrensis, who extracts the whole chapter in his "*De "Instructione Principum*," iii. 17. The differences found in MS. B. are, however, so important that it seems better to give the chapter entire.

CAPITULUM XVIII.

"*Fredericus imperator Alemanniæ "crucem suscipit et Saladinum "per nuncium diffiduciat.*

"Romanorum imperator Fredericus crucem suscipit, cujus imperium hinc Mare Mediterraneum, hinc Borealis claudebat Oceanus, omnem blandientis sæculi postponit illecebram et humilis pro Christo accingitur pugnaturus. Filium suum natu majorem regnantem reliquit, alium vero ducem scilicet Suaviorum secum assumpsit. Destinatur ergo nuncius ab imperatore ad Salahadinum ut vel Christianorum universitati quam læsit satisfaciat in plenum, vel diffiduciatus se præparet ad congressum. Epistola Soldani ea ipsa simplicitate verborum in qua fuerat scripta recitando proponimus nil mutantes."

"*Epistola Saladini respondentis imperatori et gloriantis de victoriis suis.*

"Illi regi sincero amico, magno, excelso Frederico Alemanniæ; in nomine Dei miserentis; per gratiam Dei unius, potentis, exsuperantis, victoris, perennis, Cujus regni non est finis. Grates ei agimus perennes Cujus gratia est super totum mundum; deprecamur Eum ut infundat orationem super prophetas Suos; et maxime super instructorem nostrum Machumetum prophetam quem misit pro correctione rectæ legis, quam faciet apparere super cunctas leges.

"Attamen notum facimus regi sincero, potenti, magno, amico, quod quidam homo Henricus nomine venit ad nos, dicens se nuncium vestrum esse; et detulit nobis quandam cartam quam dixit vestram esse. Audivimus eum viva voce loquentem et verbis quæ dixit, respondimus. Quod si computatis eos qui vobiscum concordant veniendi super nos, dicentes, rex talis terræ, et rex alterius terræ; et comes talis, et talis archiepiscopus, Marchio et miles; et si vellemus eos enumerare qui sunt intendentes nostro præcepto, non posset hoc scriptis redigi. Et si Christianorum computatis nomina, Saracenorum sunt plura. Et si inter eos quos nominastis et vos, mare est, inter Saracenos qui non possunt æstimari non est mare et inter nos, nec impedimentum veniendi ad nos. Bedewini nobiscum sunt, qui inimicis nostris sufficerent; et Turkemanni qui omnes hostes destruerent, sed et Rustici nostri strenue dimicarent et exterminarent omnes adversarios; habemus Soldarios bellicosos per quos terram apertam habemus et adquisitam, expugnantes inimicos; omnes reges Paganismi non tardabunt cum eos vocaverimus, et nos, cum congregati fueritis, cum infinita multitudine ut dicitis obviabimus vobis; nec sufficiet nobis terra hæc, sed transibimus et obtinebimus terras vestras, fortitudine Dei. Adunatio autem *legis Christianorum* bis venit super nos in Babylone, semel apud Damiatam, altera vice apud Alexandriam, et erat in maritima terræ Jerusalem et in manu Christianorum, et in terra Damasci, et in terra Saracenorum, in singulis castellis singuli erant Domini sibi proficientes. Nostis qualiter Christiani utraque vice redierunt, et exitum rei. Gentes nostræ refertæ sunt cum regionibus, et Deus adunavit nobis regiones in potestate nostra, et Babyloniam, et terram Damasci, et maritimam Jerusalem et terram Gesiræ [Jerisæ, MS.] et castella, terram Roasiæ cum pertinentiis suis; et totum in manibus nostris est; et regnum Saracenorum in manibus nostris est. Remanent autem in manibus Christianorum tres civitates, Tyrus, Tripolis, et Antiochia, et de his non est aliud nisi ut occupentur. Attamen si bellum vultis et quod totam terram Christianorum acquiramus, obviabimus vobis per virtutem Dei. Verum si nos de bono pacis requisieritis, mandabimus procuratoribus istorum trium locorum, ut nobis ea sine contradictione consignent, et vobis sanctam crucem reddemus et liberabimus omnes captivos Christianos et permittemus

A.D. 1188.

[CAPITULUM XIX.[1]]

[2] *Quantam multudinem armatorum imperator apud Magiguntiam congregaverit, et per Hungariam transierit.*

Hanc superbi et infidelis tyranni epistolam, cum nugis suis, magnificus imperator contemnens, dignas principe concipit iras,[3] et ad bella totis affectibus[4] exardescit. [5] Eum totius imperii sequuntur magnates,

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" vobis unum sacerdotem ad sepul-" crum esse, et reddemus abbatias " quæ fuerant in tempore Paganismi " et bonum eis faciemus, et permit-" temus venire peregrinos in terra " nostra, et habebimus vobiscum " pacem.

" Carta hæc scripta fuit anno " adventus prophetæ nostri Mahu-" metum DLXXXIV. gratia Dei so-" lius. Et Deus salvet prophetam " nostrum Mahumetum et suam " progeniem et salvatorem Salva-" toris Dei excelsi Regis victoriosi, " adunatoris veridici verbi, comp-" toris vexilli veritatis, correctoris " orbis et legis, Soldani Saraceno-" rum et Paganorum, servatoris " duarum sanctarum domorum et " sanctæ domus Jerusalem, pa-" tris victorum, Joseph filii Job, " suscitatoris progeniorum Mur-" muræni."

[1] *XIX.*] XXII., A. From this point the notation of the chapters in A., the only MS. in which they are numbered, is very confused. It has seemed best, for the sake of facility of reference, to retain the numbering of Gale. The marginal dates of the crusade of Frederick are taken from Tageno, in Freher's *Scriptores*, ed. Struve, i. 407–416; from the anonymous writer in Urstisius, i. 560; and the anonymous writer in Canisius' *Lectiones Antiquæ*, iii. pt. 2, p. 500, ed. Basnage.

[2] Rubric mutilated in A.

[3] *concipit iras*] concepit, A.

[4] *affectibus*] viribus, Gale. Giraldus, de Instructione Principum, lib. iii. c. 19, &c., gives long extracts from this account of the march of Frederick. The text used by Giraldus generally agrees with MS. A.

[5] MS. B. proceeds: " Totius " imperii sequuntur magnates; et " una omnes in votum peregrina-" tionis exclamant et ad militiam " accingunt. Decretum fuit pru-" denti consilio quod nullus iter " illud arriperet, cujus facultas ad " annui viatici non sufficiebat im-" pensas. Vehicula vero quam " plura, propter ægrotantes con-" struebantur, ne sano infirmus " moram necteret, vel languen-" tium turba obiter destituta per-" iret. Per Hungariam iter in-" stituit, et qui ultimus peregri-" nandi votum emiserat primus " ad solvendum festinat. Dudum " in discussione venerat an mari " an terra potius tanta belli moles " incederet, sed quantumlibet na-" vium multitudo esset tot millibus " transvehendis minus sufficere vi-" debatur."

A.D. 1188.

The Court of God at Mentz (Mar. 27).

* Ps. cxviii. 23.

† S. John iii. 8.

et apud Maguntiam ubi ex edicto imperiali convenerant, una omnes et unanimiter omnes in votum tam eximiæ peregrinationis proclamant: "A Domino factum "est istud,* qui spirat ubi vult,"† et corda hominum inclinat quo vult. Nam principes tanti, non inanis gloriæ appetitu illecti, non inducti pretio, non precibus exciti, sed solo supernæ retributionis desiderio, per Deum et propter Deum ad militiam accinguntur. Providerat quidem[1] cœlestis altitudo consilii, ut et ipsi sponte vocati obsequium Deo gratum dependerent, et imperialis magnificentia comitatus condignos haberet. Sic ergo incentore Spiritu, undique confluunt, et qui tot gentes tot principes sub uno imperante conspiceret, antiquam Romanæ potestatis gloriam non crederet defluxisse. In hoc Christi exercitu erant pontifices, duces, comites, marchiones, et principes alii quam plurimi, quos si nominibus et locis distingueremus, incurreret pariter et scriptor molestiam et lector tædium et tenor brevitatis offensam. Decretum fuit sane prudenti[2] consilio, quod hoc iter nullus arriperet, cujus facultas ad annui viatici non sufficiebat impensas.[3] Vehicula vero quamplura propter itinerarios ægrotantes constructa fuerant, ne vel sano infirmus moras[4] necteret, vel languentium turba obiter destituta periret. Dudum quidem in discussionem venerat an mari an terra potius tanta belli moles incederet. Sed quantalibet navium multitudo tot millibus transvehendis minus sufficere videbatur. Imperator itaque opus propositum instanter accelerans, per Hungariam iter instituit, et qui regum ultimus peregrinandi votum emiserat, primus ad solvendum festinat.

Frederick's army meets (at Ratisbon, Mar. 24, 1189), and starts on the crusade (after Easter, Apr. 9).

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[1] *quidem*] namque, A.

[2] *fuit sane prudenti*] tr. A.

[3] *ad . . . . impensas*] ad sumptum annui insufficiens videretur, A.

[4] *moras*] moram, A.

[CAPITULUM XX.[1]]

A.D. 1189.

Suscipitur imperator a rege Hungarorum, et gentes illi exemplo ejus crucizantur.

Frederick is well received in Hungary (May 28, 1189).

Rex Hungarorum Bela nomine[2] in occursum Cæsaris lætus procedit, [3]vir quidem multiplici naturæ dote conditus, statura productior,[4] vultu insignis, cui et si cætera non suppeterent, sola imperiosi vultus elegantia regno dignissima censeretur. Hic exercitum Christi hospitaliter recepit, ovanter ocurrit, benigne prosequitur et operum exhibitione, devotionis testatur fervorem.[5] Indigenæ quam plurimi in eximio calentes exemplo, vident aciem sanctam et commilitare gestiunt, attendunt certantium præmia et labores non metuunt, simulque[6] volunt, et vovent, et[7] sequuntur, ut jam liquide constet quod tarda molimina Spiritus Sancti gratia non novit.[8]

[CAPITULUM XXI.[9]]

Transito Danubio, imperator Hunos, Alanos, Bulgares, Pincenates, Macedones, et imperatorem Constantinopolitanum adversarios habuit.

Frederick crosses the Danube, and enters Bulgaria (June 28), where he is at-

Danubio transito cum[10] ad ulteriores Bulgariæ fauces deventum esset,[11] Huni et Alani, Bulgares et Pincenates in populum Domini subito[12] ex insidiis irruunt; quos ad facinus inaccessibilis locorum asperitas fiden-

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[1] *XX.*] XXIII., A.

[2] *nomine*] om. B.

[3] *vir . . . prosequitur*] et exercitum hospitaliter recipit, B., omitting the rest.

[4] *in occursum . . . . productior*] MS. A. omits these words, reading only *statura eminens.*

[5] *testatur fervorem*] tr. A. G.

[6] *simulque*] et, ins. A.

[7] *in eximio . . . vovent et*] om. B.

[8] *novit*] navat, B.

[9] *XXI.*] XXIV., A.

[10] *cum*] om. B.

[11] *fauces deventum esset*] om. B.

[12] *subito*] om. B.

A.D. 1189.

tacked by Huns, Alans, Bulgarians, and Patzinaks; enters Macedonia (Aug. 16), and reaches Philippopolis (Aug. 25).

tius[1] incitabat.[2] Egressus ille a Bulgaria in Macedoniam, eminentibus hinc inde armatur[3] scopulis, dumosis obstruitur sentibus, angustis et anfractuosis semitis implicatur; sed et quibusdam artificiis, nativa munitio major consurgit. Has locorum angustias præmemoratæ gentes occupaverant, quas nequissimus Constantinopolitanus imperator Isaakius ad hoc[4] præmiserat, ut venturum exercitum vel opprimerent vel impedirent. Utramque tamen, et hostium et viarum molestiam milites nostri potenter exsuperant; sicque transcursis Macedonum campis, Philippopolim perveniunt; quæ civitas, cum ante Pulpudeba diceretur, de nomine Romani imperatoris Philippi nomen assumpsit;[5] qui primus omnium imperatorum Christianus effectus, imperialem gloriam Christianæ professionis titulo insignivit. Hanc urbem audito Latinorum adventu, Græci deseruerant, trepidantes ubi non erat timor:* quibus hæc una timoris causa exstitit, quod[6] quos non amabant, timebant; non enim rapere aliena[7] venerant, qui propriis abundabant; non arma sumpserant adversus fideles, qui gentis incredulæ persequebantur errores. Antiquum illud et inexorabile odium, quod contra Latinos Graii dudum conceperant, tenax successio temporum transfundit in posteros. Sed si odiorum fomes et ratio quæritur,

"Non esset vitium, si non ratione careret."

* Ps. liii. 5.

Antipathy of Greeks and Latins.

Hoc tamen pro causa constanter possumus inducere,[8] quod cum Latini scientia pariter et armis floreant, illi se prorsus inscios et imbelles conspiciunt; et hinc odii sumpto fomite, alienis bonis invidi[9] contabescunt. Gens perfida, generatio nequam, et omnino degenerans, quæ quanto illustrior exstitit,

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[1] *fidentius*] om. A.

[2] *incitabat*] inortabat, B.

[3] *armatur*] armatis, C.

[4] *hoc*] hæc, G.

[5] *assumpsit*] insumpsit, B. G.

[6] *quod*] om. A. G.

[7] *rapere aliena*] tr. A.

[8] *possumus inducere*] tr. A. G.

[9] *bonis invidi*] om. B.

A.D. 1189. tanto vilescit insignius, cum aurum in scoriam transierit, granum in paleas, puritas in fæcem, gloria in confusionem. Multa Graii veteres et armis sunt aggressi, et studiis assecuti; sed omnis ille virtutum fervor refriguit[1] in posteris, et in orbem Latinum migravit; ut qui ante fontes, nunc rivuli, vel potius alvei arentes et exhausti. Virtutum siquidem nullus successor, scelerum omnes; nam Sinonis figmenta, Ulixis fallaciam. Atrei atrocitatem retinent. Quod si Græci militia[2] quæritur; arte, non armis dimicat:[3] si fides; amicus obest, inimicus obesse non potest. Gens ista, cum in locis supradictis nostrorum transitum impedire non posset, quod potuit fecit. Indigenæ cuncti[4] ad montana conscendunt,[5] venalium solatia subtrahunt; lares vacuos, omni amota supellectile, venturis relinquunt. Imperator quidem episcopum Monasteriensem, cum aliis[6] principibus, sub obtentu pacis Constantinopolim jam ante[7] transmiserat; quos nequissimus et crudelis[8] tyrannus retrusit in carcerem; nec pacem legati violare abhorruit, quam etiam[9] apud Barbaros sancit antiquitas, consuetudo approbat honestas commendat. Postmodum vero, metu potius quam juris intuitu[10] ductus, ligatos legatos[11] absolvit; nam urbis regiæ timebat excidium, si nostrorum citius non placasset[12] offensam. Dignum sane quod urbs illa solotenus eversa procumberet; nam si famæ creditur, novis polluebatur mahumeriis, quas[13] perfidus imperator indulserat fieri, ut fœdus quod Turcorum conjuratus inierat, obligatus[14] confirmaret.

Treachery of the Greek emperor, who imprisons the bishop of Münster and other envoys.

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[1] *refriguit*] refrixit, A.; restrixit, G.

[2] *militia*] malitia, Barth.

[3] *dimicat*] demicant, A.

[4] *Indigenæ cuncti*] om. A.

[5] *conscendunt*] contendunt, A. G.

[6] *aliis*] quibusdam, add. B.

[7] *jam ante*] om. A.

[8] *crudelis*] incredulus, A. G.

[9] *etiam*] et, G.

[10] *intuitu*] affectu, A.

[11] *ligatos legatos*] tr. A. B. G.

[12] *placasset*] placaret, A.

[13] *quas*] quos, G.

[14] *obligatus*] obligatius, A.; obligativus, G.

A.D. 1189.

Jam æstas decoctior in autumnum inclinata vergebat; et Libræ signum quadam æqualitate temporum diem noctemque librabat.[1]

[CAPITULUM XXII.[2]]

De hiematione Frederici imperatoris in Græcia, et pacem inter eum et Ysaakarium imperatorem, et de subdola ad eum legatione Soldani Yconii, et de transitu ejus per Brachium Sancti Georgii.

Frederick reaches Adrianople (Nov. 22).

Imperator Romanorum magnificus, hyemandi gratia Adrianopolim tendit; quam vacuam, et ab incolis desertam ingressus, ibidem stationem[3] faciens, aptum movendi castra tempus expectat.

The duke of Suabia takes a city (Demotica).

The emperor Isaac Angelus offers friendly terms.

The army crosses the Dardanelles (Mar. 23-28 1190).

Dux Suaviæ, filius imperatoris, timens ne otia luxum, luxus ignaviam pareret, sub ipso torpore[4] hyberno exercitum[5] exercendum statuit; et castrum quoddam, quod non longe ab urbe prædicta distabat, expugnare contendit. Illuc Græci confluxerant, ut inde si quas possent Latinis molirentur insidias, loci munitione confisi, sed confusi; nam celeri victoria domiti, victi, vincti, et capti tenentur. His auditis, Bizantinus princeps, animo pejora veretur; et totius imperii timens excidium, festinos ad imperatorem nuncios destinat, qui pacis obsides, forum venalium,[6] naves transvectorias transituris promittant. Imperator, licet suorum plurimi pacem quamcunque cum tyranno pacisci molestum haberent, maluit tamen fœdus inire oblatum, quam differre propositum. Et jam instante Pascha, mare illud strictum[7] transvehitur,[8] quod Brachium Sancti Georgii usitato vocabulo nuncupatur. Hoc mare, licet spatio angustiori

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[1] *librabat*] liberabat, C.

[2] *XXII.*] XXIIII., A.

[3] *stationem*] stativam, G.

[4] *torpore*] tempore, A. C.

[5] *exercitum*] om. B.

[6] *forum venalium*] tr. A.

[7] *illud strictum*] tr. A.

[8] *transvehitur*] transvenitur, G.

A.D. 1190. contractum, non humili tamen gloria insignitur, quod urbem tantam præterfluit; et orbis gemini discrimen faciens, tam Asiam[1] quam Europam delambit. Soldanus Iconii, vir subdolus, et sanguinem Christianum sitiens, quodam fraudis prætextu, cum nostris amicitiam simulat, ut malignum animi virus occultans, eos, si possit, incautos disperdat. Nunciis sane ad Cæsarem, cum adhuc in Græcia degeret, non semel transmissis, morantem sollicitaverat ut veniret: Græcos et Græcorum principem de dolo accusans: se Christianis fore[2] devotum et fidelem pollicitus est,[3] qui sua et suos venturis exponeret; et tam forum venalium, quam inoffensos transitus, omnibus exhiberet. Cæsar vero plus æquo credulus, qui tales æstimabat alios qualem se ipse noverat, universis comminando edixit, ne fines Turcorum ingressi, quicquam raperent; sed pacem quam pacti erant, studiosius observarent. Sic[4] ergo contigit ut prædam maximam, quam in ipsis regni januis Soldanus ex industria dimiserat, nostri prætermeantes relinquerent omnino[5] intactam. Heu mens hominum venturi nescia! nam si famem futuram, iter asperum, tyranni prænossent insidias, casus quidem obtulerat unde sibi providisse poterant, quibus tantum et tam proximum imminebat discrimen. Cæterum, non usque adeo verbis infidi principis gens nostra fidem habuit, ut ex nimiæ[6] securitatis neglectu dissoluta incederet et inermis.

Treacherous conduct of the sultan of Iconium.

De numero et ordine armatorum virorum imperatoris Frederici et distinctione acierum ejus.[7]

Description of the army on its march.

Parthiam igitur ingressuri arma omnes arripiunt, quorum numerus tria militum millia; reliquorum vero circiter octoginta millia continebat. Erant autem antistites septem, archipræsul unus, duces duo, comites decem et novem, tres vero marchiones; et hæc acies tam insignis,

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[1] *Asiam*] aciem, Gale.

[2] *fore*] om. A. G.

[3] *est*] om. A. G.

[4] *Sic*] Sed, A.

[5] *omnino*] om. A.

[6] *ex nimiæ*] eximiæ, C.

[7] Om. A.

A.D. 1190. Account of the army and order of marching.

"Nec primam similem visa est, nec habere sequentem."

At ne molem tantam confusi ordinis turbaret seditio, in partem trinam, totus secessit exercitus; prima duci Suaviæ, postrema imperatori, media summariis, et sarcinarum custodiæ deputata. Procedit acies ad delicias intuentium prudenter digesta: nam nec simul, nec sparsim, sed per turmas incedunt; et cum plures sint qui partibus imperent, unus tamen universitatem moderatur. Hoc in castris optimum, in bellis præcipuum; sicut enim sine duce perit exercitus, ubi nullus præminet, sic plerumque inefficax est, ubi multi præsunt, qui de pari contendunt. Felix imperium! felix Germaniæ sinus! quæ tanto germine,[1] tot fœcunda populis, tot Christo strenuos peperit bellatores; sibi ad gloriam, hostibus ad ruinam.

[CAPITULUM XXIII.]

De insidiis et impugnationibus quas pertulit exercitus Christianus per proditorem Iconii Soldanum, et de victoria ejus qua postmodum Soldanum illum et filium ejus et Turcos superavit et Iconium cepit.[2]

Nostri cum jam Turcorum fines ingressi essent, per dies aliquot nihil infestum sentiunt: quos Soldanus ex industria usque ad interiora regni inoffensos transire voluit, donec ciborum defectus, et occurrens viarum asperitas, aptiorem nocendi copiam commodarent. Nefarius ille proditor prærupta[3] montium, dumosa nemorum, fluminum invia occupaverat; et fœdus quod

The Christian army enters the states of the sultan of Iconium (Kilidj Arslan; April 26. *Ansbert*, 84).

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[1] *germine*] gramine, C.

[2] CAP. XXV., A. This rubric is mutilated in A.

[3] *prærupta*] prorupta, B.

affectuosius pepigit[1] non[2] servans, sagittas et saxa transituris opponit. Hoc forum venalium, hi meatus pacifici; sic fides habenda gentilibus, qui semper in hoste virtutem et dolum æqualiter metiuntur. Porro, marte propinquo congredi, et manum conferre summopere vitant; et eminus tela conjiciunt, quibus non minor gloria fugere quam fugare. Utramque vero extremitatem agminis, nunc postremos, nunc primos acrius impetunt: ut si qua forte locorum angustia disjungat exercitum, in partem alterutram faciant irruptionem. Noctes etiam[3] insomnes et irrequietæ[4] ducuntur, nam terrificus clamor castra circumsonat. Missilium imber transfigit tentoria; plerique interimuntur sopiti, et hostis tam assiduus imminet, quod per sex hebdomadas in armis cibum, in armis somnum rapientes, loricas non tollunt. Fames insuper tanta, et sitis tam aspera invalescit: quod equis casu belli occisis, hoc in solatium, et pro summis ducunt deliciis, equorum carnibus vesci, et sanguinem bibere; sicque quodam egestatis ingenio, vectores suos in usus alienos assumunt.[5] Erat locus quem rupes arduæ, conscensus asperi, semitæ strictiores, difficilem ad permeandum reddebant, qua cum prior pars agminis, filio imperatoris ductante, transisset,[6] in postremam[7] subito Turci undique ex insidiis irruunt; et de victoria certi, lanceis et ensibus, bello propiore, contendunt. Rumor ad aures ducis dirus allabitur, nec mora, præceps quo[8] venerat redit; difficultates quas exsuperasse gaudebat incunctanter relegit; ira non attendit periculum. Equi, qua[9] ire non poterant, coguntur ad cursum. Denique dum[10] huc[11]

First battle (April 30).

Second battle, in the defile (May 5).

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[1] *affectuosius pepigit*] pepigit fideliter, A.; pepigit affectuosius, G.; affectus ocius, Barth.

[2] *non*] om. A. G.

[3] *etiam*] et, G.

[4] *irrequietæ*] irrequietes, A.

[5] *assumunt*] assument, G.

[6] *transisset*] transiret, A.

[7] *postremam*] postrema, A.

[8] *quo*] qua, A.

[9] *qua*] qui, B.

[10] *Denique dum*] Dumque, A. G.; dum, om. B.

[11] *huc*] atque, ins. A.; et, ins. G.

illuc patrem quærens, patrem vociferans, anxius et incautus [1] discurrit, ictu saxi eliditur galea, excutiuntur dentes; ipse tamen immobilis permanet et indejectus: felix illa progenies! quæ ut patrem liberet, sui prodiga, se periculis objicit. Sed in solatium inflicti vulneris, æternum insigne retinet; nam quoties labra secedunt, victoriæ gloriam os nudum testatur. Tandem post multos et graves insultus, pervenitur Iconium, ubi nequam ille proditor, se intra urbis munita concluserat; nostri autem non longe figunt tentoria, ignari prorsus quid dies crastina minetur infestum. Nocte ipsa, cum jam Pentecostes solemnitas ferme fuisset exacta, imber tantus et tam vehemens irruit, ut illa procellæ vehementia [2] intra septa castrorum nihilominus desæviret.

Arrival before Iconium (May 17).

Quomodo Melchinus filius Soldani Iconii cum exercitu infinito contra imperatorem Fretherícum venit.[3]

Mane facto, consumptis nubibus, aer illuxit purior; et ecce, subito cum tubis et tympanis et clangore horrisono Turcorum exercitus circumquaque diffusus imminet, quantus nec ante visus, nec credebatur videndus; quod sicubi ter centena vel plura legantur fuisse millia, æstimari poterant, numerari non poterant.[4] Hanc omnem multitudinem filius Soldani, Melkinus [5] nomine,[6] in arma exciverat, volens palmæ titulum socero suo Salahadino præripere, tam de victoria certus, quam de suorum numero et virtute confisus. Soldanus interim cujusdam turris suprema conscendens, in specula residet, unde in subjectis arvorum spatiis, acies bellaturas conspiciat, sperans adimplendum in proximo quod animus promissor futurum dictabat.

Battle before Iconium (May 18).

The sultan's son (Kotbeddin Malek Shah) defeated.

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[1] *incautus*] incautius, A.

[2] *vehementia*] violentia, A. G.

[3] Om. A.

[4] *numerari non poterant*] om. C.

[5] *Melkinus*] Melchinus, B.

[6] *nomine*] om. B.

A.D. 1190.

Civitas Iconium capitur et exercitus Melkini filii Soldani confusus est.[1]

Iconium taken (May 18).

Imperator, cum plerosque suorum ob insolitam hostium multitudinem trepidantes attenderet, magnanimi principis fiduciam exserit; et erectis ad cœlum manibus, in conspectu omnium grates agit Domino, quod inevitabilis pugnæ jam instat[2] necessitas, quam fuga hostium huc usque suspenderat.[3] Hac voce, ingens ardor cunctis incutitur, qui faciem Cæsaris contemplantes lætissimam, a sene juvenes, a fragili[4] fortes, ab uno universi, virtutis suscipiunt incentivum. Quis Deus magnus, sicut Deus noster?* Omnis illa multitudo tam certa vincendi, ut vincula potius quam enses stringeret, in momento succumbit; simulque et urbs ipsa capta tenetur, et exterior hostis prosternitur; utrinque strages, ubique cædes, undique cæsorum acervi: fugam densitas impedit; numerositas unde gloriabantur offendit,[5]

* Ps. lxxvii 13.

"Jam prope res agitur, certatur cominus,"[6]

confringuntur arcus, sagittæ non evolant,

"Vix locus est gladiis: sic omnia turbat"

turba; nostrisque procedit ad gloriam, quod hostis disposuerat[7] ad ruinam: fugax bellum, quod hactenus inter vepres, et rupium fauces hæserat, jam spatio liberiore conseritur. Christicolæ iram satiant, quæ toties frustra exarserat; Turci experiuntur inviti, quid possint cominus, quos eminus provocabant. Hanc insignem victoriam, fidelibus suis non indigne virtus divina contribuit; erat enim in castris castitas, in armis disciplina; in omnibus et præ omnibus timor

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[1] Om. A.
[2] *instat*] instet, A.
[3] *suspenderat*] suspendit, A. G.
[4] *fragili*] frigidi, B.
[5] *offendit*] ostenditur, C.
[6] *cominus*] eminus, B.
[7] *hostis disposuerat*] hostes disposuerunt, A. G.

Domini; apud omnes amor proximi, qui sic erant affectione fraterna unanimes, sicut periculorum exstitere consortes.

Imperator Fretherícus obsides a Soldano Iconii suscipit et petenti fœderis pactionem confirmat.[1]

A.D. 1190.

The sultan of Iconium lays the blame of the treachery on his son.

Soldanus, urbe capta, cum unicam munitionem quo se contulerat restare cerneret, festinus ad Cæsarem dirigit, culpam omnem refundens in filium; se prorsus innocuum asserens, aurum quantum petat, pollicitus, fœderis obsides quot et quos jubeat præstiturus. Cæsar, heu nimium facilis! quod offertur suscipit, quod postulatur indulget, minus quidem in hoc facto laudandus, dum virum "sanguinum et dolosum:"* pene captum absolvit, quem honestius erat perdere, quam tantum Christiani nominis hostem illæsum servare. Datis obsidibus et fœderis pactione firmata, necdum maligni proditoris quiescit impietas; nam Christicolas cum jam remotius ab Iconio agerent iter,[2] nunc ex insidiis, nunc palam lacessit.[3] Obsides quidnam hoc esset interrogati, utile sibi confingunt mendacium: asserunt enim Turcos sylvestres esse qui nullius imperio subjacent, sedibus vagantur incertis; nihil habentes proprium, aliena semper vel rapina vel furto insectantur. Parcius tamen instant Turci[4] non immemores suorum occubuisse quam plurimos: nam sicut modestus æstimator asseruit,[5] superioribus bellis viginti duo Turcorum millia gladius occisor consumpsit.[6]

* Ps. v. 6.

The army quits Iconium (May 23).

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[1] Om. A.

[2] *agerent iter*] tr. A. G.

[3] *lacessit*] recessit, C.

[4] *Turci*] om. A.

[5] *asseruit*] asserit, A.; in, ins. A.

[6] *gladius . . . consumpsit*] gladiis occisorum occubuit, B.

[CAPITULUM XXIV.[1]]

A.D. 1190.

In Armeniam veniens imperator Fretherichus[2] in flumine Selefii[3] submergitur, et filius suus dux Suaviæ super exercitum erigitur.

Frederick enters Armenia (at Laranda, May 30).

*Ps. xxxvi. 6.

He reaches the river Salef, or Calycadnus (June 10).

Jam victor exercitus Armeniæ fines ingreditur: lætantur omnes, quod hostile emensi regnum,[4] securi fidelium arvis insederint.[5] Sed heu! Terra occurrit funestior, quæ cunctorum lætitiam et lumen extinguit. Accedat homo ad cor altum; et investiget si possit consilia Domini, cujus judicia abyssus multa.* Occurret nonnunquam unde stupeat, unde turbetur; ita tamen, quod in omnibus Auctorem omnium noverit commendandum. Erat locus in Armeniæ sinu,[6] quem hinc montes ardui, hinc Selefii[7] flumen præterfluens coarctabat: qua[8] dum summarii et sarcinæ transeunt victoriosus imperator subsistit. Vir quidem inclytus, cujus statura mediocriter eminens, crines rutili, barba rubens, utrinque interfusa canities; supercilia prominent, ignescunt oculi: gena brevior in amplum extenditur: pectus et humeri diffunduntur, sed et[9] descriptio corporis[10] in virum consurgit. In illo itaque,[11] quod de Socrate legitur, insigne quiddam ac stupendum enituit: nam constantiam animi exprimebat vultus, semper idem et immobilis permanens, nec dolore obscurior, nec ira contractus, nec dissolutus lætitia.[12] In tantum vero

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[1] *XXIV.*] XXVI., A.

[2] *Fretherichus*] Fredericus, A.

[3] *Selefii*] Selesii, A. B.

[4] *emensi regnum*] tr. A., which proceeds: "fidelium arvis securi "insident. Sed heu! terram funes-"tiorem inveniunt," &c.

[5] *insederint*] insiderit, G.; insiderint, B.

[6] *Armeniæ sinu*] tr. A. G. and Giraldus.

[7] *Selefii*] Sclesii, B.; Sclefii, Giraldus.

[8] *qua*] quam, B.

[9] *et*] cætera, ins. A. G.

[10] *descriptio corporis*] tr. G.

[11] *itaque*] utique, B. G.

[12] *dissolutus lætitia*] tr. A. G.

A.D. 1190. June 10. Death of Frederick.

nativum Alemanniæ venerabatur eloquium, ut quanquam alterius linguæ non inscius esset, aliarum tamen gentium missis, non nisi per interpretem loqueretur. Vir tantus, cum propter præeuntes[1] summarios diutius substitisset, tandem mora in tædium vertitur; et iter anticipare cupiens, flumen proximum transmeare disponit,[2] ut illud a parte summariorum anteriore remensus ad viæ redeat libertatem.[3] O mare! O terra! O cœlum! ille Romani moderator imperii, semper Augustus, per quem[4] Romæ veteris refloruit gloria, revixit honos, potestas excrevit: heu! aquis deperit interceptus,[5] et licet undique in[6] subsidium collaterales festinent,[7] vitæ tamen senilis igniculum mors præceps et matura extinguit. At si libido natandi, sicut plerique asserunt, mortis causam intulisse dicatur; ipsius viri gravitas in contrarium disputat; nec fidem meretur, quod tantorum salutem, natator invalidus undis fallacibus commisisset. Conscientia teste, mors minus quam modus mortis sollicitat, sed hoc nobis in solatium venit, quod scriptum legitur: "Justus quacunque "morte præoccupatus fuerit, in refrigerio erit."* Et[8] si montes Gelboæ, cæsis Israel fortibus[9] roris pluviæque[10] beneficio meruere privari,† quid huic fluvio tam funesto imprecemur condignum,[11] qui præcipuam totius Christianismi columnam subvertit. Fuere qui dicerent locum illum[12] fataliter ab antiquo damnatum, et silicem proximam hos apices dudum servasse inscriptos: HIC HOMINUM MAXIMUS PERIBIT.

* Wisdom, iv. 7.

† 2 Sam. i. 21.

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[1] *præeuntes*] prætereuntes, B.

[2] *disponit*] disposuit, A.

[3] *redeat libertatem*] tr. B.

[4] *per quem*] in quo, A.

[5] *deperit interceptus*] tr. A.

[6] *in*] om. A. G.

[7] *collaterales festinent*] collaterale festinet, A.; collaterales festinet, G.

[8] *Et*] Quod, A.; Quo, G.

[9] *Israel fortibus*] tr. A.

[10] *roris pluviæque*] roris et pluviæ, A.; rorisque pluviæ, G.

[11] *condignum*] condigni, B.

[12] *illum*] ipsum, A. G.

A.D. 1190.

Corpus imperatoris Fretherici in duas partes dividitur, duobus locis sepeliendum.[1]

Lamentation for Frederick.

Rumor ad aures exercitus,[2] lamentabili fragore perlatus, omnes[3] concutit. Quod si veterum annales inquirimus, quid historiæ tradant, quid fabulæ confingant, de luctu matrum, nuptarum gemitu, quorumcunque planctus, dolor iste

* Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ix. 169.

"Exemploque[4] carens, et nulli cognitus ævo,"*

cunctorum lacrymas et lamenta transcendit. Erant quamplures imperatoris domestici, erant consanguinei, erat et[5] filius; sed inter complangentium turmas discerni non poterant, ubi pariter universi et singuli patrem et[6] dominum amisisse lugebant. Hoc tamen omnibus in solatium accidit,[7] et inde cuncti divinæ congratulantur providentiæ, quod infra terminos infidelium diem non clausit extremum. Expletis exequiis, locum quam citius pestiferum deserunt; et corpus Cæsaris Antiochiam deferendum magnificentia regali exornant. Ibi autem post[8] multam excoctionem ossibus a carne sejunctis, caro quidem in apostolicæ sedis ecclesia conquiescit: ossa vero Tyrum per mare ducuntur transferenda Jerosolimam.[9] Dignum quidem, et ordinante Domino mirifice procuratum, ut qui pro Christo decertavit insignius, præcipuas Christianæ relligionis ecclesias, utriusque miles, utrique divisus, incoleret, et eam quam Domini sepultura præeminentius extulit,[10] et illam quam principis apostolorum cathedra insignivit.

His flesh buried at Antioch, his bones taken to Tyre, on the way to Jerusalem.

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[1] Rubric omitted in A.

[2] *exercitus*] excitus, G.

[3] *omnes*] om. A.

[4] *que*] om. B. C.

[5] *erat et*] tr. A.

[6] *et*] ac, A. G.

[7] *accidit*] accedit, A. B. G.

[8] *post*] per, G.

[9] *transferenda Jerosolimam*] tr. A. G.

[10] *extulit*] excidit, B.

[1] *Quæ fata perpessi sint peregrini Alemanniæ post mortem Fretherici imperatoris in terra Antiochiæ.*

A.D. 1190.

Cæterum,[2] Antiochiam pervenientes Christicolæ[3] post multa et longa jejunia cibis edacius indulgentes, repletione subita suffocantur. Sicque quos nec hostis nec fames vicerat, pax dira perimit, satietas perniciosa extinguit. Hoc itaque tam turpi fato cum exercitus tanti pars amplior interisset, reliqui rediere quam plurimi. Pars modica quam repatriare puduit, sub filio imperatoris militat, cui princeps Antiochiæ urbem totam ac munitiones universas contradidit.[4] Majoris enim obtentu præsidii, urbem duci ultroneus dignum[5] judicat committendam, ut ejus fines vir strenuus contra crebros hostium tueatur insultus.

The army reaches Antioch (June 21); which the prince (Bohemond III.) hands over to the Duke of Suabia.

Rumor de submersione Fretherici imperatoris Turcos in Achon obsessos[6] lætificat, Christicolas obsidentes contristat.

Interea Christi milites, quos in Terræ Sanctæ subsidium classis transvexerat, Achon premebant obsessam. Turci[7] autem obsessi, tam suorum numerositate, quam loci firmitate confisi, pertinaciter adversariis se opponebant, urbis propugnacula occupantes, et

The news reaches Acre; (about July 6. *Bohadin*, 119.)

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[1] Rubric omitted in A.

[2] *Cæterum*] om. B.

[3] *Christicolæ*] Alemanniæ, ins. B.

[4] *contradidit*] contradit, A. G.

[5] *dignum*] om. A. G.

[6] *obsessos*] offensos, A.

[7] *Turci . . . . . venturi*] The remainder of this section is omitted in A. and G., which proceed immediately with "ut plenius texa-"tur," &c., and the following chapter: A., however, has the proper rubric, as in the text. On the other hand, the next chapter is altogether omitted in B., although the rubric which stands at the head of it is given in the proper place. MS. C. alone has both the chapters in proper order.

A.D. 1190.

Joy of the Turks, despair of the Christians.

vicem reddere contendebant impugnantibus. Cum, ecce! clamor ingens attollitur; in civitate voces concrepant exultantium, et Christianis a[1] foris obsidentibus, ascendentes Turci turres insultabant vehementius, clamantes, "Quid miseri facietis? quid ulterius speratis? "Imperator vester cujus in proximo sperabatis adventum, ecce! submersus est. Evanuit spes vestra nec "amplius poteritis, sicut videtis, resistere." Hæc magnis vocibus improperantes ducebant choros infra urbem, tubis clangentes, more eorum crocitantes, tympanis concrepantes, et quot poterant modis cordis sui lætitiam indicantes; videlicet Christicolis in subsannationem et derisum, et suis excitantes fiduciam et præsumptionis gaudium. His Christicolæ perculsi rumoribus, incredibili sunt affecti mœrore, propemodum desperantes tam acerbo casu sauciati: quia revera per prædictum imperatorem propositum suum confidebant assecuturos. Vix ita credebant fuisse,[2] ut dixerant Turci. Ipsi autem asserebant verum esse, et eis hoc a Salahadino mandatum fuisse. Nec enim Christiani sufficiebant civitatis occupare introitus, quin clanculo exirent Turci et introirent. Deum[3] itaque in auxilium[4] invocantes, Christicolæ patienter expectabant adventum reliquorum, qui ab occiduis orbis partibus sperabantur venturi. Sed ut plenius texatur[5] obsidionis series, altius[6] ordiemur.[7]

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[1] *a*] interlined in B.

[2] *credebant fuisse*] tr. B.

[3] *Deum*] Dominum, B.

[4] *in auxilium*] rep. B.

[5] *texatur*] texetur, B.

[6] *altius*] om. B.

[7] *ordiemur*] ordinemus, C.

[Capitulum XXV.[1]]

[2] *Rex Guido Jerosolimorum apud Damascum a vinculis solvitur et Tripolim petit, ubi exercitum colligit, et Achon properat, ut ibi cum hostibus congrediatur.*

A.D. 1189.

King Guy released, May 1188.

Rex Jerosolimorum Guido, cum prius[3] apud Damascum per annum fere tentus fuisset in vinculis, Saladinus illum sub districta pactione, sicut diximus,[4] absolvit; videlicet[5] ut abjurato regno, mare quam citius exul transiret. Hanc jurisjurandi fidem clerus regni cassandam deliberat; tum quia metu facta irritari merentur; tum ut venturæ fidelium acies caput inveniant et ductorem. Dignum sane quod ars artem deluderet, quod tyranni perfidia suo fraudaretur exemplo; nam promissor lubricus parem promittentis[6] levitatem invitat. Perfidus ille, pacti prioris fines et fidem transgressus, a rege captivo injuriis multis extorserat, ut præstito sacramento, libertati redditus exul abiret. Dira libertas, quæ importat exilium; dura liberatio, quæ regnum abjurat. Sed ordinante Domino, dissipatum est consilium Belial, nam et retinendi regni fiducia tyranno excutitur; et rex a promissionis excessu, cleri judicio excusatur. Venerant igitur[7] injuriæ crucis ultores eximii; venerant athletæ insignes quos ad consolationem tuam, Jerusalem, fervor undique devotus excivit. Ecce! jam orbis tibi universus militat, ut ad impletum constet, quod per Isaiam prophetam dicitur, "Ab Aquilone adducam semen tuum et ab occidente congregabo te. Dicam Aquiloni, da; et Aus-

He is absolved from his promise of abdication.

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[1] *XXV.*] XXVI., A.

[2] This rubric occurs in its place in B., but the chapter answering to it is omitted.

[3] *prius*] om. A. G.

[4] *sicut diximus*] om. A. G.

[5] *videlicet*] om. A., which reads *scilicet*, after *abjurato*.

[6] *promittentis*] repromittentis, A.

[7] *igitur*] autem, A. G.

A.D. 1189. "tro, noli prohibere."* Sic ergo cum plurimi Tripolim ad regem confluxissent, quo eum supra diximus venisse,[1] bellator cunctis incaluit animus, ut non solum tueri retenta, sed et recuperare perdita decertarent. Porro dum apud Tripolim moram facerent, dies non exegere ignavos: nam crebris excursibus hostes vicinos aggressi, nunc trecentos, nunc plures manu victrice transfoderunt.[2] At inter cæteros frater regis[3] Gaufridus nomine de Lizenan,[4] singularis enituit: qui sic virtute fulgebat præcipuus, sicut dolore domestico acrius exarserat, in hostem accensus. Alios enim cum dolor unus ad bellum impelleret, hunc pariter et totius Christianismi causa communis, et fraternæ injuriæ ultio privata movebat.

*Isaiah xliii. 5, 6.

Guy collects an army at Tripoli.

[Capitulum XXVI.[5]]

Christiani Achon undique oppugnant, sed rex prius veniens Tyrum ab Antiochia, a Marchiso non recipitur, et injuriam suam dissimulans, Achon petit cum Pisanis et exercitu non modico, quam Christicolæ terra marique obsident.

The Marquis of Montferrat keeps Guy out of Tyre.

Post non multum[6] collecto exercitu rex Tyrum procedit, sed ingredi volens a Marchiso non admittitur, cui tamen civitas eo tenore commissa fuerat, ut regis et regni hæredibus redderetur. Nec hac contentus injuria, perjurium[7] convicio cumulat, nam quoties vel regis nuncii vel peregrini quicunque ingredi tentant, tractantur durius et sunt ei[8] tanquam Ethnici[9] et publicani.

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[1] *quo . . . venisse*] om. A. G.

[2] *transfoderunt*] fuderunt, A.G.

[3] *regis*] qui nuper appulerat, ins. A. G.

[4] *de Lizenan*] om. A. G.

[5] *XXVI.*] XXIX., A. The rubric in A. is, "Veniens Tyrum "rex a Marchiso," &c., as above. The rubric in B. is misplaced, occurring before "Transactis denique "duobus," below.

[6] *Post non multum*] Postmodum, A.; Post multum, G.

[7] *perjurium*] tanquam, C.

[8] *ei*] Christicolæ, ins. A. G.

[9] *Ethnici*] ennici, B.

A.D. 1189.

[1] *Pisanos sibi rebelles Marchisus infestat.*

The Pisans side with Guy, who encamps outside Tyre.

Pisani vero, qui partem urbis non modicam possidebant, in consensum perfidiæ pertrahi nequeunt, sed pro jure regio commendabili seditione decertant. Eos Marchio contumeliis multis et Marte intestino lacessit. At pro tempore cessuri consultius, ab urbe ad exercitum cum aliis plerisque recedunt. Exercitus igitur[2] extra in planitie[3] consederat, sed nec ullis etiam propter victualium coemptionem ingrediendi exhibetur facultas, et omnes experiuntur hostem, quem speraverant adjutorem.

[4] *Marchisus infirmatus medicos peremit proprios.*

Illness of the marquis.

Interea,[5] morbus quidam familiaris et solitus Marchiso incutitur: at quia consueto asperior tunc casu irruerat, potionem pestiferam hausisse conjectat. Triste igitur in medicos, potionum artifices, exit edictum, et iniqua suspicione perimuntur innocui, quorum professio non mortis discrimen ingerit, sed morbi salutem promittit. Rex quanquam ad urbem impugnandam suggestione plurium incitetur, ipsam[6] tamen injuriam prudenter dissimulat, et cum exercitu quo potest et quanto potest, Achon obsessurus festinat. Erant milites septingenti; erant et alii plures, ex omni natione Christiana collecti, sed si totam simul aciem æstimare velimus, non prorsus ad novem millia robur numeratum excrevit.

Guy goes to Acre with 9,000 men.

[7] Transactis denique quatuor mensibus,[8] rex Guido

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[1] This rubric is omitted in A.

[2] *igitur*] om. A. G.

[3] *planitie*] aprico, A. G.

[4] This rubric is omitted in A.

[5] *Interea*] Hæc inter, A. G.

[6] *ipsam*] propriam, A.

[7] Here the rubric "Christiani "Achon," &c., above is misplaced in B.

[8] *mensibus*] Here MS. B. has

A.D. 1189.

Guy goes from Tyre, by Scanderoon, to Acre, and begins the siege of Acre, August 28.

quantum habuit exercitum duxit per locum periculosissimum dictum Candelion, Salahadino prope existente, sed transitum ejus ignorante.[1] Exeunte Augusto, die scilicet Sancti[2] Augustini, gravis illa et longa cœpit obsidio, quæ et per duos annos protracta[3] et duobus annis ab urbe capta elapsis, animosius inchoata. Turci eminus de murorum propugnaculis, venientes conspiciunt, incerti qui veniant vel ad[4] quid veniant. Sed re cognita adventum non metuunt, causam irrident. Pisani quibus via maris eo levior quo brevior videbatur, Achon navigio seriatim petentes, littus audacter occupant; maritimæ immobiliter insident, obsidionem maris tam constanter quam strenue ordiuntur.

He encamps on Mount Turon.

Rex vero cum exercitu reliquo[5] montem proximum quem vulgo Turonem dicunt tentoriis figendis eligit, unde beneficio loci, et maris et terræ speculetur accessus. Mons iste a parte urbis[6] orientali consurgit editior, et in circuitu, oculo spatiante liberius longe lateque prospectum in plana diffundit.[7]

"captivitatis" interlined, and "Rex "Guido" altered to "Regis Guido"nis," proceeding with "Exeunte "Augusto," &c.; and inserting the clause "per locum . . . ignorante" after "exercitu," below.

[1] *Transactis . . . . ignorante*] om. A. G. Writers do not agree exactly as to the day on which the siege was begun: Bohadin, *V. Saladini*, p. 98, and Theobald's letter to the Pope (*Diceto*, c. 648), agree with our author. Hoveden, however, f. 376, states that Guy encamped on Turon, on the octaves of the Assumption, Aug. 22: on which day, according to Bohadin, p. 97, he was passing Nakura. Wiken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, iv. 254, tries in vain to reconcile the two, by supposing that our author dates the opening of the siege from the day of the escalade, described, in c. xxvii. But our author, Bohadin, and Theobald agree specifically in the dates of both events. Hoveden also dates the arrival of James of Avesnes on the 25th of August, which is impossible: although the true date is not fixed.

[2] *scilicet Sancti*] tr. B.

[3] *protracta*] producta, G.

[4] *ad*] om. A. G.

[5] *reliquo*] om. B., which reads here the clause, "quem duxit per "locum . . . ignorante," as above.

[6] *urbis*] om. A.

[7] *diffundit.*] Here the writer of MS. C. has "Christicolæ civitati "insultus," as if beginning to copy the rubric.

[Capitulum XXVII.[1]]

Christicolæ civitati insultus faciunt, sed Salahadino superveniente, ex utraque parte insultus patiuntur, quos exhilarat classis Borealium virorum numero duodecim millium.

A.D. 1189.

The Christians try to take Acre by escalade (Aug. 31); but are deterred by the news of the approach of Saladin, who is besieging Belfort (Shakif-Arnun).

[2] Christicolæ die tertia postquam venerant, mox urbem impetunt; longum enim erat[3] vel petrariarum jactus vel alios expectare paratus; at clypeo defensore contenti, scalas applicant ad conscensum. Dies illa tot dierum opus et operam felici clausisset compendio, si antiqui hostis invidia et mendax nuncius negotium pene completum non præpedissent.[4] Nunciato namque Salahadini adventu, nostri quam citius ad castra redeunt: sed paucos præcursores intuiti, præreptam sibi victoriam indignantur magis quam conqueruntur. Pauci quidem venerant, at innumeros adesse terror edixerat: non enim præter solitum evenit quod majora semper formido mentitur.[5] Soldanus eo tempore castrum quod Beaufordum[6] dicunt, obsidione cingebat, qui[7] his quæ geruntur auditis cum exercitu plurimo Achon festinus accedit: cui[8] ipsi[9] qui erant obsessi in Achon[10] mandaverant[11] quod pars modica Christianorum applicuerant, quos in momento veniret conterere et memoriam eorum de terra delere.[12]

Nostri tamen[13] ad congressum impares, infra[14] fines præscriptos continentur:[15] Turci undique instant; nunc luce, nunc noctis silentio bellum inferunt; crebros etiam in montem tentant excursus, et qui venerant

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[1] *XXVII.*] XXX., A.

[2] *Cæterum*, ins. A. G.

[3] *erat*] om. A. G.

[4] *præpedissent*] perdidissent, G.

[5] *mentitur*] metitur, A. G.

[6] *Beaufordum*] Bellum forte, A.G.

[7] *qui*] at, A. G.

[8] *cui . . . delere*] om. A. G.

[9] *cui ipsi*] nam illi, B.

[10] *obsessi in Achon*] tr. B.

[11] *mandaverant*] Salahadino, ins. B.

[12] *delere*] Here C. repeats the clause "qui his . . . accedit."

[13] *tamen*] om. A. G.

[14] *infra*] inter, A.G.; sed infra, B.

[15] *infra . . . . continentur*] se . . . . continent, A. ; sed. . continent, G.

A.D. 1189. The besiegers are shut in by Saladin's army. *S. Luke i. 78.

obsessuri tenentur obsessi. In hoc itaque articulo positos visitavit eos [1] Oriens ex alto;* nam ecce! quinquaginta naves, quas [2] vulgo coggas dicunt, cum duodecim millibus armatorum, tanto gratius venerunt [3] quanto nostris auxilium in angustia majore rependunt.[4] Gratum venit quod per [5] vota suscipitur, gratius quod præter spem offertur, gratissimum quod in ultima necessitate subvenit; [6] plerumque tamen, ingenti desiderio fides suspenditur, et vix credimus quod nimium affectamus. [7] Nostri quidem in arcto positi nunc ex parte civitatis oppugnantur, nunc a parte exteriori ab exercitu Salahadini, sic perplexi nec arma deponere [8] nec etiam securi audebant comedere.[9] Nunc ergo his nunc illis sic alternantibus insultus, nunc quoque simul utrinque coerciti,[10] nostri de supercilio montis venientem classem [11] vident, et tam læta sperare non audent. Quin etiam ipsi qui veniunt, castra quæ vident [12] habent suspecta. Sed propius Christianæ professionis prospectis insignibus, clamor hinc inde tollitur, læta pietas in lacrymis [13] effluit, undique concursus, et fluctibus insiliunt obviam processuri. Felix illa classis quæ a Boreali peregrinans oceano et iter intentatum aggressa, tot tractus maris, tot terræ ambitus, tot pericula victrix permeat, et ab Europa per Africæ [14] districta transiens, Asiæ laboranti succurrit. Hanc classem Dani moderantur et Frisones, quos ab Aquilone progressos rigor nativus exasperat, et ad bellum triplex aptat commoditas,[15] artus scilicet [16] pro-

Arrival of the Northern fleets; (early in September.)

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[1] *eos*] om. A. G.

[2] *quas . . . dicunt*] quæ vulgo coggas dicuntur, A.

[3] *venerunt*] veniunt, A.

[4] *in . . . . rependunt*] in arcto majora dependunt, A. G.

[5] *per*] post, A.

[6] *subvenit*] provenit, A.

[7] *Nostri . . . coerciti*] om. A. G.

[8] *deponere*] reponere, B.

[9] *audebant comedere*] tr. B.

[10] *coerciti*] coherciti, C.; cohorti, B.

[11] *venientem classem*] venientes, A. G.

[12] *vident*] spectant, A. G.

[13] *lacrymis*] lacrymas, A. G.

[14] *Africæ*] Affricæ, MSS.

[15] *aptat commoditas*] tr. G.

[16] *scilicet*] om. A.

ceri, mens indomita, et fidei fervor devotus. Hos a portu patrio in altum migrantes, aura comitatur benignior, et in delicias navigantium, tam fluctus quam venti mitescunt; sicque miserator Dominus athletas[1] suos per tot discrimina incolumes et inoffensos perducit. Terrarum vero, quas præternavigant, incolæ, visa classe, quamplures moventur, et navibus instanter conscensis, Angli[2] pariter et Flandrigenæ[3] sequuntur. Nec prætereundum silentio quod a prætereuntibus insigniter est[4] gestum, nam urbem quandam in maritima Hispaniæ quæ Silvia dicitur, audacter impetunt, citius expugnant, cæsisque Gentilibus incolis et urbe Christianis tradita, ibidem etiam ordinato antistite, victores procedunt. Achon igitur venientes in loco qui urbem et Turonem interjacet castrametantur, et vires indomitas in perniciem hostis, assiduo magis quam frequenti conflictu, exercent. Eos siquidem virtus prodiga et vitæ contemptor impetus tot et toties subeundis objecere periculis, quod non post multum[5] urbe capta, vix viri centum de duodecim millibus superstites exstitere.

A.D. 1189. September. Arrival of an English and Flemish fleet; having taken Silvia in Portugal by the way.

[CAPITULUM XXVIII.[6]]

De adventu Jacobi de Avennis, et quo ordine urbs obsideatur, et de insultibus et periculis nocte et die hinc inde factis.

Nocte postera postquam Frisones et Dani appulerant, Jacobus de Avennis littus optatum contigit: vir trina perfectione præditus, in consiliis Nestor, in armis Achilles, in fide Attilio Regulo præferendus.

Arrival of James of Avesnes.

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[1] *athletas*] alletas, B.

[2] *Angli*] Anglici, A.

[3] *Flandrigenæ*] festive, ins. A.; festini, G.

[4] *est*] om. A.

[5] *non post multum*] postmodum, A.; post multum, G.

[6] *XXVIII.*] XXXI.,

A.D. 1189. September.

He encamps opposite the Cursed Tower.

Hic ex adverso turris quam Maledictam nominant figit tentoria, et paulo ulterius Templarii tendunt: at urbis pars amplior nondum obsessa in liberos hosti meatus patescit. Nostri quid agant solliciti, hanc intrandi[1] et exeundi licentiam moleste sustinent, sed murorum protractior ambitus et exercitus rarior obsidionem continuam non admittunt. Contractis[2] igitur vicissim per turmas copiis, urbis aditus armati observant, et sic per dies aliquot consuetam meandi[3] copiam obstruunt transituris. Turci vero, tam de urbe quam de castris egressi, collatis hinc inde viribus, nostros impugnant et prævalent; nam facile acies intercisa perrumpitur; et citius robur dispersum succumbit. Hospitalarii ea die in custodia stabant, quos militia Templi cedentes excipit, et hostem acrius urgentem a castrorum irruptione compescit. [4] Contigit interea quadam die Veneris irruptionem fieri diluculo gravissimam: Christicolis denique nihil tale suspicantibus, exierunt catervatim de civitate quam plurimi, et facta invasione pertinacissima conturbata sunt castra Regis.[5] Nostris igitur illis resistere contendentibus, et Turcis impetentibus, facta est strages non modica, ex utrisque. Turci quidem in primis prævaluerant quia improvidos invaserant.[6] Qui cum conglobati viriliter resisterent, Turci sibi camelos transmissos[7] cibariis onustos, qui tunc forte in castra venerant, admiserunt in urbem; et ex urbe etiam eduxerunt quendam filiorum Salahadini, et ad patrem, nostris resistere non valentibus, perduxerunt. Erant enim Turci intrantes et exeuntes, quia virtute superiores. Præstantissimi quippe fuerant et electi ex paganismo obsessi, ad omnia habiles et parati; nostris quidem non inferiores, quia virtus et in hoste

Saladin breaks through the besieging army, on a Friday: (Sept. 14. *Bohadin,* 100.)

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[1] *intrandi*] introeundi, G.

[2] *Contractis*] Conjectis, G.

[3] *meandi*] ineandi, B. as if for *meandi* or for *ineundi.*

[4] *Contigit . . . laudatur*] om. A.G.

[5] *Regis*] Guidonis, add. B.

[6] *invaserant*] evaserant, C.

[7] *transmissos*] missos, B.

laudatur. Porro, diebus singulis fidelis augescit[1] exercitus, et navium multitudo confluens terrore non modico Gentiles[2] percellit. Salahadinus autem, figmento quodam, metus conceptos attenuat; asserens Christicolas noctu naves educere, et easdem rursus tanquam recentes adveniant, ad ostentationem[3] virium luce reverti. Ipse tamen veri[4] non inscius, robur nostrum indies crescere acrius dolet, sed nubem animi supercilio sublimi dissimulans, frontem serenam et nihil timentem prætendit.

A.D. 1189. September. The numbers of the besiegers increase.

[CAPITULUM XXIX.[5]]

De adventu quorundam Francorum et Anglorum, Flandrensium et Alemannorum et Marchisii Conradi custodis Tyri.

Sane de regno Francorum jam plurimi venerant: et inter alios, episcopus Belvacensis,[6] vir armis potius deditus quam armariis,[7] qui gloriatur in militia;[8] et[9] Turpino par esse contenderet si Carolum inveniret. [10] Venit et comes Rodbertus prædicti frater episcopi. Venit et comes Brenensis et comes de Baro Flandrenses plurimi. Est quædam pars Franciæ quæ Campania dicitur, et cum regio tota studiis armorum floreat, hæc quodam militiæ[11] privilegio singularius excellit et præcellit. Hinc Martia pubes, potenter egressa,[12] vires quas in tirociniis[13] exercitaverat, in hostem audentius exserit: et imaginaria bellorum prolusione postposita,[14] pugnaces animos ad verum[15] Martem

Arrival of Bishop Philip of Beauvais, and the Counts of Dreux, Brienne, and Bar.

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[1] *augescit*] augetur, G.
[2] *Gentiles*] Gentilem, G.
[3] *ostentationem*] ostentionem, C.
[4] *veri*] cum, B.
[5] *XXIX.*] XXXII., A.
[6] *episcopus Belvacensis*] tr. A.
[7] *vir . . . armariis*] in armis deditus quam armariis, C.
[8] *militia*] malitia, A.
[9] *et*] in, ins. C.
[10] *Venit et . . . plurimi*] om. A. G.
[11] *militiæ*] om. A.
[12] *egressa*] aggressa, A.
[13] *tirociniis*] Turonicis, A.
[14] *postposita*] proposita, G.
[15] *ad verum*] om. C.; nostrum, B.

A.D. 1189. September.

Arrival of Lewis, Landgrave of Thuringia,

intendit. Adeo quidem tam Angli quam Franci conceptæ devotionis calore ducuntur, quod regibus suis non expectatis, Regi Regum obsequium præstituri præcurrunt. De Germania quoque vir quidam illustris et potens accedit, quem lingua Teutonica Landegravum dicunt, quod juxta rationem nominis, terræ comes, quasi per excellentiam dictum sonare videtur. Hic Marchionem, a rege Guidone dissentientem, Achon venire persuadet, cum prius propter discidium accedere detrectasset. Scimus historiæ legem interdum deposcere ut nomina principum, qui negotiis gerendis assistunt, singulatim scripto mandentur;[1] quod ipsi etiam quodam pruritu gloriæ nonnunquam affectant; e contra solet auribus teneris hac in parte semper[2] tractatus videri longior, et ituras in tædium voces delicatus auditor minus acceptat. Nos ergo in enumerandis principibus castigatius occupabimur, sed cum ipsa rerum gestarum series occasionem obtulerit, de singulis quis quid egerit insigne dicemus.[3] Nos autem in hac parte plus brevitatem quam prolixitatem eligentes nomina multorum advenientium exprimere non curavimus.[4]

who persuades the Marquis Conrad to come to the siege; (Sept. 24, *Diceto*, 648).

[5] *Quomodo Guido rex cum Templariis et Hospitalariis et cum cœteris peregrinis qui aderant, castra Gentilium insiliunt, sed ab oppidanis infestantur et utrinque multi cœduntur, inter quos et Gerardus de Bidefordia Magister Templi occubuit cum multis aliis, mille et quingentis scilicet de nostris.*

King Guy, with the knights and others, attacks the

Igitur[6] adaucto fidelium numero, cum jam exercitus amplior ad opus arduum aggrediendum sufficeret, placuit omnibus ut vicina[7] Gentilium castra se toties

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[1] *mandentur*] mandarentur, C.

[2] *semper*] om. A.

[3] *Nos . . . dicemus*] om. B.

[4] *Nos . . . curavimus*] om. A. G.

[5] *Quomodo . . . nostris*] om. A.

[6] *Igitur*] Sane, A. G.

[7] *vicina*] mœnia, B.

A.D. 1189.
camp of the Saracens on Tel-Ajadia; (October 4. *Diceto*, 648. *Bohadin* 103.)

impugnantia,[1] pervaderent et impugnarent. Mons quidam[2] Turoni, quem supra descripsimus, objectus eminet; hic hostis papiliones fixerat, et ingens camporum interjecta planities, aream bellis accommodam latius explicabat. Huc acies e castris in plana descendit, et ibidem in ordines distributa per turmas digeritur,[3] ita quidem quod levior armatura cum arcubus et balistis præcedit; subsequitur belli robur præcipuum equis, armis, et variis effulgens insignibus. Ignem vero animi facies et gestus indicant: fidelibus ad votum, hostibus ad terrorem. Dispositis agminum ordinibus, seriatim processerunt rex Guido, Templarii, Hospitalarii, comes Brenensis, Landegravus, singuli cum cuneis suis.[4] Fuit qui, acie perspecta, ex nimia voluptate luxurians, dixisse præsumeret: "Quæ potentia " prævalebit? quæ multitudo resistet? Deus nec nobis " nec adversariis adjutor veniat, victoria in nostra " virtute consistat.[5]" Vox certe pessima et omnino damnabilis, quæ in homine, non in Numine belli eventum constituit, cum sine Deo nil possit homo; quod quidem experimento flebili, rerum exitus declaravit. Stabant Turci pro castrorum defensione unanimes, et cum nostri propius accessissent, laxato[6] peditum præcedentium cuneo, equos in hostem audacter admittunt. Versus in fugam Gentilis castra deserit; Christicolæ a persequendo desistunt, et spoliis inhiant: papilionum præciduntur funes, et ipsius Soldani tentoria comes de Baro[7] animosus invadit. Interea de urbe ingens hostium multitudo prorumpit, qui ex ea parte qua civitas inobsessa erat, egressi, obliquis meatibus ad montana contendunt. Porro, ex industria sinuato procedunt anfractu, ut nostris sub incerto positis, an castra veniant an exercitum pervasuri, exercitum

The town's people create a diversion by a sally,

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[1] *se . . . impugnantia*] om. A. G.
[2] *quidam*] quidem, A.
[3] *digeritur*] dirigitur, C.
[4] *Dispositis . . . suis*] om. A. G.
[5] *consistat*] consistit, A. G.
[6] *laxato*] lassato, A.
[7] *Baro*] Barro, A.

A.D. 1189. October 4. and surround the victorious crusaders.

subito[1] occupent, et a tergo concludant. Militia Templi, qua nulla insignior, jam cuneos hostiles cædi devota perruperat;[2] quod si cæteri pari voto persequendis institissent hostibus, dies illa felicem tam urbis quam belli victoriam reportasset. Cumque longius fortunam secuti et animum,[3] Templarii processissent, in eos subito irruunt oppidani; et quanquam innumeri paucos opprimant, non sine multa[4] tamen suorum strage triumphant. Ibi Magister Militiæ Templi[5] Gerardus de Bidefordia,[6] cujus supra fecimus mentionem,[7] cæsus occumbit. Felix cui Dominus tantam[8] gloriam contulit ut lauream, quam tot bellis meruerat, martyrum collegio sociandus haberet. [9] Qui cum undique suorum stragem vidisset, et a collateralibus hortatus est fugere ne periret; "Absit," inquit, "ut vertatur in opprobrium et Templariis in scandalum, ut fugiendo dicar vitam servasse et commilitones meos cæsos reliquisse." Poterat quidem si vellet evasisse sed cum cæsis cæsus occubuit.

Noble and glorious death of Gerard of Bideford.

[10] *De infortunio et occisione quæ accidit nostris per equum cujusdam Alemanni fugientem.*

Rout of the Germans.

Parte alia, dum Alemanni ad prædas hiantius[11] convolant,[12] ecce! deceptor ille antiquus prætermeantem præsentat equum cujusdam Alemanni fugientem, quem ipse cum sociis suis insequebatur,[13] et dum illi certatim insectantur, fugere a nonnullis creduntur. Hac exigua

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[1] *subito*] subiti, A. G.
[2] *perruperat*] proruperat, A.
[3] *et animum*] Domini, Barth.
[4] *multa*] nulla, A.
[5] *Templi*] om. A. G.
[6] *Gerardus de Bidefordia*] Girardus de Riddefordia, A.; Riffordia, C.
[7] *fecimus mentionem*] tr. A. G.
[8] *Dominus tantam*] tr. A. B. G.
[9] *Qui . . . occubuit*] om. A. G.
[10] *De . . . fugientem*] om. A.
[11] *hiantius*] inhiantius, A.
[12] *convolant*] convasant, C.
[13] *antiquus . . . insequebatur*] antiquus quadrupedem prætermeantem præsentat, et dum, &c., A. G.

A.D. 1189. October 4.

sed exitiali occasione totus turbatur exercitus, omnes de fuga cogitant. Quinetiam[1] fama ingruens metum ingeminat; nam oppidanos ad diripiendas sarcinas exisse conclamant. Illic[2] bellorum ordo confunditur[3]: disperguntur cunei, nullus signorum respectus: ipsi duces ad fugam præcipites, et vix aliquis fiduciam concipit[4] resistendi.[5]

[CAPITULUM XXX.]

Victory of the Turks.

Turci, Christicolas turbari vident; casum mirantur, sed causam ignorant: et inopinatam[6] adepti victoriam, lora reflectunt, et animos resumunt, qui de militia potius quam de ritu habent, instantibus cedere, cedentibus instare; nam si fugas, fugient, si fugis, fugabunt. In hoc tam flebili[7] et infelici tumultu, Andreas de Breno[8] dum aliis, ne terga præbeant hostibus,[9] animosus inclamat, ab irruentibus Turcis perimitur, quem adeo supra omnes Francos virtus extulerat, ut ei militiæ primatu concesso, cæteri de laude secunda certarent. Frater ejus comes Brenensis, non inscius præterivit collapsum; vocatus quidem subsistere timuit, et gloriam quam casus obtulerat, ignavia declinavit. Cæterum miles quidam, cum Jacobum de Avennis equo perturbatum conspiceret, mox equum cui fugiens insidebat ei contradidit, et mortem domini sui, morte sua laudandus redemit. Rex etiam[10] Guido Marchiso, cum ab hostibus opprimeretur, accessit adjutor, et licet injuriæ præcessissent et simultas subisset,[11] humanitatis tamen obse-

Death of Andrew of Brienne

Noble conduct of King Guy,

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[1] *etiam*] et, G.

[2] *Illic*] Licet, A.; Ilice, G.

[3] *confunditur*] confringitur, A.

[4] *aliquis . . . concipit*] aliqui . . . concipiunt, A. G.

[5] It is here that the letter of the emperor Frederic is inserted in MS. A.: which from this point to Cap. XLIV. ceases to number the chapters.

[6] *inopinatam*] inopinam, A. B. G.

[7] *tam flebili*] tamen debili, A.

[8] *de Breno*] om. C.

[9] *hostibus*] om. A. B. G.

[10] *etiam*] om. C.

[11] *subisset*] subesset, A. G.

A.D. 1189. October 4.

and his brother Geoffrey.

quium præbuit indigno et eripuit periturum. Frater regis Gaufridus de Lizenan,[1] videns aciem turbari et omnes de fuga contendere, castrorum curam quam defensandam[2] susceperat festinus deserit, et de fratris salute sollicitus, refugos detenturus procurrit. O! rerum miseranda mutatio! Christicolæ confisi exierant, et revertuntur confusi, seriatim incesserant et sparsim redeunt; hostem victores fugaverant, et victi recurrunt. Agnoscat tandem humana præsumptio, quid homo, quid vires hominis nisi dextera Domini faciat virtutem; et Ille in Suis potenter operetur victoriam, qui et fiduciam præstat pugnanti[3] et vincenti coronam.

Reflexions on the battle.

In tantum[4] de viribus suis præsumpserant,[5] [6]ut quem timerent hostem crederent[7] inveniri non posse:[8] sed eum postmodum nimis propinquum experti, suorum mille ac quingentos perdidere.[9] Erat miles quidam, Ferrandus nomine, qui nudus et exanimis relictus, cum inter pereuntes[10] delitesceret, nocte regressus ad castrum[11] propter deformitatem vulnerum a suis agnosci non potuit: et vix impetravit admitti. Varios rerum eventus et modos interfectionum diversos, licentiosus[12] poeta, vel longus prosequatur tractator. Nos brevitas lege arctiori continet; nec qualiter, sed quid acciderit dixisse indulget. Salahadinus Christicolarum cadavera comportari, et in fluvium prætermeantem projici jubet; ut undarum devoluta[13] impulsu, vel metum conspecta incutiant, vel aquas[14] resoluta corrumpant.

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[1] *de Lizenan*] om. A. C.

[2] *quam defensandam*] quæ defensanda, B G.

[3] *pugnanti*] pugnandi, A.

[4] *In tantum*] Sane, ins. G.

[5] *præsumpserant*] præsumpserunt, C.

[6] *ut . . . posse*] in hoc unum timerent, hostem inveniri non posse, G.

[7] *crederent*] credebant, A. om. G.

[8] *inveniri non posse*] tr. A.

[9] *perdidere*] perdiderunt, A.

[10] *pereuntes*] peremptos, A. G.

[11] *castrum*] castra, A.

[12] *licentiosus*] licentiosius, A. B.

[13] *devoluta*] revoluta, A.

[14] *aquas*] aquis, G.

[CAPITULUM XXXI.][1]

[2] *Nostri de die in diem numero crescentes, dum fossatis a mari usque ad mare*[3] *faciendis intendunt, graviter a Saracenis*[4] *lœduntur.*

A.D. 1189.

The Crusaders intrench their own camp, and completely invest Acre.

Porro principes nostri, a marte publico aliquamdiu temperandum censentes, castris delimitandis[5] et decubandis insistunt, et aggerem congesto cespite fossisque profundioribus, a mari ad mare, muniendis tentoriis circumducunt. Marchisus autem et Hospitalarii locum obsidione vacantem audacter occupant: et jam urbs tota terra marique tenetur obsessa. [6] Nostris itaque fossis faciendis magnopere insistentibus, Turci sine intermissione imminebant, quos et a mane usque ad vesperam se vicissim alternantes non cessabant infestare. Oportuit igitur partem operantem alteram partem defendere ab eorum insultibus: quales autem æstimamus, impetus irrequietos sustinentes, missilium et sagittarum imbribus obtenebrato aere irruentibus, numerum quidem excedentibus et æstimationem! Nostri omni conamine operabantur et Turci eos dolebant[7] proficere. Crebris igitur congressionibus[8] nunc hos nunc illos, ut casus est belli, videres prosterni, et in ima rotari. Taliter itaque tempore non modico nostris agonizantibus, doluit Dominus super eos, et numerum fidelium in dies singulos corroborans et adaugens, non dereliquit omnino sperantes in eum. Confluebant igitur a diversis partibus orbis principes, duces, comites, et inferioris ordinis quam plurimi, quorum sunt hæc[9] nomina: Comes de

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[1] Om. A.

[2] *Quod*, ins. A.

[3] *a mari usque ad mare*] circa urbem, A.

[4] *Saracenis*] Turcis, A.

[5] *delimitandis et decubandis*] deliminandis, A. B. G.

[6] *Nostris . . . tentabant*] om. G.

[7] *eos dolebant*] tr. A.

[8] *congressionibus*] congressibus, A. B.

[9] *sunt hæc*] tr.

A.D. 1189.

Arrival of French, Flemish, Danish, German, and Italian nobles;

Ferrariis, Nargevot de Toci,[1] Ancelinus[2] de Monte Regali, Gaufridus de Gienvilla,[3] Otho de Fossa, Willelmus Goez,[4] vicecomes de Castello Eraldi,[5] Vicecomes de Turena,[6] castellanus de Bruges,[7] archiepiscopus[8] Pisanus, comes quoque Bertulfus, comes Nicholaus de Hungaria,[9] comes Bernardus, comes Jocelinus,[10] comes Ricardus de Apulia, comes Alebrandus,[11] Ingelramnus[12] de Vienis, Herveius de Gienis,[13] Theobaldus[14] de Baro, comes Johannes de Loegria, alter comes Johannes[15] de Seis. Cum nepote quoque regis Daciæ, venerunt Danorum magnates aliquot cum quadringentis Dacis. Venit tunc Guido de Danpiera,[16] episcopus quoque Veronensis, cives etiam aliquot Romani. Omnes hi et quamplures alii futuri martyres et confessores applicantes, numero conjuncti sunt fidelium. Vere quidem martyres, quorum non minor pars in brevi decessit, tum fœtore cadaverum, aere corrupto, tum vigiliis sollicitis consumpta, aliis[17] injuriis et penuriis afflicta, quia non dabatur requies vel tempus respirandi, sine intermissione insistentibus Turcis nostris fossam operantibus, et inopinatis insultibus irruentibus, et ad amaritudinem perducentibus animas eorum, quousque tandem perfecta est fossa. Postea siquidem obsidione disposita, urbem coarctare tentabant.

all destined to be martyrs or confessors.

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[1] *Toci*] Tuci, A.

[2] *Ancelinus*] Anselmus, A. B.

[3] *Gienvilla*] Geenvilla, B.

[4] *Goez*] Voez, B.

[5] *Eraldi*] Erandi, A.

[6] *Turena*] Turoma, A.; Thoronia, B.; Turona, C.

[7] *Bruges*] Bruggis, A.

[8] *Archiepiscopus*] etiam, ins. A. B.

[9] *Hungaria*] Hungria, A.; Hungeria, B.

[10] *Jocelinus*] Gocelinus, B.

[11] *Alebrandus*] Adelbrandus, B.

[12] *Ingelramnus*] Ingelrandus, A.

[13] *Herveius de Gienis*] om. B.

[14] *Theobaldus*] Theobaudus, A.; Tedbaldus, B.

[15] *Johannes*] om. B.

[16] *Guido de Danpiera*] Guido Daperiera, A.; Wido de Danpira, B.

[17] *aliis*] que, ins. A. B.

[CAPITULUM XXXII.[1]]

Descriptio urbis Achon et locorum circa adjacentium.

A.D. 1189.

Description of Acre.

Rerum[2] ordo deposcit, nec alienum credimus a proposito,[3] locorum descriptionem quandoque perstringere; ut civitas tanta, tum sui magnificentia, tum vario bellorum eventu famosa,[4] obsequio nostro clarior innotescat. Si enim decennale bellum Trojam reddidit celebrem; si Christicolarum triumphus Antiochiam illustrius extulit; Achon profecto perpetua fama extollet, pro qua pariter totus orbis confluxit.[5] Hæc formam sortita triangulam ab occasu contractior, ab ortu spatio latiore diffunditur, et parte plus tertia, præterlapso æquore ab Austro et Occidente ambitur. Portus sane minus quam oporteat opportunus, hyemantes carinas sæpius fallit et frangit; nam rupes objecta quæ littori[6] formam commodat, irruentis procellæ impetum brevitate sui ægre propulsat. Et quia rupes[7] illa extis abluendis videbatur accommoda, ibi apud veteres sacrificia celebrari solebant: unde propter carnes immolatitias, quas muscæ sequebantur, turris quæ modo supraposita[8] eminet, Turris Muscarum appellatur. Est et Turris quam Maledictam nominant, et muro qui urbem amplectitur insidet; quæ si vulgi opinio fidem meretur, hoc ideo nomen inde sumpsit;[9] nam argentei quibus Dominum Judas proditor vendidit, ibi facti fuisse dicuntur. Supra Turonem vero, qui urbi vicinus incumbit, civitas Ptolemais[10] nomine,

Why the Cursed Tower, and Tower of Flies are so called.

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[1] Om. A.

[2] *Rerum*] Verum, A.

[3] *credimus a proposito*] tr. G.

[4] *eventu famosa*] tr. G.

[5] *confluxit*] conflixit, G.

[6] *littori*] littoris, G.

[7] *rupes*] rupis, A. B. C.

[8] *supraposita*] om. A.

[9] *inde sumpsit*] insumpsit, G.

[10] *Ptolemais*] Tholomais, A. B. G.

A.D. 1189.

The Hills of Turon, and of the Mosque.

The River Belus.

Europe, Asia, and Africa meet at Acre

olim sita[1] fuerat; unde antiquitatis errore, Achon Ptolemaida[2] nonnulli appellant. Collis autem quem Mahumeriam dicunt, Turoni propinquus consurgit, ubi sepulcrum Memnonis esse[3] testis tradit antiquitas: sed cujus obsequio fuerit illuc delatus, nec[4] scriptum legimus, nec audivimus referentem. Porro fluvium, qui urbi allabitur, Belum[5] nominant, et licet alveo angusto nec alto[6] decurrat, ejus tamen gloriam Solinus non[7] levem asserit, quem inter mirabilia[8] mundi commendans, ipsum arenis[9] vitreis ditari proponit. Erat enim fossa quædam arenaria, cujus arenæ vitri conficiendi præbebant materiam: quod si exterius sumptæ, omnino erant inutiles; si vero casu intromissæ, mox loci virtute occulta vitream assumebant naturam. Haud procul a fluvio, rupes[10] humilis urbi vicina monstratur, ad quam tres mundi partes, Asiam, Europam, et Africam,[11] conterminari perhibent; et cum tractus cæteros illæ divisim contineant, locus iste solus nulli cedens parti,[12] exceptus et liber effulget. Mons Carmelus a parte urbis Australi sublimis exsurgit, ubi Helyas Thesbites, modici paratus domicilium[13] habuisse dignoscitur,[14] quod adhuc ipsius[15] spelunca testatur: et quanquam descriptionis ambitus ad amœna sæpius evagari consuevit, nos tamen circumjacentium locorum delicias ad præsens omittimus, dum ad alia stilus Martius[16] tramite cœpto decurrat.[17]

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[1] *sita*] si ita, B.

[2] *Ptolemaida*] Tholomaidam, A. B. G.

[3] *Memnonis esse*] esse Mennonis, A.; Mennonis, B. G.

[4] *nec*] non, G.

[5] *Belum*] Bellum, C. G.

[6] *nec alto*] nunc, A. B.

[7] *non*] haud, G.

[8] *mirabilia*] miracula. A. There is nothing like this in the extant remains of Solinus; see Tacitus, *Hist.* v. 7; Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* xxxvi. 26; and the Travels of Sir John Maundeville, ch. v.

[9] *arenis*] harenis, A. G.; so also *harenaria* and *harenæ*.

[10] *rupes*] rupis, A. B. C.

[11] *Africam*] Affricam, MSS.

[12] *parti*] partem, G.

[13] *paratus domicilium*] tr. A.

[14] *dignoscitur*] dinoscitur, A.

[15] *ipsius*] om. A. B.

[16] *Martius*] Martis, B.

[17] *decurrat*] decurrit, A. G.

[Capitulum XXXIII.][1]

Oppidanis in tantum famem patientibus ut deditionem urbis offerrent, subvenit Salahadinus[2] cum[3] quinquaginta galeis missis, quibus galeæ nostræ sunt fugatæ.[4]

A.D. 1189. Oct 31.

Saladin sends fifty galleys to relieve Acre.

Achon igitur cum nostri undique obsidione cinxissent, cœpere oppidani, consumptis victualibus, inedia graviore affligi, adeo ut urbem reddendam offerrent, si salvis facultatibus liberi sinerentur abire. Hæc pactio principibus omnino displicuit; decreverant enim, vel ultima necessitate coactos ad vota subdere, vel potius expugnandi gloriam omni studio comparare. Dumque protractius de urbe reddenda tractatur, Soldanus[5] interim, quinquaginta galeas apud Alexandriam viris, victualibus et armis sufficienter instruxerat, quas[6] suis in subsidium Achon transmittit. Igitur vigilia Omnium Sanctorum,[7] simul omnes accedunt, quibus eminus conspectis, rumor incertus vaticinantem populum in varia distrahit. Pars enim hostem adesse nunciat, pars Christicolarum venisse auxilia constanter affirmat. [8]Hæsitantibus igitur quinam fuerint venturi, subito præcipitaverunt se[9] in civitatem et unam etiam navem nostram victualibus onustam, in itinere in portu inventam secum abduxerunt violenter in urbem.[10] His diutius cibariis contenti, nostris solito acerbius improperantes insistebant. Sed nec navem nostram onerariam diripuisse contenti; ipsos vero nautas et omnes in eadem navi repertos[11] immisericorditer per-

Capture of a provision ship,

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[1] Om. A.

[2] *Salahadinus*] Soldanus, A.

[3] *cum*] om. A.

[4] *sunt fugatæ*] captæ vel fugatæ sunt, A.

[5] *Soldanus*] Saldanus, A.; Salahadinus, B.

[6] *quas*] quos, G.

[7] *Igitur vigilia Omnium Sanctorum*] Crastina vero natalis Domini, G.

[8] *Hæsitantibus . . . eorum*] om. G.

[9] *præcipitaverunt se*] tr. A. B.

[10] *urbem*] civitatem, B.

[11] *repertos*] compertos,

A.D. 1189. November 1. and death of the crew.

emptos, in circuitu murorum suspenderunt, ipsa die festo[1] Omnium Sanctorum. Præterea prædictæ hostium galeæ portum civitatis et exitum observabant et introitum, ita quod in auxilio nostrorum nemo[2] præsumeret accedere propter metum eorum, ne forte incideret in manus eorum.[3]

Dec. 26.

De venientibus classibus de Babylonia ad civitatem Achon.[4]

The Turkish fleet, being reinforced from Egypt, breaks up the naval blockade.

Sed et crastino[5] natalis Domini, advenienti classi Babylonicæ[6] quædam[7] de galeis nostris, æstimans Christicolarum adventum in subsidium nostrum, minus provide inquisitura occurrit; et cum ea minor cymba quam vulgo galionem nominant, quæ levitate sui nimis temere properans, dum amicos invenisse confidit, in hostes medios[8] procurrit. Vox quidem respondentium nulla,[9] et suspecta silentia pacem inficiantur, quod nautæ miseri attendentes, in mare protinus se præcipites mittunt, et nandi beneficio utcunque perituri evadunt. Sic igitur maris ea parte ab hostibus occupata, nostris galeis,[10] quæ longe pauciores erant, fugæ furtivæ subsidio Tyrum digressis, jam urbi muniendæ liber aditus et egressus per mare hostibus[11] patescit. Eo tempore, dum Alemanni magno apparatu machinam molendinariam fabricassent, in emolumentum victualium, gyrantibus equis, crepitantibus molis circumactis, Turci contemplantes avidius molam agitatam[12] æstimabant aliquod esse instrumentum in eorum exitium, vel ad expugnandam civitatem. Nunquam enim antea hujusmodi mola asinaria visa est in terra illa.[1] A.D. 1189.

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[1] *festo*] om. A.

[2] *in auxilio nostrorum nemo*] nemo in auxilium nostrorum, A. B.

[3] *ne . . . eorum*] om. B.

[4] *De . . . Achon*] om. A.

[5] *et*] in, ins. A.; Sed et, om. B.

[6] *Sed et . . . Babylonicæ*] om. G.

[7] *quædam*] verum quidam de galeis nostris, quinam veniant inquisitura occurrit, et cum ea, &c., G.

[8] *medios*] heu! nuncium salutis latura procurrit, G.

[9] *nulla*] nonnulla, A.

[10] *Sic igitur . . . galeis*] Sic igitur maris obsidione soluta, nostrisque galeis, G.

[11] *hostibus*] om. G.

[12] *agitatam*] agitantem, A.

[CAPITULUM XXXIV.]

De pugna navali inter classem Marchisii et nostrorum, classemque[2] *hostium, et de victoria nostra.*

A.D. 1190. Before Easter (Mar. 25.)

The Marquis having visited Tyre, returns to the siege of Acre.

Serenato[3] tempore, cum jam Pascha instaret, Marchisus qui classis reparandæ causa Tyrum secesserat,[4] rogatus a nostris, a Tyro cum ingenti apparatu, et copia virorum, et armorum et victualium revertitur: rursumque maris imperium vendicant nostri, et venturis navibus tutior[5] expeditur accessus.[6] Principum enim[7] procurante consilio, rex et Marchisus eo pacificantur obtentu, ut[8] Marchio Tyrum, Beritum[9] et Sidonem possidens regis et regni profectibus fideliter et viribus totis intendat. Verum semper in lævum præceps ambitio cor cupidum et iniquum subvertit, nam regni obtinendi desiderio æstuans, fidem promissam violat, et hostem interius occulit, amicum foris prætendit. Sane oppidani ereptam sibi libertatem æquoris gravius sustinent, et quid[10] bello navali possint experiri decernunt. Galeas igitur binas et binas educunt, et ordinem in processu decorum servantes, ad alta maris remigant obviam venientibus pugnaturi. E contra nostri classem conscendunt belligeram, flexuque obliquo tendentes in lævum, spatio remotiore secedunt, ut liber hostibus non denegetur accessus:[11] quos adve- Sea fight.

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[1] *Eo tempore . . . illa*] om. G.

[2] *classemque*] et classem, A.

[3] *Serenato*] Elapso, G.

[4] *qui . . . secesserat*] om. A. B.

[5] *venturis navibus tutior*] tr. G.

[6] *rursumque . . . accessus*] om. A. B.

[7] *enim*] etenim, A. B.; autem, G.

[8] *ut*] om. A.

[9] *Beritum*] Serithum, A.

[10] *Sane . . . quid*] Oppidani vero classem comperientes venientem, quid, A. B.

[11] *E contra . . . accessus*] om. A. B.

A.D. 1190. March. Sea fight.

Description of ancient and modern ships of war.

nientes nostri se[1] præparantes excipere, cum nullum pateat subterfugium, animosius expediunt se irruentibus obviare.[2] Et quia navalis[3] mentio incidit, consequens arbitramur ut bellicam classem sermo succinctus describat, et quali utuntur moderni et qualem instituerunt[4] antiqui. Apud veteres siquidem, in hujusmodi navibus numerosior exigebatur ordo remorum, quibus gradatim per tabulata distincta surgentibus, undas alii longissimo, alii breviore vexabant impulsu. Ternos autem vel quaternos ordines sæpius habebant, et quinos interdum, sed et senos naves quædam in Actiaco prælio, cum adversus Antonium dimicaret Augustus, habuisse leguntur. Porro bellatrices carinas dixerunt liburnas.[5] Est enim Liburnia pars Dalmatiæ, ubi classis Actiaci belli præcipua facta fuerat: unde inolevit usus, ut apud antiquos naves bellicæ dicerentur Liburnæ. Cæterum omnis illa vetustatis magnificentia imminuta defluxit; nam classis bellica, quæ senis olim decurrebat ordinibus, nunc binos raro excedit. Quod autem antiqui dixere liburnam, moderni galeam, media producta, nominant: quæ longa, gracilis, et parum eminens, lignum a prora præfixum habet, quod[6] vulgo calcar dicitur, quo rates hostium transfiguntur percussæ. Galiones[7] vero, uno remorum ordine contenti, brevitate mobiles, et facilius flectuntur, et levius discurrunt, et ignibus jaculandis aptiores existunt. Cum igitur prælium navale gesturi hinc inde processissent nostri, non acies directas, sed incurvas disponunt, ut si hostis tentet irrumpere, intrinsecus opprimatur conclusus.[8] Cornibus itaque in speciem lunæ productis, in[9] fronte validiores consistunt,[10] quibus et acrior infligatur impetus, et hostium propulsetur incursus. In superioribus vero tabulatis clypei per gyrum[1] disponuntur conserti;[2] et in imo[3] consident[4] remiges, ut spatio liberiore dimicent qui ad pugnam in supremo consistunt. Mare quidem omnino silens et placidum, tanquam bello excipiendo devotum, mitescit, adeo ut unda interfluens, nec intendentis ictum, nec remigantis fallat impulsum. Congressi propius, tubis utrinque insonant; clangorem terrificum miscent: missilibus primo contendunt. Et[5] nostri Divinam opem invocant, remisque incumbunt obnixius, et naves adversas suarum rostris elidunt. Mox bellum conseritur; implicantur remi: cominus decertatur. Alternis injectionibus rates alligant, et oleo incendiario, quod ignem Græcum vulgo[6] nominant tabulata succendunt.

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[1] *se*] om. A.

[2] *quos advenientes . . . . . obviare*] om. G.

[3] *navalis*] belli, ins. A.

[4] *instituerunt*] instituere, G.

[5] *dixerunt liburnas*] tr. A. G. B.

[6] *quod*] et, C.

[7] *Galiones*] Galeones, A.

[8] *conclusus*] exclusus, A.

[9] *in*] a, G.

[10] *consistunt*] constituunt, A. G.

A.D. 1190.

The battle begins.

De igne Græco, et quomodo poterit extingui.[7]

Ignis iste[8] pernicioso fœtore, flammisque liventibus, silices et ferrum consumit: et[9] cum aquis vinci nequeat,[10] arena respersus comprimitur, aceto perfusus sedatur. Quid autem navali conflictu asperius? quid sævius? ubi tam varium congressos fatum involvit; nam flammis torquentur exusti: fluctibus absorbentur naufragi:[11] armis pereunt vulnerati. Erat galea quædam, quam dum nostri temere moderantur, latus hosti vicinum invergit: sicque ignibus injectis succensa[12] Turcos undique insilientes admittit. Remiges vero in mare protinus exterriti[13] dilabuntur; at[14] pauci milites quos

Greek Fire.

Description of the battle.

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[1] *per gyrum*] om. A.
[2] *conserti*] conferri, A.
[3] *imo*] uno, G.
[4] *consident*] considunt, G.
[5] *Et*] At, G.
[6] *vulgo*] vulgus, G.
[7] *De . . . extingui*] om. A.
[8] *iste*] Græco, B.
[9] *et*] om. A.
[10] *nequeat*] nesciat vel nequeat, A.
[11] *naufragi*] naufragii, B.
[12] *succensa*] succensam, A.
[13] *exterriti*] exerciti, A.
[14] *at*] ac, A.

A.D. 1190.

The Christians are victorious, after a very hard struggle.

arma graviora impediunt, et nandi inscitia detinet, pugnandi fiduciam ex desperatione assumunt.[1] Pugna impar committitur, sed in virtute Domini pauci multos[2] exsuperant:[3] ratemque semiustam, cæsis hostibus, triumphantes reducunt. Aliam vero jam hostis, victor superioris tabulati, bellatoribus depulsis invaserat, at illi[4] quibus inferior statio fuerat deputata, remorum auxilio elabi contendunt. Mirum quidem et miserandum certamen: nam remis in diversa tendentibus, nunc huc nostris, nunc illuc Turcis agitantibus[5] galea depellitur. Nostri tamen prævalent, et hostis superius remigans, Christicolarum superventu detrusus succumbit. In hac navali congressione, galeam pariter et galionem cum suis vectoribus[6] pars perdit adversa; nostrique solemnem triumphum[7] illæsi et læti[8] reportant. Galeam itaque hostilem secum trahentes in aridam, utriusque sexus ex nostris occurrentibus in littore victores exposuerunt diripiendam. Mulieres igitur nostræ Turcos cæsarie rapta protrahentes, capite detruncabant, probrose tractantes et abjectius jugulantes. Quarum quanto manus infirmior, tanto pœna dilatione mortis protractior; cultellis enim non gladiis amputabant capita eorum. Non est visa similis[9] pugna navalis tam exitialis, tanto confecta periculo vel consummata impendio.[10]

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[1] *assumunt*] sumunt, B.

[2] *pauci multos*] milites, A.; tr. G.

[3] *exsuperant*] exsuperantes, G.

[4] *illi*] hii, A. B. G.

[5] *nunc huc . . . . agitantibus*] nec huc nec illuc, G.

[6] *vectoribus*] victoribus, A.

[7] *triumphum*] triumphi gloriam, G.; et, add. B.

[8] *illæsi et læti*] tr. B.

[9] *visa similis*] tr. A.

[10] *Galeam itaque . . . impendio*] om. G.

[CAPITULUM XXXV.][1]

Interim Turci exteriores fossata nostra terra implere conantes,[2] nostris intra positis feroces faciunt insultus.

A.D. 1190.

[3] Interea exercitus Turcorum exterior, ex victoria nostrorum altius ingemiscentes, pertinacius conglobati irruerunt in nostros qui infra fossam perfectam[4] continebantur, ut vel fossam[5] obturarent humo rejecta implentes, vel resistentes perimerent. Quorum impetum ægre excipientes nostri maximo decertabant labore, quia tantæ multitudini innumerabili impares videbantur, tum quia semper crescebat numerus irruentium, tum quia et ex parte civitatis cavendum erat, ne forte et ipsi irrumpentes in eos irruerent. Inter oppugnantes erat[6] quædam gens larvalis nimis, vehemens et pertinax, natura[7] deformis, sicut et aliis erat dissimilis animis, nigro[8] colore, enormi statura, feritate immanes, pro galeis habentes in capitibus rubra tegumenta, ferreis hirsutas dentibus clavas gestantes in manibus, quarum ictibus quassanda nec cassis resisteret vel lorica. Mahumeti[9] effigiem incisam pro signo habebant. Hujus protervæ gentis tanta fuit multitudo, quod in fossam irruentes alii aliis cederent collisi in terram. Irrequietis igitur insultibus debacchantes, nostros tanta affecerunt perplexitate,[10] quod qua parte esset[11] cavendum ambigerent. Nusquam enim securitas, nunquam requies, angebantur undique, nunc observantes se ab obsessis

The Turkish army attempt to force their way into the intrenched camp, from the outside.

Blacks in Saladin's army.

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[1] Om. A.

[2] *conantes*] curantes, A.

[3] *Interea . . . venientibus*] om. G.

[4] *perfectam*] om. A. B.

[5] *fossam*] perfectam, add. A. B.

[6] *erat*] erant, B.

[7] *natura*] naturis, A.

[8] *nigro*] vigore, A.

[9] *Mahumeti*] Maumeti, B.

[10] *perplexitate*] prolixitate, A.

[11] *esset*] esse,

A.D. 1190. in urbe, nunc ab exterioribus continue imminentibus, nunc et a parte maris, galeis eorum sedentibus in insidiis, ut vel Turcos advenientes admitterent in urbem, vel Christicolis obviarent, nobis in subsidium[1] venientibus.

[CAPITULUM XXXVI.][2]

Nostri dum tribus turribus ligneis urbem insiliunt, oppidani deditionem offerunt, et dum ab hostibus inferioribus infestantur, machinæ eorum succenduntur.

The besiegers try to assault the city with three wooden towers.

Divinæ demum pietatis respectu, rejectis et repulsis adversariis, principes[3] nostri ad machinas quibus civitas oppugnetur, operam communem impendunt. Tres itaque turres ambulatorias de sylvæ siccioris materia construunt, quarum prima Landegravum, secunda Genuenses, tertia exercitum reliquum sortitur auctorem. Certanti[4] studio moles istæ consurgunt,[5] quas ex trabibus et tabulatis in altum eductas, lapsus volubilis[6] incitat, et quadam arte mechanica facilem ad motum inclinat. Artifices vero has machinas ne pereant incendio,[7] centonibus et coriis crudis[8] obvolvunt, et ut petrariarum impetus materia molliori exceptus non noceat,[9] reticulatos funes a fronte protendunt. Porro eminentiæ[10] turrium, supra murorum fastigia et urbis propugnacula sublimes, balistarios et sagittarios continent; at medias stationes occupant, qui sudibus et contis decertant. Singulis autem castris suæ applicantur petrariæ, et

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[1] *subsidium*] subsidiis, A.

[2] Om. A.

[3] *Divinæ . . . principes*] His factis, principes, G.

[4] *Certanti*] Certandi, G.

[5] *consurgunt*] consurgit, G.

[6] *volubilis*] mobilis, A.

[7] *pereant incendio*] tr. G.

[8] *crudis*] aridis, B.

[9] *noceat*] noceatur, C.

[10] *eminentiæ*] eminente, B.

A.D. 1190.

The towers are destroyed by fire; May 5.

lateratim[1] assistunt, quibus et machinæ productæ defendantur, et mœnia dejiciantur adversa. Oppidani vero jam penitus diffidentes, urbis deditionem offerunt, ita tamen ut ipsis abscedendi libertas, et res suas asportandi, non denegetur facultas. Nostris vero renuentibus, omnique nisu insistentibus, ut confectæ machinæ muris applicarentur, resistunt viriliter oppidani vicem reddentes oppugnantibus, et incursantibus talionem. Verum sabbato post Ascensionem Domini, muris[2] [3]machinis propius admotis, cum jam a mane usque ad vesperam acrius oppugnarent civitatem, ecce! exercitus Turcorum exterior irruens magno cum impetu catervatim se ingerit in fossam, ut oppugnaret a tergo impugnantes[4] civitatem, ut vel eos averteret vel omnino dissiparet. Igitur dum nostri hinc inde coerciti, utrinque divisi, se vel ab exterioribus irruentibus defenderent, vel urbi expugnandæ intenderent, et virtus minor fieret, quia partita in diversa, machinas nostras ignis[5] succendit[6] hostilis, quas nec potuit ulla diligentia extinguere, sed inutiles factæ sunt igne Græco consumptæ. Sicque[7] infelici casu triumphi spes excidit, quæ quanto prius[8] certior, tanto postmodum[9] tristior evanescit.

[CAPITULUM XXXVII.][10]

De fame oppidanorum et succursu per tres naves.[11]

Famine within the city.

[12]Obsessi vero jam victualibus nimium egentes affligebantur, ut equos suos consumerent, nec alterius

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[1] *lateratim*] litt^{r}atim, G.

[2] *muris*] om. G.

[3] *machinis . . . ignis*] om. G.

[4] *impugnantes*] impugnantem, A.

[5] *machinas nostras ignis*] admotas propius machinas ignis, G.

[6] *succendit*] consumit, G.

[7] *sed . . . Sicque*] et, G.

[8] *prius*] om. G.

[9] *postmodum*] om. G.

[10] Om. A.

[11] *per tres naves*] per galeas, A.

[12] *Obsessi. . . dispendium*] om. G.

A.D. 1190.

Sufferings of the besieged

generis bestiis parcentes, legis obliti sunt[1] Mahumeticæ, dum hianti satisfacerent gulæ, quos fames incitat ad esus nefandos. Interea Christianorum captivos seniores, quos præ senectute æstimabant inutiles, jaculabantur foras muros, exanimes: juniores vero vegetativos[2] et ad opera exercenda idoneos reservabant captivos. Sic igitur angustiatis Turcis, advenerunt tres naves onerariæ,[3] et se subito nautæ præcipitantes in urbem,[4] dum nostrorum metuunt occursum, quidam eorum passi sunt naufragium, salvis tamen navibus cum victualibus advectis. Unde obsessi nimia dissoluti lætitia tanquam voto eorum fuerit satisfactum, cum cymbalis et tibiis ululantes vocibus altisonis testati sunt se perplexos non esse. Fit igitur plausus ad indicium, ne putentur sustinere dispendium.

relieved by the arrival of three ships.

[CAPITULUM XXXVIII.][5]

Salahadinus congregatis exercitibus omnium regnorum suorum nostros impugnat, sed nostris viriliter resistentibus, confusus abscedit, filio suo perempto.[6]

Saladin brings up a larger force, outside;

Soldanus[7] interim totius Asiæ contractis copiis, quicquid Indum[8] a Tigri disterminat, quicquid Tigrim et Euphratem interjacet, quicquid inde ad mediterraneos porrigitur fluctus, simul in bella producit.[9] Ex Affrica vero gentes innumeræ confluunt, Nadabares,[10] Gætuli, et Numidæ, sed et populi meridionalis solis adustione[11] deformes, quos a Græco vocabulo Mauron,[12] quod nigrum sonat, Mauros[1] sive Mauritanos appellant. Sic ergo duæ mundi partes tertiam impetunt; et adversus duas Europa confligit, quæ sola nec tota Christi nomen agnovit. Porro Salahadinus plerosque[2] stipendiis excitat, et in sumptus tantos[3] pecunia dudum ante collecta suppetit; nam communi placito statuerant[4] Gentiles, ut morientes quicunque rerum suarum partem tertiam Legis defensoribus erogarent. Cæterum nonnulli quodam peregrinationis obtentu gratis veniunt, et pro Legis suæ cæremoniis defendendis contra Christicolas pugnaturi procedunt. Hanc igitur multitudinem undecunque[5] collectam tyrannus effundens, nimia luxuriat elatione,[6] et nostros audacter impetens, omnes vel captivos abducere, vel in ore gladii confidit exterminare.[7] Quod si Darium Persarum regem, cum septingentis millibus dimicasse legimus; in hoc præsens multitudo præjudicat, quod illa numerari potuit; istam vero nulla numeri certitudo concludit. Ingens illa planities, quæ a mari ad mare porrecta, longe lateque distenditur, tot millibus minus sufficit; et cum sinus laxiores camporum amplitudo explicet, loci tamen angustiam acies confertæ[8] causantur. Christicolæ, quibus hinc oppidani, hinc hostium instant[9] exercitus, utramque incursionem strenue sustinent, et dispositis ad fossata præsidiis, tam hos quam illos a castrorum irruptione propellunt. Sabbato Pentecostes insultus iste primo committitur, quem in dies octo protractum strages utrinque magna durius exarsisse testatur. Nostri dies festos sentiunt

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[1] *sunt*] om. A. B.

[2] *vegetativos*] vegetos, A. B.

[3] *onerariæ*] honeratæ, B.

[4] *urbem*] urbe, A.

[5] Om. A.

[6] *filio suo perempto*] om. A.

[7] *Soldanus*] Salahadinus, B.

[8] *Indum*] Indiam, A. B.

[9] *producit*] produceret, A.; producitur, G.

[10] *Nadabares*] Nadabaræ, A.

[11] *adustione*] ab ustione, A.

[12] *Mauron*] Mauros, B.

A.D. 1190.

which he has collected by various means,

and in countless numbers.

He attacks the camp on the Saturday

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[1] *Mauros*] om. A. B. C.

[2] *Salahadinus plerosque*] tr. G.

[3] *tantos*] nec, ins. A. as a correction.

[4] *statuerant*] statuerunt, A.

[5] *undecunque*] undecim, G.

[6] *luxuriat elatione*] tr. G.

[7] *confidit exterminare*] tr. G.

[8] *confertæ*] consertæ, A. B. G.

[9] *instant*] hostes, ins. C. wrongly; hostes instant, G.

A.D. 1190. in Whitsun-week, May 19, and continues it for eight days, to May 26.

infestos,[1] eos[2] tamen spiritus virtutis in confusionem hostium[3] corroborat: et qui olim apostolos ad prædicandum instruxit, nunc milites Suos ad pugnandum accendit. Universi autem edicto publico castrorum limites excedere inhibentur: nec est opus extra bellum quærere, et[4] cum propius inveniant provocantem. Tanta quidem instantium multitudo irruit, quod sagittæ casu emissæ frustra non evolant, nec quisquam ictus certos dirigit, ubi turba densior tot vulnerandos opponit. Octavo die unus filiorum Salahadini[5] balistæ jactu occumbit percussus, cujus obitus et cœptos insultus cohibet et exercitum hostilem exterret. Plurimi ergo in fines patrios redeunt. Christicolarum prorsus abhorrentes congressum: quos adversus tantam multitudinem tam strenue viderant decertasse.

[Capitulum XXXIX.][6]

Item de fame oppidanorum et succursu per galeas.

The famine increasing in Acre, is relieved by twenty-five ships. (June 15; *Bohadin*, 118.)

Fames interea oppidanos affligit, quibus ab Ægypto Soldanus[7] rates frugiferas noto[8] flante transmittit. Erant autem viginti quinque, sed tres majores, dum inter turrim Muscarum et rupem proximam tentant irrumpere, duæ quidem saxis confringuntur illisæ: tertia vero portu potitur illæsa. Venientes quippe a cœpto cursu nostrorum galeæ deturbaverant: quarum una, dum nimis temere fugientes insequitur, scopulis offensa deperit et dissipatur.

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[1] *sentiunt infestos*] tr. G.

[2] *eos*] eo, A.

[3] *virtutis in confusionem hostium*] virtutis infusione, G.

[4] *et*] om. G.

[5] *Salahadini*] Soldani, G.

[6] Om. A.

[7] *Soldanus*] Saldanus, A.; Salahadinus, B.

[8] *noto*] notho, MSS.

[CAPITULUM XL.[1]]

De infortunio nostrorum, quod ex bello accidit in die Sancti Jacobi,[2] sine consilio principum suorum suscepto.

A.D. 1190. July 25.

Battle on S. James's day.

Tractu temporis, cum exercitus otio longiore torpesceret, plebs rerum novarum cupida, principum incusat[3] ignaviam, et pari desiderio æstuans, se[4] vicissim invitat ad pugnam. Castra Gentilium, quia tam proxima, eos ad indignationem[5] movent: spolia distrahenda[6] cupidos incitant: victoriæ gloria pugnaces accendit. Tumultuariam ergo[7] conjurationem ineunt, et animi calore præcipiti, unanimes accinguntur ad bellum, principum non expetito assensu. Principes quidem, quantum possunt, ausus vulgi temerarios laborant comprimere. Sed et patriarcha sub anathemate inhibet, ne ducibus inconsultis hostem provocent, et belli discrimen[8] incurrant. Nihil tamen vel illorum dissuasio, vel hujus interminatio proficit; vincit enim furor consilium, rationem impetus, imperium multitudo. Vulgus, quocunque impellitur, temeritatem virtutem putat, id optimum quod optat judicans, et rerum exitu non expenso, corrigentem refugit, et[9] regentem contemnit. Die igitur Sancti Jacobi, die luctifica et infesta,[10] infelix illa gregariorum militum turba prorumpit; armati quidem prodeunt, sed minus provide venturum discrimen attendunt. Juventus sane insignis, juventus strenua et nulli cessura victori,[11] si caput nacta, si consultius ausa, si

The troops march out of the camp, without the consent of the princes.

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[1] *XL.*] XLIV., A.

[2] *in die S. Jacobi*] om. A.

[3] *incusat*] excusat, A.

[4] *se*] sese, G.

[5] *eos ad indignationem*] indignantes, G.

[6] *distrahenda*] detrahenda, A.

[7] *ergo*] vero, G.

[8] *discrimen*] discrimina, A., as a correction of *discrimine.*

[9] *et*] om. A. B. G.

[10] *infesta*] et, ins. A.

[11] *victori*] jactori,

A.D. 1190. July 25.

quantum spoliis tantum prœliis indulgeret. Verum dux agminis nullus, sibi[1] quisque miles, sibi ductor: signa propria vix agnoscunt, vix sequuntur: præcurrunt plurimi dum potius de præda cogitant quam de prælio,[2] perituri. Gentiles, visis prodeuntium turmis, metu dubii,[3] de industria paulisperque[4] cedunt: et sarcinis non asportatis, tentoria rebus variis opulenta relinquunt. Cæterum, sub declivo[5] montis proximi vires absconsas collocant; et missis[6] exploratoribus quid nostri velint, quid veniant inquisituri, subsistunt. Nepos Soldani[7] Techahadinus[8] eo tempore versus castrum Hymberti[9] tentoria fixerat: vir animis strenuus[10] et armis, scelere immanis, sævitia implacabilis, et nomini Christiano tam perniciosus quam invisus. Huc prædicta multitudo accelerat, huc prædæ libido cunctos excitat: minus quidem circumpositas locorum explorant insidias, qui jam de spoliis diripiendis contendunt. Plerique copia ciborum[11] inventa indulgent gulæ,[12] et armis depositis, nimium securi discumbunt,[13] tanquam ad epulas invitati. Turci vero, rebus quæ geruntur non incognitis mox undique ruunt, et voce, ut[14] solent, terribili personantes, plebem dispersam et stupidam facili triumpho prosternunt. De bello nullus, cuncti de fuga cogitant; sed pedites, sed armis onusti, sed siti et æstu exhausti nullatenus effugere possunt, quos hostis[15] eques et impiger insectatur. Passim namque fugati, passim fusi: nulli parcitur, nemo captivus servatur: suum furor non explet affectum, ira ferrum repetit, quod tædium per-

The Crusaders hurry towards the camp of Takieddin, in the direction of Casal Imbert: (probably Achzib.)

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[1] *sibi*] om. A.

[2] *cogitant de prælio*] tr. G.

[3] *metu dubii*] metu dubium an, G.

[4] *que*] om. A. B.

[5] *declivo*] clivo, G.

[6] *et missis*] emissis, B.

[7] *Soldani*] Salahadini, B.

[8] *Techahadinus*] Tecahadinus, A. B. G.

[9] *Hymberti*] Himberti, G.

[10] *strenuus et armis*] armis strenuus, G.

[11] *Plerique copia ciborum*] Plurimi, A.; Plurique copia arborum, B.

[12] *gulæ*] genio, G.

[13] *discumbunt*] succumbunt, A.

[14] *ut*] voce, ins. G.

[15] *hostis*] om.

A.D. 1190. July 25.

Terrible rout of the Crusaders.

cutientis abjecit. Quocunque[1] quemque metus[2] incitat, mortis occurrit necessitas. Inevitabile cunctis discrimen imminet: ubique hostis, ubique cædes: vulnerantur innumeri, et qui cæsi occumbunt quinque millia et quingenti[3] æstimantur. Audito fremitu, et strage conspecta, principes nostri[4] dissimulant: duri certe,[5] inhumani et impii, qui fratres suos coram se trucidari conspiciunt, nec opem perituris impendunt, quibus hoc solum fuit[6] pro crimine contra factam inhibitionem a castris exisse. Porro cæteris ex ignavia potius quam offensa hæsitantibus, archidiaconus Colecestriæ Radulfus de Alta Ripa,[7] laborantibus subvenit, lapsuris succurrit: vir statura spectabilis et forma:[8] quem laurus gemina et utriusque militiæ commendabat[9] perfectio, scientia scilicet præcluem et armis insignem. Hic postmodum cum plurima præstanter gessisset insignia, in eadem obsidione qua tunc laborabat, fine felici et commendabili diem clausit extremum.[10] Oppidani vero visis suorum successibus, animosi prorumpunt, et usque ad adjectionem ignium[11] de proximo papiliones invadunt.

Ralph of Hautrey Archdeacon of Colchester.

[CAPITULUM XLI.[12]]

De navibus peregrinorum in succursum nostrorum venientibus.

The Crusaders reinforced.

Hac[13] itaque tam flebili cæde peracta, cum robur nostrum jam ex parte multa decisum[14] esset, arrisit fortuna blandior, et allubescens[15] Favonius rates attulit armatis onustas. Interdum vero Gentilium classis nos-

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[1] *Quocunque*] Quo, G.

[2] *metus*] om. G.

[3] *quinque millia et quingenti*] quatuor millia, G.

[4] *nostri*] om. A.

[5] *certe*] et, ins. A.

[6] *fuit*] om. B. G.

[7] *Radulfus de Alta Ripa*] om. G.

[8] *spectabilis et forma*] tr. G.

[9] *commendabat*] commendat, G.

[10] *Hic . . . extremum*] om. G.

[11] *adjectionem ignium*] injectionem ædium, G.

[12] *XLI.*] XLV., A.

[13] *Hac*] Hic, G.

[14] *decisum*] descissum, A.

[15] *allubescens*] albescens, B.

A.D. 1190. July.

træ furtim permixta procedit; et tam lingua quam insignibus Christicolarum mentita paratus, inopinos et subitos ad urbem cursus subducit.

[CAPITULUM XLII.[1]]

Qui viri et quales bellatores, tam laici quam clerici, superioris et inferioris ordinis, in succursum nostrorum venerint.[2]

Arrival of Henry of Troyes, Count of Champagne,

Nostris igitur diuturno tribulationis igne perfectius excoctis, et gravissimis tentatis,[3] pervenientibus usque ad animam percussionibus, elimatis,[4] respexit Dominus qui non deserit sperantes in se, et doluit super eos, adducens ab extremis finibus terræ fortes auxiliarios, viros insignes, potentes in prælio, qui præteritam non tantum resarcirent exercitus amissi virtutem, immo et a[5] superabundanti ampliarent adjectione advenientium. Appulit[6] imprimis comes Trecarum Henricus de Campania cum manu militum valida. Venerunt et alii consequenter quamplurimi, quorum hæc sunt nomina, observato ordine adventus eorum recitanda. Venerunt isti: Comes Theobaldus[7] Blesensis,[8] sed trium mensium terminum non visurus, quia morte præventus est; venit et comes Stephanus,[9] comes de Claro Monte, comes de Scaloniis, Manserius de Garlanda, Bernardus de Sancto Walerico, Johannes de Pontiniaco comes,[10] Erardus de Castiniaco, Robertus de Buovis,[11] Alaunus

Theobald of Blois, Stephen of Sancerre, and the Count of Clermont.

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[1] *XLII.*] XLVI., A. The whole of this chapter is omitted in G.

[2] *venerint*] veniunt, A.

[3] *gravissimis tentatis*] Here B. reads "gravissimis temptatis," with an interlinear and marginal correction, *gravissime tempestate*, as if conjectural.

[4] *elimatis*] Left blank in C.

[5] *a*] om. A. B.

[6] *Appulit*] Impulit, B.

[7] *Theobaldus*] Teobaldus, A.; Thedbaldus, B.

[8] *Blesensis*] Blesencis, A.; de Blesensis, B.

[9] *Stephanus*] et, ins. B.

[10] *de Pontiniaco comes*] tr. A.

[11] *Buovis*] Buonis, A.; Bovis, B. C.

A.D. 1190. July.

de Fontanis,[1] Ludovicus de Assela,[2] Walterus[3] de Arzilleriis, Guido de Castelluno cum Lovello fratre suo, Guido de Maceriis,[4] Johannes de Monte Mirayl,[5] Johannes de Arches;[6] venit et dominus de Camte[7] in Burgundia, Gaubertus quoque[8] de Monte Aspero, Clarembaldus de Nuheriis,[9] episcopus Blesensis, episcopus Tolensis, episcopus Ostiensis, episcopus Mordrensis, episcopus Brisensis,[10] episcopus Astensis, patriarcha quoque Jerosolimitanus, archiepiscopus de Cæsarea, episcopus de Nazareth; fuit quoque ibi electus Achonensis, archiepiscopus Besezonensis,[11] et archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Baldewinus;[12] Hubertus episcopus Salesbyriensis.[13] Intererat etiam de quo præfati sumus archidiaconus Colecestrensis, Radulfus de Alta Ripa; venit et abbas de Scaloniis, abbas Esterpensis.[14] Venit et quidam presbyter sine intermissione se exercens[15] in hostes et tela torquens balista infatigabili labore. Venerunt etiam de Normannia quamplurimi, Walkelinus de Ferrariis, Robertus Trussebot,[16] Ricardus de Vernone et ejus filius, Gillebertus quoque de Tilleriis cum manu valida bellatorum; venit et Yvo de Veteri Ponte,[17] Rannulfus etiam de Glanvilla[18] olim justiciarius Angliæ, Gillebertus Malemanus,[19] Hugo de Gorniaco. Præter hos etiam venerunt quamplurimi de diversis terrarum finibus, quorum summa non cadit in numerum; nec etiam si sciretur, nominarentur propter fastidium audientium.

Arrival of the Archbishop of Canterbury, (about Michaelmas; *Diceto*, 655.)

Ranulf Glanvill, and many others.

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[1] *Alaunus de Fontanis*] Adaunius de Fonteines, A.

[2] *Assela*] Ascla, A.

[3] *Walterus*] Galterus, A.

[4] *Maceriis*] Meisieriis, A.

[5] *Mirayl*] Mirail, A.

[6] *Arches*] Arciis, A.

[7] *Camte*] Canite, B.

[8] *quoque*] om. A.

[9] *Nuheriis*] Noeriis, B.

[10] *episcopus Brisensis*] om. C.

[11] *Besezonensis*] Seselonensis, B.

[12] *Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis Baldewinus*] tr. B.

[13] *Salesbyriensis*] Saleberiensis, A.; Sarebyriensis, postea factus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, B.

[14] *Esterpensis*] Extirpensis, B.

[15] *exercens*] exercitans, B.

[16] *Trussebot*] Troissebot, C.

[17] *Ponte*] venit etiam, ins. B.

[18] *Glanvilla*] Clavilla, A.

[19] *Malemanus*] Malemaynus, B.

[Capitulum XLIII.[1]]

A.D. 1190. July.

Comes Henricus de Campania exercitui nostro præficitur.

Count Henry takes the command of the besiegers.

[2] Comiti de Campania Henrico, quem primum prædiximus appulisse,[3] statim regendi exercitus cura committitur, quam[4] prius Jacobus de Avennis et Landegravus, nunc simul, nunc vicissim habebant. Landegravus enim[5] valetudinarius effectus, repatriandi prætextu castra deseruit: qui cum multa clarius et ad omnium favorem egisset, illustrem factorum gloriam turpi reditu[6] deformavit.

[Capitulum XLIV.]

Quomodo dux Suaviæ filius Fretherici imperatoris Alemanniæ, instinctu Marchisii Achon veniens, seminarium fuit dissensionis.

Frederick of Suabia leaves Antioch; (Aug. 29: *Bohadin*, 135.) and joins the party of the Marquis Conrad, his cousin, at Acre (Oct. 8; *Bohadin*, 140).

Eo tempore cum filius imperatoris, dux Suaviæ, patre paulo ante defuncto, sicut præfati sumus, apud Antiochiam degeret, principes ei mandaverunt,[7] ut ibidem moram faceret,[8] et[9] terram Gentilium vicinam impugnaret.[10] Sanum[11] quidem et salubre consilium,[12] nam si hostem bellorum instantia locis pluribus occupasset, conatus ejus ad multa deductus, minor ad singula et infirmior exstitisset. Hujus legationis verbum Marchisus minus fideliter executus, ducis animum maligna interpretatione permovit,[1] tanquam principes ex invidia, ejus procurarent absentiam, ut sibi urbis capiendæ gloriam reservarent.[2] Fuit autem qui assereret Marchisum a Soldano[3] sexaginta millia Bizantiorum eo suscepisse obtentu, ut duci ab Antiochenis partibus discedere persuaderet. Dux itaque Achon veniens dissensionis exstitit seminarium:[4] nam veteri et pertinaci discidio ab Alemannis Franci dissident, cum regnum et imperium de primatu contendant.

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[1] *XLIII.*] XLVII., A.

[2] *Comiti .... appulisse*] Comes Trecarum Henricus, cum manu valida tunc temporis appulit cui, &c., G.

[3] *appulisse*] applicuisse, A.

[4] *quam*] quem, G.; prius, om. A.

[5] *enim*] autem, G.

[6] *reditu*] redditu, C.

[7] *ei mandaverunt*] de exercitu mandaverunt, B.; ei mandandum decernunt, G.

[8] *faceret*] faciens, G.

[9] *et*] om. G.

[10] *impugnaret*] impugnet, G.

[11] *Sanum*] sane. A.

[12] *et salubre consilium*] tr. A.

A.D. 1190. October.

[CAPITULUM XLV.[5]]

Quomodo[6] Marchisus auxilio ducis[7] Suaviæ[8] aspirat ad regnum.

Conrad, on the death of Queen Sibylla, aims at the crown.

Porro Marchisus peculiarem causam occultius agens, ducis quem[9] sanguine contingebat præsentiam studiosius[10] expetivit; ut ipso mediante, si posset, regni solium obtineret. Casus quidem ad nutum eblanditus[11] spem votis majorem indulserat, nam reginam et sobolem[12] quam de rege Guidone susceperat, mors rapuit immatura. Verum ut hanc[13] tractatus particulam enucleatior excipiat intellectus, stirpis regiæ successionem paulo remotiore principio evolvemus.

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[1] *permovit*] promovit, G.
[2] *gloriam reservarent*] tr. A. B.
[3] *Soldano*] Salahadino, B.
[4] *exstitit seminarium*] tr. G.
[5] *XLV.*] XLIX., A.
[6] *Quomodo*] om. A.
[7] *auxilio ducis*] tr. A.
[8] *Suaviæ*] om. A.
[9] *quem*] quidem, C.
[10] *studiosius*] om. A. B.
[11] *eblanditus*] blanditus, A.
[12] *et sobolem*] sabolem, C.
[13] *hanc*] corrected to *hujus*, B.

[CAPITULUM XLVI.[1]]

De genealogia Regum Jerosolimorum, quæ deficiens causa fuit quare Marchisus aspiravit ad regnum.

Fulk of Anjou, King of Jerusalem (1131–1142); Baldwin III. (k. 1142–1162) conquered Ascalon (1154); Amalric I. (k. 1162–1173) conquered Egypt (1161); Baldwin IV. (k. 1173–1185); Baldwin V. (k. 1185) was son of Sibylla and William of Montferrat.

Fulco,[2] pater Galfridi Andegavorum comitis, singulari virtutum merito in regem Jerosolimorum electus, de filia prædecessoris sui regis Baldewini, Milesende,[3] duos filios Baldewinum et Amalricum[4] suscepit. Quorum natu major regio sceptro potitus, et nomen avitum[5] referens, neptem Manuelis Bizantini principis, Theodoram nomine, duxit uxorem: sed absque liberis cum Ascalonem victoriosissime[6] cepisset, in fata concessit. Frater ejus, virtutis et regni successor, Babyloniam compulit ad tributum, et bino conjugio variam utriusque sexus progeniem suscitavit. Prima uxor Beatrix[7] dicta, quam ante regni susceptionem duxerat, filia comitis Roasiæ[8] fuit: sed quia unione sanguinis ipsi fuerat conjuncta, conjugalem copulam, celebrato divortio, cleri censura dissolvit. Ex ea tamen prolem geminam jam susceperat, filiam Sibyllam nomine, et filium nuncupatione Baldewinum, qui, patre defuncto, diademate insignitus, licet junior et lepra respersus, Salahadinum cum sexaginta millibus Turcorum, manu rara[9] miraculose confecit. Hic citius rebus humanis exemptus, filium sororis suæ Baldewinum, quæ fratri Marchionis Willelmo nupserat,[10] regni successorem constituit et diademate insignivit. Sed et ipse, adhuc[11] parvulus[12] et septennis morte festina decessit. Cæte-

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[1] *XLVI.*] L., A.

[2] *Fulco*] siquidem, ins. G.

[3] *Milesende*] Milescende, A. B.; Melesende, G.

[4] *Amalricum*] Amauricum, A.

[5] *avitum*] habitum, B.

[6] *victoriosissime*] invictoriosissime, B.; victoriose, G.

[7] *Beatrix*] Batrix, G.

[8] *Roasiæ*] Roesiæ, A.

[9] *rara*] rata, G.

[10] *Willelmo nupserat*] tr. A.

[11] *ipse adhuc*] tr. B.

[12] *parvulus*] puerulus,

A.D. 1190

rum, patre pueri pridem defuncto, Guido de Lisenan,[1] qui de Pictavia oriundus fuit,[2] sepulcri visitator advenerat: matrem pueri Sibyllam duxit uxorem: qua postmodum paternum vindicante[3] solium, ipse quoque regiæ potestatis insigne suscepit. Ex ea quidem quatuor filias genuit, quas simul cum matre, infra breve temporis tractum, mors inopina[4] rapiens, Guidoni peperit calumniam,[5] et Marchiso regnandi concitavit fiduciam.[6] Porro uxor secunda, quam rex Amalricus, repudiata priore superduxerat, Maria nomine, consanguinea Manuelis imperatoris[7] fuit,[8] ex qua duas progenuit filias; sed earum altera sub tenero vitæ principio diem clausit extremum: alteram vero Elizabeth[9] nuncupatam, cum nondum annos nubiles attigisset, Enfridus de Turone sponsam habuit; sed quia successionis jure jam ad eam regni devolvebatur hæreditas, Marchisus utrumque molitur expungere, tam Enfrido conjugem, quam sceptrum Guidoni rapturus.[10]

Guy and Sibylla reign from 1186 to 1190, when the queen and her issue dying the crown falls to her half-sister Elizabeth, wife of Henfrid III. of Toron.

[CAPITULUM XLVII.[11]]

Miraculosa quæ contingebant tempore obsidionis subnectuntur.

Interea juxta varios, sicut dicitur, eventus belli, nunc his, nunc illis vicem pro vice reddentibus, casus contingebant multiplices, non minus miraculosi, quam mirandi, quos ad notitiam posteriorum visum est non indignum recitari.

Miraculous events during the siege of Acre.

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[1] *de Lisenan*] om. A. G.

[2] *fuit*] om. G.

[3] *vindicante*] vendicat, A.

[4] *inopina*] importuna, G.

[5] *peperit calumniam*] tr. G.

[6] *concitavit fiduciam*] tr. G.

[7] *imperatoris*] Constantinopolitani, ins. B.

[8] *fuit*] om. B.

[9] *Elizabeth*] Elysabeth, A.; Helisabeth, B.

[10] *rapturus*] capturus, A. B.

[11] *XLVII.*] LI., A. From this point to the end of Cap. LX. all is wanting in G.

[CAPITULUM XLVII.[1]]

Petraria quædam oppidanorum ex violentia sui omnes machinas nostras comminuit, et hominem ex nostris quem percusserat non læsit.

A.D. 1190. An immense stone-bow of the Turks struck one of our men, with a huge stone, on the back without hurting him.

Petrariarum hostilium, quarum fuit in civitate copia, una fuit incomparabilis, et magnitudine compactæ machinæ, et pro voto torquentium, inæstimabilis molis lapides jaculando efficax. Hujus nihil potuit resistere vehementiæ. Incredibilis quippe molis[2] lapides jaciebat;

> " Emissos etiam lapides procul impetus egit,
> " Omnia comminuit jactus quæcunque feriret."

Lapides nihilominus, quoties nullo retardarentur obstaculo, unius pedis longitudine agebantur in terram cadentes. Nonnullas petrariarum nostrarum percutiens in particulas dispersit, vel certe inutiles effecit; machinas quoque alias plures vel ictu dissolvit, vel particulam quam attigerat abscidit. Tanta nimirum erat vehementia jaculandi, et impetus tam pertinax, quod nihil tam solidum, vel ita fuit compactum, cujuscunque materiæ vel substantiæ, quod posset incolume tam intolerabilis percussuræ sustinere injuriam. Hæc igitur talis in quendam ex nostris hominem lapidem enormis magnitudinis dedit a tergo. Aversa quippe facie steterat, nihil suspicans, sed nec tam procul æstimans posse lapidem pervenisse; sed nec hominem quidem vel in minimo læsit; immo nec loco movit, sed resiliens a tergo, tanquam a monte ferreo, decidit haud procul inefficax. Quem vir ille respiciens plus habuit horroris ex visu, quam doloris ex ictu. Quis hoc, inquam, non ascriberet divinæ[3] miserationi? Quis hæc intelligens non pensaret magna opera Domini, cujus pro Se certantibus semper præsto est clementia? ad cujus commendandam ubique merito magnificentiam, quid operatus est, subnectam.[1]

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[1] *XLVII.*] LII., A.
[2] *quippe molis*] tr. A.
[3] *non ascriberet divinæ*] tr. B.

[CAPITULUM XLVIII.[2]]

Telum ab interius in quendam ex nostris emissum, omnem armaturam[3] penetravit, sed schedulam[4] nomen Dei continentem, et in pectore ejus dependentem,[5] penetrare non potuit.

A dart cast from the battlements, pierces the strong armour of one of our men, but is stayed by an amulet, containing the Name of God, which he wore, hung round his neck.

[6] Quidam ex nostris satelles, dum in fossis extra murum civitatis existeret, vel ut muri infirmiora perscrutaretur, vel ictu balistæ, quam manu gestabat, quemcunque hostium feriret, huc illucque vagando demum substitit. Armatus quidem erat more peditum satis competenter, ferreo tegmine capite munito; lorica quoque, tunica etiam linea multiplici consuta, lineis interioribus difficile penetrandis, acu operante artificialiter implicitis; unde et vulgo perpunctum[7] nuncupatur. Hunc igitur suspicientem, subito a summitate muri, Turco transmittente spiculum balistæ vi maxima contortum percussit in pectore, ita quod omnia prædicta penetrans, videlicet, capitis ferream armaturam, et etiam loricam cum perpuncto,[8] demum ad quoddam breve, quod gestabat, appensum collo et in pectus demissum,[9] non solum restitit, sed tanquam a ferrea lamina resiluit retunsum et recurvatum. Numquid non manifesta sunt opera Dei, ut telum penetrans ferrum multiplicatum a schedula resiliret hebetatum? Nomen

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[1] *subnectam*] subjectam, A.

[2] *XLVIII.*] LIII., A.

[3] *armaturam*] ejus. ins. A.

[4] *schedulam*] cedulam, A.B.

[5] *dependentem*] pendentem, A.

[6] *Amplius*, præf., A.

[7] *perpunctam*] parpunctum, A.

[8] *perpuncto*] parpuncto, A.

[9] *demissum*] dentissimum,

A.D. 1190.

quippe Dei sanctum dicebatur vir ille gestare collo appensum insertum schedulæ, ferro impenetrabile. Murus quidem inexpugnabilis Deus est sperantibus in Se.

[Capitulum XLIX.[1]]

Miles inermis exquisitis naturæ vix peractis, Turcum armatum se lancea impetentem lapide prostravit.

A Turk attacking one of our men when unarmed, is killed by him with the blow of a stone.

[2] Quendam ex nostris militem ad requisita naturæ extra castra, in præfatæ margine fossæ, sicut moris est, inclinatum, Turcus quidam equo admisso improvidum impetiit.[3] Quem cum miles venientem a latere adverteret, vix opere ad quod venerat expleto, se expeditus erexit, vel ut irruentem declinaret, vel annuente Deo quocunque modo expeditior exciperet, licet prorsus inermis existeret.[4] Quem cum Turcus lanceæ cuspide niteretur transfodere, Deo protegente, paululum inclinatus ictum fefellit:

> "Transit equus rapidus, vacuo[que] prætervolat ictu."

Turcus autem cum ad votum sibi non successisse doleret, repetito cursu, pertinaciter vibrans hastam, ferebatur in militem. Quid igitur faciat miles inermis, pedes, solus et tanquam hosti expositus in prædam? Invocato vero, Qui semper Suis per gratiam præsens est, Deo in auxilium, cum cominus cerneret imminentem, lapidem forte repertum

> "Jecit in hostilem nudum sub casside vultum."

Quo, ejus tempore[5] colliso, stupidus Turcus equo turbatus in terram, et fractis cervicibus mortuus est: cujus equum miles comprehendens impigre sessore mutato reversus est ad suos. Hoc quodam alio referente, qui casum rei perviderat, factum est notorium in castris.

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[1] *XLIX.*] LIIII., A.

[2] *Amplius*, præf., A.

[3] *impetiit*] petiit, A.

[4] *existeret*] exstiterit, A.

[5] *tempore*] tympore, A.; timpore, B., as a correction of *tempore*.

[CAPITULUM L.[1]]

Mulier, fidelibus fossam urbis terra implentibus, in fossa moriens, præcipit corpus suum in loco terræ ibi manere. A.D. 1190.

A woman dies when carrying earth to fill up the city ditch; and begs to be buried in the ditch.

[2] Inter comportantes ad complendum aggerem in fossam civitatis facilius comprehendendæ, mulier quædam sollicitius laborans multa sategit sedulitate, ut opus cœptum proficeret. Sine intermissione infatigabilis iens et rediens, aliosque diligentius exhortans, in zelo concepto compulsa est invenire finem vitæ simul et laboris. Nam cum simul omnis multitudo cujuslibet sexus et ætatis, ad hoc[3] opus expeditius complendum, itque reditque frequens, mulierem præfatam, dum se quod apportaverat onere[4] expedire satageret, Turcus sedens in insidiis pilo percussit ad mortem. Quæ cadens in terram, dum se præ vehementia doloris in diversas partes torqueret, qua potuit voce, virum suum, qui ad eam gemebundam cum pluribus aliis accurrerat, flebiliter nec minus suppliciter rogavit, dicens, "Dilectionem[5] tuam, Domine carissime, per maritalis "relligionem amplexus, per fidem inter nos contracti "olim matrimonii, precor et exoro, ne cadaver meum "jam futurum exanime, ab hoc loco patiaris amoveri: "immo, quia jam non licet ulterius ad hoc opus perfi"ciendum operari viventi, locum obtineat corpus in "opere, ut nonnihil sit quo[6] me reputem profecisse; "jaceat cadaver exanime in fossa vice terræ post modi"cum[7] terra futurum." Hoc idem suppliciter exoravit ut fieret ab universa circumstante multitudine; nec

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[1] *L.*] om. A.

[2] *Amplius*, præf., A.

[3] *hoc*] om. A.

[4] *onere*] dn̄e, A.

[5] *Dilectionem*] Desponsationem, B.

[6] *quo*] quod, A.; B. has *co* corrected *quo*.

[7] *post modicum*] postmodum,

A.D. 1190. multo post emisit spiritum. O fides infirmioris sexus admirabilis! O zelus imitabilis[1] mulieris, quæ nec post mortem destitit operantibus cooperari,[2] dum perseveravit etiam in moriente voluntas[3] operandi.

[CAPITULUM LI.[4]]

De equo Turci in reti capto.

A Turk getting entangled in a net, loses his horse.

[5] Quendam ex nostris plebeium, dum rete suum tenderet explicitum extra castra, vel ad arcendos Turcos, vel si irruerent capiendos, unus eorum equo sedens rapido cursu impetivit. Quem cum ex adverso irruentem respiceret, nondum omnino consummato[6] opere cui insistebat,[7] in fugam versus est. Quem cum Turcus persequendo nequiret assequi, jam receptum in castra, desperans persequi desiit, et revertens rete cœpit avellere, nimia turgidus indignatione. Cum autem jam nonnullos paxillorum, cum funibus quibus[8] rete tenebatur, eruisset a terra, ipsum rete, quod raptim et incaute studuit obvolvere, caput equi cui insidebat forte comprehendit inclusum. Equus autem elegantioris formæ se dedignans comprehendi, efferatus, frequentius ut se expediret in orbem gyrans, magis ac magis irretitus est. Quod cum nostri quidam prospexissent,[9] eo versus præpete[10] cursu agebantur. Turcus autem, equum suum sentiens impeditum, ocius desiliit, et pedes fugit; qui licet ibi relicto careret equo, cursu pedestri insequentes evasit, quia

> " —— pedibus timor addidit[11] alas."*

* Virgil, Æn. viii. 224.

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[1] *imitabilis*] mirabilis, B.

[2] *cooperari*] operari, B.

[3] *in moriente voluntas*] tr. A.

[4] *LI.*] LVI., A.

[5] *Amplius*, præf., A.

[6] *omnino consummato*] tr. A.

[7] *oepre cui insistebat*] tr. A.

[8] *cum funibus quibus*] quibus cum funibus, B.

[9] *prospexissent*] perspexissent, A. B.

[10] *præpete*] perpete, C.

[11] *timor addidit*] tr. B.

Cujus equum optimum, vix tandem a reti quod ex parte ruperat, multa diligentia expeditum, cunctis in commune qui accurrerant decernentibus, habuit ille plebeius, cujus rete extricaverat, in recompensationem[1] retis sui scissi.

A.D. 1190.

[CAPITULUM LII.[2]]

Item[3] *de equo Turci capto pedica.*[4]

A Turk pursuing our men lost his horse in a trap.

[5] Propter frequentes et improvisas Turcorum irruptiones, decreverunt principes nostri fieri pedicas occultas, et terra, ne viderentur, operiri. Contigit igitur quadam die, dum se quidam ex nostris ephebi[6] in planitie extra castra ex condicto exercerent, sagittas ad signa[7] mittentes, Turcorum quosdam equis admissis in ipsos juvenes irruere. Quos quia inermes erant, nostri, et numero[8] pauciores, declinantes, se receperunt in castra. Unus autem persequentium, quasi equi sui confidens agilitati, pernicius alios anteibat; cum, ecce! medio cursu pedica una comprehensus est equus suus,[9] unde nullo nisu vel studio sessoris potuit tunc expediri. Unde Turcus malens equo quam capite carere, desiliens, pedes aufugit indemnis ad suos; equum vero ejus decretum est reddendum ei cujus erat illud quo retentus erat instrumentum, videlicet Roberto comiti Druensi.

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[1] *recompensationem*] repensationem, A.

[2] *LII.*] LVII., A.

[3] *Item*] om. A.

[4] *capto pedica*] tr. A.

[5] *Amplius*, præf., A.

[6] *ephebi*] effebi, B.

[7] *signa*] om. C.

[8] *numero*] numeri, A.

[9] *suus*] ejus, A.

[CAPITULUM LIII.[1]]

Ivo de Veteri Ponte cum paucis octoginta piratas occidit.

A.D. 1190. Ivo Vipont, with a small force, kills eighty pirates.

[2] Militem ex nostris, Ivonem de Veteri Ponte, decem sociis comitatum, versus Tyrum tres nautæ in parva navi deduxerunt. Quos cum jam a portu longius navigantes perspexissent quidam Turcorum piratæ, a quodam maris gurgite aridæ contiguo prodeuntes, in quadam galea remigantes ferebantur in eos. Erant autem numero quasi octoginta. Quos cum nautæ vidissent pernicius appropinquantes, nimio exterriti timore, dixerunt ad invicem; "Domine Deus, væ "nobis! capti sumus jam trucidandi." Ad quos prænominatus Ivo de Veteri Ponte dixit, "Quid, modicæ "fidei, timetis, quos sine mora mortuos videbitis?" Et cum jam violentia remorum acta galea rostro navem videretur cominus percussura, Ivo in eandem insiluit galeam, et quam manu gestabat bipenni, cœpit Turcos instanter detruncare. Cujus opus cum ejusdem socii prosperari vidissent, animæquiores ad eum in galeam insilientes, universos quos invenerunt hostes vel immisericorditer detruncaverunt, vel captivos secum abduxerunt. Sic his datur triumphare qui in Deo spem ponunt, qui vinci non novit, ad quod fides non ficta[3] valet, non[4] multitudo dimicantium: quia non refert apud Deum, sive in paucis sive in pluribus, belli consistat[5] virtus et summa victoriæ.[6]

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[1] *LIII.*] LVIII., A.

[2] *Amplius*, præf., A.

[3] *non ficta*] tr. A.

[4] *non*] nec, A.

[5] *belli consistat*] consistit belli, A.

[6] *victoriæ*] victoria, B.

[CAPITULUM LIV.[1]]

Quomodo[2] admiralii genitalia igne Græco combusta sunt, quo machinas nostras incendi proposuerat.

A.D. 1190.

[3] Cum oppidani forte comperissent nostrorum maximam multitudinem a castris exisse, sicut fieri solet, ad quæritanda esui animalium necessaria, a civitate subito erumpentes, ductore eorum admiralio, viro famoso et potenti, Bellegemino nomine, in nostros minus circumspectos irruerunt. Quos tamen nostri[4] pertinaciter insistentes, nonnullis hinc inde peremptis repulerunt in urbem. Admiralius vero solus, tanquam aliis animosior, diutius restitit: omni[5] quidem studio sategit, ut sicut prius se jactanter prædixerat acturum, machinas nostras urbis in proximo muris admovendas, vel ferro dissiparet vel igne Græco consumeret. Cumque diutius his exequendis sollicitius insisteret, aliis jam fugientibus, ipse solus remansit, donec scilicet propositum peregisset. Quem ex nostris miles quidam ex adverso veniens equo dejecit, et casu confracta qua ignem Græcum gestabat ampulla, eodem igne succensa sunt ejusdem Turci membra genitalia cum verendis partibus reliquis, liquore scilicet inextinguibili. Et sic eidem cessit in proprium exitium, quod nobis disposuerat ad detrimentum.

A great emir was terribly destroyed by the Greek fire which he carried.

[CAPITULUM LV.[6]]

Turcus, ignem Græcum natando deferens ad civitatem,[7] a nostris piscatoribus[8] reti capitur.

[9] Quidam nostri piscatores, non procul a terra, retia sua laxaverant in capturam piscium. Hujus enim

A Turkish diver caught in a net by our men.

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[1] *LIV.*] LIX., A.

[2] *Quomodo*] om. A.

[3] *Amplius*, præf., A.

[4] *nostri*] om. A.

[5] *omni*] omnium, A.

[6] *LV.*] LX., A.

[7] *ad civitatem*] om. A.

[8] *piscatoribus*] om. A.

[9] *Amplius*, præf.,

A.D. 1190. studio ministerii et sibi necessaria acquirebant, et pisciculos vendentes non modicum egentibus solatium præbebant. Contigit ergo, die quadam ad occasum sole vergente, retibus extensis, quod quidam nostrorum, eminus residens in littore, prospiceret[1] hominem in mari longe natantem, capite solum comparente; aquis cætera tegebantur. Illo itaque qui hoc viderat indicante, piscatores prædicti cymba sua vecti natantem pertinacius insectabantur, ut, videlicet, cognoscerent quidnam hujusmodi fuisset prodigium. Cui cum propius remiges accessissent, Turcum esse deprehendunt, post quem,[2] ad eorum vociferationem exterritum et retro cedentem, festinant remigantes; et in eorundem retibus comprehensum tenuerunt. Prius enim [3] retia eadem nandi[4] peritissimus pertransierat, cum eo quod portabat onere ad collum suspenso. Portabat enim ignem Græcum in pelle lutrina, his qui in urbe obsidebantur destinatum: sic enim Turci mittere consueverant obsessis ignem hujusmodi, per homines nandi gnaros, quia sic fieri commodius æstimabant et occultius. Piscatores autem cum deprehenso suo captivo ascendentes in terram, rem ut erat cunctis exponunt ex ordine.[5] Ipsum itaque, cum eo quem[6] portaverat igne, vinctum, per medium deduxerunt exercitum, acriter flagellantes, et irridentes, et tandem durius laniatum decapitaverunt, et sic dimissus est quietus.[7] Sic Deus habere curam Suorum probatur, qui "dissipat "consilia gentium et reprobat cogitationes[8] principum,"* qui quas hostilis procurat malignitas ad nihilum redigit[9] adversitates.[10]

* Ps. xxxiii. 10.

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[1] *prospiceret*] perspiceret, A. B.

[2] *quem*] jam, ins. A. B.

[3] *retia eadem nandi peritissimus*] eadem nandi peritissimus retia, A.B.

[4] *nandi*] om. C.

[5] *ex ordine*] per ordinem, A.

[6] *quem*] quod, A. B.

[7] *et . . . quietus*] om. B.

[8] *cogitationes*] consilia, A.

[9] *redigit*] redegit, A.

[10] Bohadin (*Vita Saladini*, p. 134) devotes a chapter to this or a like story: the diver, whom he calls *Isa*, was carrying a bag of gold and letters. He gives the date. the end of August, 1190.

[CAPITULUM LVI.[1]]

Turcus telo in inguine percussus interiit, qui crucem Dominicam commingere disposuit. A.D. 1190.

A Turk insulting the crucifix, is wounded mortally.

[2] Nec hoc quidem arbitramur silendum, quamvis onerosum relatu,

"Horrificumque sit auditu,"

quod Turci ob scandalum Crucifixi, et opprobrium nostræ fidei, consueverunt iconias[3] et[4] picturas Christianæ relligionis repræsentantes mysterium, in civitate repertas, super muros in conspectu Christicolarum virgis cædere, et tanquam viventes durius flagellare, et sputis sordidare, et aliis pluribus modis pro voluntate ignominiose tractare. Quod cum die quadam Turcum quendam nostrorum quidam vidisset agentem, et crucem quandam cum Salvatoris nostri imagine, turpi quadam repræsentatione et[5] nefanda, motibus[6] agitasset obscœnis, et[7] vociferatione blasphema impia verba nostræ relligionis inimica proferret,[8] tandemque extractis membris genitalibus, in eminentiori loco urinam[9] stillando, contumeliose proposuisset perfundere; zelo ductus, in blasphemum emisso pilo balistæ,

"Vulnere lethali transfodit in inguine Turcum,"

sicque moriendo persensit quam nihil sit quidquid quispiam contra Deum agendum tentaverit.

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[1] *LVI.*] LXI., A.
[2] *Amplius*, præf., A.
[3] *iconias*] yconias, MSS.
[4] *et*] atque, B.
[5] *et*] om. B.
[6] *motibus*] moribus, A.
[7] *et*] om. A.
[8] *proferret*] proferre, C.
[9] *urinam*] urina, B.

[Capitulum LVII.[1]]

Parthus[2] *sagittarius, non stans pacto, a sagitta Walensis sagittarii occiditur.*

A.D. 1190.

A Parthian archer, challenging a Welshman to a trial of skill, breaks his word, and is shot by the Welshman.

[3] Forte die quadam utriusque exercitus fundibalarii,[4] et sagittarii, et quicunque jaculandorum periti missilium, invicem sese sicut frequentius provocantes, in alterutros eminus tela mittebant, tanquam perfunctorie et causa exercitationis. Cæteris tandem ab invicem digredientibus, Parthus quidam in Gualensem[5] adversa fronte missilia torquere, tela dirigere ut feriret magnopere studebat. Gualensis vero, arcus non inscius, ex adverso mittendo sagittas vicem pro vice rependebat; cui Parthus, induciis petitis, appropians eum, cum jam posset audiri, convenit dicens: "Cujus," inquit, "ori-" undus[6] es patriæ? vel quo nuncuparis nomine? " plurimum me delectaret agnoscere; probatum qui-" dem te jam expertus[7] sum esse sagittarium: et ut " libentius quod quærito exponas, ego sum Parthus " natione, in arte sagittaria a pueritia educatus; ap-" pellor quoque Grammahyr[8] inter nostros non ob-" scuræ famæ, factis quippe famosus insignibus et " notus victoriis." Cui cum Gualensis patriam indicasset et nomen: "Probemus," inquit Parthus, "quis " nostrum in arte hac merito habeatur superior. Sus-" tineamus ex condicto singulas vicissim in alter-" utrum dirigere arcu jaciente[9] sagittas. Tuum igitur " primum erit immobilem stare, ut primam in te " jaciam sagittam, meque postmodum eodem modo " sagittabis expositum." Consensit Gualensis. Parthus

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[1] *LVII.*] LXII., A.

[2] *Parthus*] Partus, B.

[3] *Amplius,* præf., A.

[4] *fundibalarii*] fundibularii, B.

[5] *in Gualensem*] et Gualensis, A.; Walensem, B.

[6] *oriundus*] om. B.

[7] *jam expertus*] tr. B.

[8] *Grammahyr*] Grammahir, B.

[9] *jaciente*] jacientem, B. C.; perhaps *jacientes* may be the true reading.

igitur aptata sagitta, divaricatis ut id exposcit artificium pedibus, manibus in diversa distentis, oculis in directo admotis, arcu sinuato, A.D. 1190.

"Evolat in vacuum non percussura sagitta."

Permanens[1] illæsus Gualensis, prælocutam expostulat conditionem. Cui Turcus "Non faciam," inquit, "immo, tu secundam sustinebis sagittam, ut ego postmodum duas a te missas excipiam." Cui Gualensis, "Non stas," inquit, "pacto, qui quod dictasti non observas arbitrium; si secus non sustines, licet ægre, sicut potero, differam ad tempus, ex fallacia tua, prout voluerit, expetat[2] Deus ultionem." Vix verba finierat cum Turcum illum telum in pharetra commodius ad feriendum adversarium quæritando eligentem, in ictu oculi pilo transmisso percussit in pectore, quod nec ullo tardante ossium obstaculo,

"Exiit a tergo, penetrato corpore Turci."

Et Gualensis ait,

"Nec tu stas pacto, nec ego versa vice verbo."

His et his similibus exhilarati Christicolæ successibus, quibusque perferendis adversitatibus alacriori fide et spe ferventiori perdurandum censuerunt, sese rebus servantes secundis.

[Capitulum LVIII.[3]]

Inter Turcos et nostros fit navale prœlium; et dum nostri turribus et machinis affixis galeis, Turrem Muscarum comprehendere nituntur, machinæ nostræ igne consumuntur.

Interea[4] Pisani et alii quicunque classis regendæ periti, quibus erat a parte maris civitatis obsidio delegata, erexerant in modum castelli supra galeas machi- Assault on the Tower of Flies.

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[1] *Permanens*] Permanet, B.

[2] *expetat*] expectat, B.

[3] *LVIII.*] LXIII., A.

[4] *Interea*] Interim,

A.D. 1190.

The Pisans having erected a tower on their galleys, attack the Tower of Flies; (Sept. 25, 1190, *Bohadin*, 138).

nam compactam multa diligentia cum propugnaculis, ut murorum scilicet superaret altitudinem, et ad tela jacienda facultatem præstaret et facilitatem. Duas præterea fabricaverunt[1] scalas cum gradibus aliquot quibus murorum summitas occuparetur. Hæc igitur omnia supradicta cum galeis coriis obvolverant extensis, ut nec ferro sive quibuscunque jaculis æstimarentur cessura. Præparatis omnibus, Turrim Muscarum obsessuri succedunt, quam et balistarum et telorum jactu vehementer oppugnant. Quibus inclusi viriliter resistunt, nec viribus impares vel successu. Nostris quippe forte quenquam illorum perimentibus, indilatam reddebant talionem. Et ut eos gravius vel opprimerent vel abigerent, ferme duo millia Turcorum exierunt a civitate in galeas, ut auxilium præstarent obsessis in turri, dum eosdem Pisanos parte adversa vexarent. Nostri vero bellatores, inclyti et electi, prout poterant commodius admotis machinis prædictæ turri, hi incunctanter intendunt jaculandis anchoris permaximis in turrim, et quæcunque ad manum fuerant[2] robora vel moles lapidum, sive telorum: alii vero, prout erant dispositi, ad repellendos eos a parte maris oppugnantes non segniter Marte dimicabant navali. Anchoris injectis in turrim, cedebant ancilia, parmæ quoque contritæ sunt et scuta. Miro quidem impetu et diutius intolerabili turris oppugnabatur, aliis aliis[3] succedentibus vicissim fatigatis, irrequietis vicibus, et invincibili virtute. Tela fluunt mixtim horrifico fragore missilium; robora majora jaculata stridentia volant. Turci cedunt ad tempus, quia pondus belli sustinere non poterant. Et ecce! erectis scalis scandendæ[4] turri admotis, expediebantur nostri ad ascendendum.

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[1] *fabricaverunt*] fabricarent, C.

[2] *fuerant*] om. A.

[3] *aliis*] om. C.

[4] *scandendæ*] ascendendæ, B.

A.D. 1190. Sept. 25. The Turks destroy the tower with Greek fire.

Attendentes autem Turci jam sibi supremum imminere[1] discrimen, omni virtute resistendum eligentes, ascendentibus nostris maximæ molis robora emittebant conterendis et de scalis dejiciendis. Postea quoque ignem Græcum in castellum erectum jaciebant, quod postremo igne correptum[2] est: quod cum perspexissent qui inerant, spe frustrati descendere compulsi sunt[3] et recedere. Inæstimabilis autem facta est interea strages Turcorum a parte maris nostros oppugnantium. Et licet a parte turris se[4] pars nostrorum doleret inefficacem, pars vero a parte maris disposita gravi hostes affecerat cæde. Consumptis denique machinis igne devorante, cum castello et galeis etiam quibus fuerant insertæ, cum scalis erectis, Turci nimia dissoluti lætitia, vociferatione altisona perstrepentes, subsannabant super infortunio nostro, moventes capita sua.* Unde Christicolæ ultra modum desolati, non minus angustiabantur opprobriis irrogatis quam accidentibus dispendiis. Verumtamen ex adventu peregrinantium crebrius applicantium alacriores effecti sunt, et eo quod crevit eorum numerus[5] confortata est manus eorum.

* S. Matthew xxvii. 39.

The besiegers are cheered by new arrivals (e.g. of the English under Baldwin, Oct. 12.)

[CAPITULUM LIX.]

Oppidani igne Græco, cum amissione tamen suorum, arietem archiepiscopi de Besencun succendunt.

The Archbishop (Thierri) of Besançon and others attack the city with rams.

Interea archiepiscopus Besezonensis[6] machinam fecerat præparari multa diligentia compactam, et impensa constructam, quam vulgo dicunt Arietem, quoniam arietis more crebris et iteratis impulsibus reductis, murorum quantumlibet solidorum dejiciat firmitatem.

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[1] *imminere*] eminere, A.

[2] *correptum*] corruptum, B.

[3] *sunt*] om. B.

[4] *turris se*] tr. B.

[5] *eorum numerus*] tr. B.

[6] *Besezonensis*] Bezenonensis, B.

A.D. 1190. (October 15, *Bohadin*, 142.) Hunc itaque arietem, firmiter undique ferreis laminis obductum, idem archiepiscopus muris diruendis destinat applicandum. Alterum arietem præparari fecerat comes Henricus,[1] quo potuit studio præmunitum et corroboratum, qui nulli scilicet crederetur cessurus injuriæ. Cæteri nihilominus magnates exercitus et heroes, singuli secundum propriam virtutem, sive communicatis quidam impensis, præparare fecerant variarum argumenta machinarum. Alii sues rostratas, alii contos, alii sudes,[2] sive quodcunque genus vel prius visum sive tunc cura[3] excogitatum.[4] Indicta igitur singulis die, quisque quod suum erat muris applicare studebat[5] instrumentum. Archiepiscopus igitur arietem suum ad instar domus collaqueatum promovebat ad murum concutiendum. Habebatur introrsum[6] navis malus perlonga, cujus caput ferro vestiebatur: quæ multorum manibus[7] impelleretur[8] ad murum, deinde retrorsum ducta majori impetu destinabatur:[9] sicque crebris ictibus conabantur muri latus cavare aut murum disrumpere. Illi autem qui, sic arietem agitantes, crebris murum vexabant impulsibus, subtus arietem erant securi ab omni periculo desuper venientis injuriæ. Turci vero, desuper muros se viriliter defendentes, maximam lignorum siccorum veteris materiæ super machinam comportaverunt congeriem, quæ videlicet de facili igne superjecto potuisset corripi. Petrariis etiam non cessabant jaculari robora permaxima. Postremo ignem Græcum desuper miserunt, et correpta lignorum materia totius machinæ, præsen-

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[1] *Henricus*] de Campania, add. B.

[2] *sudes*] sues, A.

[3] *cura*] om. A.

[4] *sive . . . excogitatum*] alii scalas cum gradibus, quod nunquam prius visum est sive excogitatum, B.; yet scaling ladders with steps were mentioned in the last chapter. This looks as if the words in B. had been omitted on second thoughts.

[5] *studebat*] studebant, B.

[6] *introrsum*] introitum, A.

[7] *manibus*] manus, A.

[8] *impelleretur*] repelleretur, B.

[9] *destinabatur*] destinebatur,

A.D. 1190. October 15.

The Turks destroy the rams with Greek fire.

tiebant qui inerant dissolutionem, et convalescente igne fervoris impatientes, arietis impulsores diverterunt ab eo, et aliis quibus poterant insistebant instrumentis. Turci vero infatigabiliter ad dissolvendum arietem jaculabantur, vel moles gravissimas ad conterendum, vel oleum incendiarium ad consumendum.[1] Magna fuit inter Christicolas et inter Turcos contentio et virium exercitatio, dum hi insisterent obnixius ad argumentum arietis extricandum, et isti resisterent[2] animosius ad defendendum. Ignis autem semel accensus et iteratus officiosius Turcis qui injecerant[3] cooperabatur, dum nulli parcens materiæ jam superanti machinam concremaverat incendio. Jam retrocedebant Christicolæ suum dolentes inefficacem conatum, e contra, Turci tripudiantes et vociferantes vehementius, spem nostram improperabant inanem, et actus eorum merito nullius fore virtutis comparatione suorum. Nec tamen impune nostris insultabant adversitatibus, octoginta enim Turcorum amissione[4] mutilata est multitudo illorum: cum quibus periit quidam magni nominis Admiralius,[5] ad cujus nutum hæc fiebant, quamvis hæc omnia ex industria dissimulaverint, ut nostros lateret dolor eorum. Attendentes principes nostri operas eorum et impensas citra votum secundum æstimationem carere successibus, tot infortuniorum asperitate confracti, ab insultibus ad tempus censuerunt temperandum; et[6] de cætero se remissius agebant.

The Princes of the Crusade relax their efforts.

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[1] *consumendum*] consummendum, A.
[2] *resisterent*] insisterent, B.
[3] *injecerant*] inerant, B.
[4] *Turcorum amissione*] tr. A.
[5] *Admiralius*] admiratus, A. B.
[6] *et*] om. A.

[CAPITULUM LX.[1]]

A.D. 1190. October.

Classis quindecim navium ex Alexandria oppidanis mittitur in auxilium, sed multi pereunt.

A fleet of fifteen vessels from Egypt, effects an entrance into the port of Acre, with much loss.

Interea non multum post festum Sancti Michaelis venit classis[2] Alexandrina quindecim navium, pomposo quidem apparatu insignis, modicum singulis separatis ab invicem. Venerunt autem ad[3] adjutorium obsessorum, inclinata jam die; vento quoque vehementiori adactæ a cursu suo[4] temperare se nequibant. Unde nostro prospecto exercitu, nimium formidabant ne forte eis nostri prodirent in occursum, quos declinare non possent: quod tamen Christicolæ propter noctem imminentem et ventorum nimietatem non præsumebant. Classis igitur[5] conglobata versus catenam procedit cum impetu. Tres majores naves subsequuntur, quas vulgo dromones appellant, galeæ vero leviores et ad quælibet attentanda[6] agiliores præcedunt. Dum feruntur igitur impetuose ordine confuso in portum, facta magna difficultate ex mutua collisione,[7] duæ naves collidebantur ad cautes et confractæ sunt, et omnes qui inerant pene submersi sunt,[8] super quibus periclitantibus dederunt Christicolæ voces in subsannationem et derisum, et in portum undis vehementibus[9] delatos detruncaverunt. Præterea maximam galearum, ipsorum ventorum violentia in portum depulsam comprehenderunt,[10] bene victualibus onustam, et peremptis hominibus cætera sibi tenuerunt. Cæteræ vero naves ferebantur in portum desideratum infra catenam, quas advenientes oppidani cum innumera-

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[1] *LX.*] LXV., A.

[2] *classis*] om. A.

[3] *ad*] in, A.

[4] *suo*] om. A.

[5] *igitur*] quoque, A.

[6] *attentanda*] aptanda, A.

[7] *collisione*] et, ins. B.

[8] *sunt*] om. A.

[9] *vehementibus*] vehentibus, B.

[10] *comprehenderunt*] comprehendunt, B.

A.D. 1190. October.

bilibus excepere lanternis[1] luminaribus et præstantissime admiserunt expeditos in urbem, admodum lætificati gratissimo eorum adventu. Unde postea ex prædictorum adventu adaucta multitudine, minus idoneos ad exercitia bellorum exposuerunt ab urbe, ne videlicet ad consumenda victualia forent eis impedimento et inefficaces auxilio. Et multiplicati sunt dies.[2]

[Capitulum LXI.[3]]

Nostris, archiepiscopo Baldewino exercitum ducente, congredi cum Salahadino disponentibus, Salahadinus cum suis fugit ad montana.

November 12. The Crusaders determine on a general attack on Saladin's camp on Tel-Ajadia.

Plebs interea de principum quiete murmurat, et ignavæ obsidionis[4] dispendia tædiatus obsessor incusat. Cumque[5] diutine[6] quid potius agendum esset, inter magnates tractaretur, demum sub hoc cardine cunctorum ferme resedit sententia, ut hostem urgentem exterius ad Martem publicum provocarent. Si enim hostilis succubuisset exercitus, facilius impugnari civitas potuisset et expugnari.[7] Crastino[8] Sancti Martini, cum jam brumalis Phœbus radios algentiores spargeret, principes nostri acies suas disciplinæ militaris ordine digerendas, e castris in plana deducunt. Quas cum cerneremus signis prodire distinctis, et hinc Militiam Templi, hinc Hospitalarios, hinc diversas nationes suis coruscare vexillis, animo titillanti[9] jocundius influebat de multitudine stupor, de virtute fiducia, de varietate voluptas. Clerus autem non modicam mili-

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[1] *lanternis*] laternis, B.

[2] *Et multiplicati sunt dies*] om. B.

[3] *LXI.*] LXVI., A.

[4] *obsidionis*] obsidioni, B. C.

[5] *Cumque*] Dum que, G.

[6] *diutine*] diutule, A. B. G.

[7] *civitas potuisset, et expugnari*] tr. A. B. G.

[8] *Crastino*] Crastina, A.

[9] *animo titillanti*] tr. G.

A.D. 1190. November 12.

Archbishop Baldwin, Frederick of Swabia, and Theobald of Blois take charge of the camp.

Hubert Walter, Bishop of Salisbury, takes part in the assault.

Saladin in the night removes from Tel-Ajadia to Tel-Caisan. (*Bohadin*, 148.)

taris gloriæ partem vendicat; nam et abbates, et præsules suas educunt cohortes,[1] et pro fide fidenter dimicant, pro lege Dei læti contendunt. Sane venerabilis archipræsul Cantuariorum[2] Baldewinus inter cæteros et præ cæteris insignius militat: quem licet ad segnitiem senilis invitet infirmitas, naturæ tamen defectum virtutum perfectione[3] transcendit. Hic vexillum cui gloriosus martyr Thomas inscriptus fuerat, præeminentius prodire faciens, eidem[4] comitatus decoros et dignos procurat; nam et milites ducenti et trecenti satellites, viri sancti stipendiis pugnaturi sequuntur. Ipse vero, cum duce Suaviæ et comite Blesensi Theobaldo,[5] castrorum tutelam suscipit, et vices patriarchæ, qui tunc clinicus decubuerat, plenius executus egressas acies benedicit, absolvit. Verum[6] magnanimus Saresbyriensis[7] antistes, ab expeditione abesse non sustinet, sed partem belli moderatur insignem, cujus virtus in armis militem, in castris ducem, in ecclesiasticis implet pastorem. Sole in occasum vergente, cum exercitus non longe profectus[8] fixis tentoriis consedisset, oppidani tanquam in vacua venturi ad sarcinas distrahendas prorumpunt; quos nostri excipientes obnixius, et suos conservant indemnes, et Turcos effugant irruentes. Nocte ipsa Soldanus, papiliones suos cum rebus aliis imperat ad montana transferri; et ea quæ pro temporis articulo asportari nequeunt populatur[9] incendio. Hoc quidem victi et diffidentis animi certum[10] indicium, quod res proprias dissipat, quod locum mutat, quod ad montana secedens, certamen campestre declinat. Loca vero aditu difficilia nactus subsistit,

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[1] *suas educunt cohortes*] tr. G.

[2] *archipræsul Cantuariorum*] tr. A. G.

[3] *perfectione*] profectione, A.

[4] *eidem*] om. B.

[5] *Theobaldo*] Theodbaldo, B.

[6] *Verum*] Unde, B.

[7] *Saresbyriensis*] Salesberiensis, A.; Salesberiarum, G.

[8] *profectus*] progressus, C.

[9] *populatur*] populantur, A.

[10] *certum*] certi, G.

A.D. 1190. November 12.

[1] at pedites[2] et sagittarios suos[3] numerosius opponit venturis, ut saltem eminus noceant qui propius congredi reformidant.[4] Nostri ergo[5] pugnæ campestris copia defraudati, et hostem per abrupta montium insequi non valentes, quam illæsi, tam inglorii revertuntur.[6]

[Capitulum LXII.[7]]

Cum quibusdam nostrorum pro victualibus versus Cayphas[8] euntibus et redeuntibus, Turci confligunt sed succumbunt.

The Crusaders going to Haipha for provisions, have a skirmish with the Turks at Recordana: (Tel-kurdany; November 13. *Bohadin*, 148).

Postmodum audito quod victualia haberentur apud Cayphas, quibus non minimum indigebant, eo[9] diverterunt. Cum venissent igitur obiter ad locum cui vulgo Recordana nomen est, ecce, subito Turci irruentes acrius infestabant nostros, eos æstimantes fugitivos. Quidam eorum jacula mittebant, quidam cum lanceis insiliebant; his horrende vociferantibus, his tubis crepantibus tanquam cornibus fugientes ventilantibus. Ea vero nocte, fixis in planitie tentoriis, nostri usque mane se cohibuerunt,[10] mane vero facto, ecce Turci quorum non erat numerus apparuerunt, nostrum undique concludentes exercitum. Ex tanta vero multitudine nostri nimirum pavefacti, assumptis armis et dispositis ad resistendum ordinibus, si forte irruerent, seriatim exierunt obviam eis: quibus ad pugnam dispositis impetere Turci non præsumentes, paulatim cedebant, nostris progredientibus, licet inæstimabilis fuerit multitudinis exercitus eorum. Audito quoque

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[1] *at pedites*] ac velites, G.

[2] *pedites*] suos, ins. A.

[3] *suos*] om. A.

[4] *reformidant*] reformident, A.

[5] *ergo*] igitur, A. B.

[6] *revertuntur*] subsistunt, A. B.

[7] *LXII.*] LXVII., A. The whole chapter is omitted in G.

[8] *pro victualibus, versus Cayphas*] tr. A.

[9] *eo*] ea, B.

[10] *se cohibuerunt*] tr.

A.D. 1190. November 13.

On their return from Haipha, the Crusaders encamp at the head of the river, (Ras-al-ain; November 13. *Bohadin*, 149).

apud Cayphas, ut æstimaverant, non esse victualia, asportaverant enim omnia Turci, versus Achon iter suum nostri regredientes disponebant. Turcis autem continue nostros sollicitantibus[1] et frequentes facientibus[2] irruptiones, nostri non[3] modicam sustinuerunt cum discrimine molestiam. Ad cujusdam quoque fluvii qui ab eo loco versus Achon currit fontem,[4] ubi[5] quippe nascitur, facta est utriusque exercitus altercatio et cædes maxima nobilium equorum peremptorum, antequam dividerentur ab invicem[6] exercitus. Nam ex una parte illius fluvii noster procedebat exercitus, et ex altera[7] parte hostilis multitudo, irrequietis vexationibus perturbans, eminus missilia mittens, et nostris sine intermissione imminens. A tergo nihilominus nostros quidam persequentes ultra modum fatigabant, ita quod pedites nostros satellites et sagittarios qui fuerant extremi deputati, oportuit continue versa retrorsum[8] facie progredi post tergum sine intermissione in persequentes immittentes[9] sagittas. Nocte quoque sequenti fixis papilionibus non procul a fluvio, parum quietis sed plurimum sollicitudinis habebant, quibus opus erat vel propulsare apertius instantes adversarios, vel præcavere occultas insidias. Non enim tam assiduis quam continuis cessabat pars adversa nostros vel lacessere[10] injuriis vel irritare opprobriis. Pons erat per quem trans flumen iter erat. Hunc Turci præoccupaverant, et quia ante nostrorum adventum, sicuti proposuerant, pontem illum diruendi spatium non habuerant,[11] conglobati transitum[12] prohibere tentabant, in medio ponte facientes stationem. Quos cum nostri

Battle at the bridge (of Dahouk, Nov. 15. *Bohadin*, 151.)

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[1] *sollicitantibus*] sollicitantes, A.

[2] *facientibus*] sentientibus, A.

[3] *non*] nisi, A.

[4] *fontem*] fons, A.

[5] *ubi*] ibi, B.

[6] *ab invicem*] om. A.

[7] *altera*] alia, A.

[8] *versa retrorsum*] tr. A.

[9] *in persequentes immittentes*] mittentes in persequentes, A.; emittentes, B.; in, om. B. C.

[10] *lacessere*] lacessire, A.; lacescire, B. C.

[11] *habuerant*] habebant, A.

[12] *transitum*] om. A.

persenserunt nulla ratione nisi interveniente violentia cessuros, frater regis Galfridus[1] de Liziniaco, cum aliis quinque militibus electis, potenter irruit in eos, et in momento dissipavit, ut eodem impetu ferme triginta dejicerentur in fluvium nunquam amplius emersuri, quia submersi: et sic vel invitis transitum cedentibus, omnes libere transierunt, et ad obsidionem unde recesserant Achon regressi sunt.

A.D. 1190. November 15.

Our forces return to the camp.

[CAPITULUM LXIII.[2]]

Quibus dolis Marchisus ut regno[3] potiretur, hæredem[4] regni, uxorem scilicet Reinfridi adhuc viventis desponsavit.

Porro Marchisus, regnandi gloria diutius[5] affectata, cum jam aditum ad vota cerneret oblatum, regnum sibi fidenter promittit, si Reinfrido[6] conjugem supplantasset; ad[7] hoc ergo totis anhelat nisibus, huc omnes artis officinas congerit. Sed obliquo utens principio, de statu regni queritur, quod rex tractandis negotiis minus sufficit; quod uxore sublata jam injuste regnat, cum alia Regis Amalrici filia superstes existat. Hæc primo in populum proponit; sed et[8] principes officiosus ambit; hos donis provocans, illos sibi cognatione confœderans, omnesque vel blandus allicit, vel dator obligat, vel promissor invitat. Facile viro tam industrio, et tot argutiis instructo id totum obtinere quod optat: quem nec Sinon[9] figmentis, nec Ulixes

Conrad, Marquis of Montferrat, prosecutes his designs on the heiress of the kingdom, wife of Henfrid III. of Toron.

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[1] *Galfridus*] Gwidonis, B.
[2] *LXIII.*] LXVIII., A.
[3] *regno*] om. A.
[4] *hæredem*] hærede, A.
[5] *diutius*] divinitus, G.
[6] *si Reinfrido*] sed Enfrido, G.
[7] *ad*] ob, A.
[8] *proponit; sed et*] om. G.
[9] *Sinon*] Simon, B.; Synon, C.

A.D. 1190.

eloquio, nec Mithridates[1] diversitate linguarum æquaret: Sed quia maritales amplexus passim dirimi[2] sanctio ecclesiastica inhibet, vir subdolus novam commentatur calumniam, qua conjugem Reinfrido[3] subducat. Eam vero a viro suo absque juris offensa separari posse persuadet principibus,[4] utpote quæ infra annos nupserat, et citra consensum. Cæterum, Reinfridus[5] ipse obtentu conjugis spem regni conceperat: vir fœminæ quam viro propior, gestu mollis, sermone fractus, et cui illud poeticum[6] competit;

Henfrid to is forcibly separated from his wife.

> "Dum dubitat natura marem faceretve puellam,
> "Natus es, O pulcher, pene puella puer." *

Virgil, *Catalecta*, p. 177, ed. Scaliger, Leyden, 1617.

[7] Hic se hæredem regni[8] habere proponit, sed pro jure uxorio minus prudenter postulat. Nam quadam die, dum de[9] mandato principum conjugem suam produxisset in medium, nuptam simul et regnum, Marchiso procurante, amisit. O scelus[10] et morsu satirico[11] et tragica declamatione dignissimum; nam si Helenæ raptum damnamus, in hoc præsens[12] factum turpius, et injuria major; quod illa marito absente furtim surrepta, ista viro præsente violenter abducta. Verum[13] ut factum istud injuriæ deprecetur infamiam, puella sub manu sequestra custodienda traditur, dum causa divortii clero judice ventiletur. Clerum igitur dolis et donis Marchisus aggreditur, omnes quos sibi credit accommodos[14] pertentat, largitionibus immensis effluit, ut auri fascino judiciariam sinceritatem corrumpat. Verbum tam diri[15] sceleris ad aures sacratissimi Cantuariorum Metropolitæ

The Marquis bribes the Clergy to consent to a divorce.

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[1] *Mithridates*] Mitridates, A. C.; Metridates, B.

[2] *dirimi*] dirui, A.

[3] *Reinfrido*] Enfrido, G.

[4] *persuadet principibus*] persuadent principes, A.

[5] *Reinfridus*] Enfridus, G.

[6] *poeticum*] Virgilianum, A. G.; poeticum Virgilianum, B.

[7] *Hic se . . . postulat*] om. A.

[8] *hæredem regni*] tr. B. G.

[9] *de*] om., A.

[10] *scelus*] zelus, B.; scellus, C.

[11] *satirico*] satyrico, A.

[12] *præsens*] præsentis, A.

[13] *Verum*] Unde, B.

[14] *credit accommodos*] tr. G.

[15] *diri*] duri,

A.D. 1190.

Baldwin Archbishop of Canterbury, vicegerent of the Patriarch, opposes the adulterous marriage. Reginald of Sidon, Payn of Haipha, and Balian of Ibelin, who had married Mary, the widow of Amalric, support the Marquis.

delatum, et innocentiam viri ad stuporem concitat, et juris patronum in iram accendit.[1] [2] Patriarchæ, ut diximus, ægrotantis vices eidem commissas, dum juxta debitum rigorem exequitur, fautores[3] Marchionis dandam sententiam appellationis objectu minitantur elidere. Profecto[4] fautores ejus præcipui tres erant, Reginaldus Sidoniorum dominus, Paganus de Castro Cayphæ, et Balisantus. Quod si Comes Tripolitanus qui jam ante decesserat,[5] quartus affuisset, consummatæ iniquitatis consilium facile præstitissent. In eos enim tanquam in domicilium suum turba scelerum certatim confluxerat, Judæ proditio, Neronis crudelitas, Herodis nequitia, et quidquid vel ætas præsens abhorret impium, vel antiqua condemnat infandum. Porro Balisantus mortuo rege Amalrico,[6] matrem puellæ duxerat uxorem,[7] quæ Graia fæce a cunis imbuta, virum moribus suis habebat conformem, sævum impia, levem mobilis, perfidum fraudulenta. Hos Marchio muneribus et promissis illexerat, ut puellam adversus Reinfridum[8] querelam movere instruerent, quod invita nupserat, quod semper reclamavit, quod stare non debet matrimonium, cum nunquam præstitisset assensum. Facile persuadetur quod affectatur: facillime mulier mutat consilium,

"Nam varium et mutabile semper
"Fœmina," *

* Virgil, *Æneid*, iv. 569.

cui et sexus lubricus, et mens mobilis, et sicut novis gaudet amplexibus, sic notos leviter respuit, citius[9] oblivioni contradit. Puella quidem in pravum docilis turpem monentium[10] doctrinam libentius excipit,

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[1] *accendit*] ascendit, B.

[2] *Patriarchæ.*] Here G. reads: "Patriarcha ut diximus, ægrotantium languore territus, vires suas "ei, dum," &c.

[3] *fautores*] fauctores, A.

[4] *Profecto*] dum, ins. A.

[5] *decesserat*] discesserat, A.

[6] *Amalrico*] Almarico, C.

[7] *duxerat uxorem*] tr. G.

[8] *Reinfridum*] Enfridum, G.

[9] *citius*] cujus, A.

[10] *monentium*] moventium, G.

A.D. 1190.

Elizabeth herself accepts the Marquis.

Baldwin excommunicates the contractors and abettors of the marriage which is celebrated by the Bishop of Beauvais, although Conrad has two other wives already.

et jam se non raptam, sed Marchisum secutam dicere non erubescit. Sane principes ipsi spreto jure ad hoc inclinatius tendunt, ut regno simul et puella Marchio potiatur. Videns itaque archipræsul sanctissimus[1] Cantuariensis, ordine perverso justitiam confundi et æquitatem, et ecclesiasticam oblitterari sanctionem; perpendens etiam clerum[2] cum nonnullis episcopis prout audebant submurmurare, quibus scilicet mens sanior et zelus erat ferventior, super iniquo matrimonio: in contrahentes et consentientes, excommunicationis tulit sententiam. Nec quidem immerito, tum quod a vivente marito raptam[3] sibi copulavit, et in domo sua desponsavit, solemnia celebrante episcopo Belvacensi: tum quia unam habuit superstitem uxorem in patria sua, alteram in urbe Constantinopolitana, utramque nobilem, juvenem et[4] formosam, et satis habilem sibi pro contingentibus suis; unde trinum allegabant eum commisisse adulterium, et in quantum poterat, clerus contradicebat faciendum quod sancta Ecclesia nefas esse[5] judicabat. Nitebantur autem ii, qui horum fuerant fautores, ea intentione se excusare, quod Marchisus, contrahendi matrimonii conditione, victualium copiam se præjuraverat exercitui plurimum egenti a Tyro exhibiturum. Sprevit autem juramentum, et fidei transgressus est irreverenter relligionem; qui enim in modico est infidelis nec offensam veretur sceleris[6] majoris. Celebratis autem solemniter præoptatis diutius nuptiis, eodem die contigit quosdam ex nostris, qui nuptiarum interfuerant compotationibus, egressos spatiatum post auram, ab irruentibus ex insidiis Turcis comprehendi, quosdam occidi. Initium malorum hæc: ibi captus est Pincerna

On the wedding day the cupbearer of Senlis falls into the hands of the Turks.

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[1] *sanctissimus*] quod, add. G., in which there is a long hiatus down to "audiens exercitum" in c. LXV.

[2] *clerum*] Deum eum, B.; Dominum, C.

[3] *raptam*] captam, B.

[4] *et*] om. A.

[5] *esse*] dicebat vel, ins. B.

[6] *sceleris*] scelerum, B.

de Sancto Licio, quem si Turci captivum reservaverint vel occiderint, nunquam post innotuit. Viginti vero numero tunc sunt capti vel occisi.

A.D. 1190.

[CAPITULUM LXIV.[1]]

Marchisus Tyrum regressus et perjurus fami nostrorum non subvenit.

Marchisus autem[2] voti compos cum conjuge sua et suis, statim Tyrum festinanter regressus est, per quem juxta conditionem se sperabant universi victualium exhibitione lætificandos. Sed frustra, nam præteritæ pactionis immemor, vel concessionis ingratus, exercitui fame periclitanti non destinavit vel ovum. Immo, perjurus et mendax eo volentes navigare cum victui[3] necessariis non permisit. Crevit itaque ultra modum fames in obsidione, parum vel nihil inveniebatur emendum, nihil classe veniebat advectum.

Conrad with his bride returns to Tyre, and neglects the aid he has promised to the army at Acre.

[CAPITULUM LXV.[4]]

Baldewinus Cantuariæ archiepiscopus moritur.

Præterea archiepiscopus Cantuariensis videns quod ante audiens[5] exercitum omnino dissolutum, tabernis, scortis et ludis talorum insistere, animam tantorum excessuum impatientem, usque ad tædium vitæ afflixit. Et quia morbus communis medelam difficile recipit, quadam die cum hujusmodi opiniones pessimæ ad aures ejus frequentius emanarent, sciens quod homo curam, Deus habet curationem,[6] suspiriosus in hæc

Archbishop Baldwin falls sick with grief at the corruption of the army.

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[1] *LXIV.*] LXIX., A.
[2] *autem*] vero, B.
[3] *victui*] victu, B.
[4] *LXV.*] LXX., A.
[5] *audiens*] autem, ins. G., which here resumes.
[6] *curationem*] creationem, A.

A.D. 1190. Baldwin dies; (Nov. 19. *Gervas,* 1566).

verba prorupit:[1] "Domine Deus, nunc est opus pia "corripientis et corrigentis gratia, quod si Tuæ mise-"rationis beneplacitum esset, ut a vitæ præsentis "turbine sublatus migrarem, longam satis in hoc ex-"ercitu moram exegi." Post hunc sermonem diebus quindecim nondum evolutis, tanquam exauditus a Domino, cœpit aliquantulum rigorem persentiscere, æstuque febrili fatiscens infra dies paucos in Domino feliciter obdormivit.[2]

[Capitulum LXVI.[3]]

De acerbitate famis nostrorum et magnitudine pretii venalium unde maledicebant Marchisum.

The besiegers begin to suffer from famine: (from Nov. 30, 1190, to February 2, 1191. *Hoveden,* 387).

Interea fervente famis penuria, continua potius quam assidua cruciabantur, mediocres cum vulgo, afflictione, ingruentis famis inedia, eo quidem vehementius, quo prævaricante Marchiso desperabilius. Illis nimirum tantum clanculo transmittebat annonam, quos operis nefandi contractus illiciti complices habuit[4] et fautores. Vix jam majores exercitus vitæ transigendæ parcissimam obtinebant alimoniam. Jam instabat hyems assueta abundantiæ, prodiga luxus, olim effluens variis esculentiæ speciebus, sed nunc alterati vices temporis austeriori redimens parcitate, ructusque[5] pristinos nimiæ repletionis jam nunc hiantis stomachi conciliabat avidior gula ex angustia exinanitionis. Jamjam omnem[6] consumpserat substantiam mensa vorax, nec

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[1] *prorupit*] irrupit, G.

[2] *obdormivit.*] G. continues: "fi-"denter dicimus, quod in Domino "obdormierit, cujus vita laudabilis, "et labem nesciens, cujus obitus "non minus miraculosus exstitit, "quam universo exercitui nostro "lugendus. Libet paulisper digredi, "et vocitatem stilo succinctiore "perstringere, ut nec testis desit "virtutibus, nec longiore tractatu "brevitas affectata turbetur." Here G. ends.

[3] *LXVI.*] LXXI., A.

[4] *habuit*] habuerat, B.

[5] *ructusque*] victusque, A. C.

[6] *omnem*] om.

A.D. 1190-1.

Dearth in the army.

satians[1] juventutis fervor edax, eo[2] magis contabuerat inedia quo necessariis carebat alimentis. Tanto quippe ferventiori æstuabat stimulo,[3] quo egebat affluentiori alimento. Nonnihil etiam augmentabat perniciem famis jam imminentis fervor temporis; quin immo gravior solet esse[4] indigentia lautiori educatis affluentia. Quid plura? modii tritici, mensura modica quam videlicet quis facile portaret sub ascella, centum aureis vendebatur: gallina quoque solidis duodecim, ovum sex denariis. Secundum horum æstimationem possunt et cætera victui necessariorum[5] pretia taxari.

Tunc Marchisum detestantur,
  Subtracto solamine,
Per quem escis defraudantur
  In famis discrimine.

[Capitulum LXVII.[6]]

Nostri, fame pereuntes, cadavera equorum cum intestinis devorabant.

The Crusaders are glad to eat horse-flesh.

Cæterum, sicut dicitur, egestas urget ad crimen, et intercedit ad veniam, quia Deus omnia creavit homini, et dedit in manum ejus, ut essent ei in adjutorium; ne perirent homines salvis jumentis, equos destrarios[7] pretiosos perimebant: et nec etiam detractis pellibus quorundam in deliciis comedebant carnes equinas. Intestina equi venundabantur solidis decem. Ubicunque sciretur equus peremptus, confluebant certatim, vel ad emendum vel rapiendum, et sicut volucres ad cadaver, ruebant catervatim homines famelici ad animalium cadavera peremptorum: ut videlicet, corpora vectorum incorporarent, et vice versa portarentur in

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[1] *satians*] faciens, A.; saciens jam, B.

[2] *eo*] et, A.

[3] *æstuabat stimulo*] tr. B.

[4] *esse*] esset, A.

[5] *cætera victui necessariorum*] cæterarum victui necessariarum, B.

[6] *LXVII.*] LXXII., A.

[7] *destrarios*] dextrarios,

A.D. 1190-1. They eat the entrails of horses, and curse the Marquis. * S. Matthew xxiv. 28.

ventre qui prius portaverant. Equus pluris vendebatur mortuus quam vivus. Quibus non inconvenienter adaptandum videretur illud Evangelicum:[1] "Ubi fuerit corpus, congregabuntur et aquilæ;" * salva mystica interpretatione, cujus non derogamus dignitati. Nihil quidem urgente fame mactatis equis intestinorum videbantur abjiciendum; quantumcunque vilis[2] portio magni æstimabatur: caput cum intestinis vorabant, ut et post omnia avidius consumpta, immo devorata, digitos lingerent sapientes, ut dum[3] quid inhærebat, lingua potius lambente[4] absumeretur quam mappula extergeretur.

Hinc Marchisum detestantur,
  Subtracto solamine,
Per quem escis defraudantur
  In famis discrimine.

[Capitulum LXVIII.[5]]

Occulte comedebat qui aliquam escam habuit.

Those who have any food conceal it, and curse the Marquis.

Processu temporis ex cibariorum indigentia crescebat fames vehementer. Si quis etiam quid habebat ad cibum pertinens, ne violenter diriperetur, in conclavi occultabat ad usum proprium, quod non sufficeret necessitati plurium. Sicque fiebat ut modicum exponeretur ad vendendum, et quicquam[6] habentes non distribuerent ad communicandum, sed ubique pauper eget.

Hinc Marchisum detestantur,
  Subtracto solamine,
Per quem escis defraudantur
  In famis discrimine.

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[1] *Evangelicum*] Evangelium, B.
[2] *vilis*] vel, B.
[3] *dum*] et, ins. B.
[4] *lambente*] labente, A.; lambere, B.
[5] *LXVIII.*] LXXIII., A.
[6] *quicquam*] quicquid, A.

[CAPITULUM LXIX.[1]]

Quondam deliciosi herbas comedebant.

A.D. 1190-1.

Ubi [2] forte viderentur herbæ crescentes, et hi qui nutriebantur olim deliciose, viri nobiles et filii potentum rapientes devorabant, more bestiarum, pascentes herbas, ut vel diro pastu vehementia famis restingueretur. Unde et quamplures inducti ratione necessitatis plantabant herbas esui idoneas, et ad depellendos famis aculeos efficaces: et quas olim non respicerent herbas, vel humano usui crederent idoneas, famis immensitas jam effecerat famelicis dulcissimas.

They eat grass, and curse the Marquis.

O tunc plebis vox plangentis,[3]
  Maledicentis Marchisi perfidiam,
Quod non curat tabescentis
  Populi miseriam.

[CAPITULUM LXX.[4]]

Imbribus et fame populus perit.

Præterea ex nimia imbrium inundatione quædam nimium vehemens excrevit in hominibus infirmitas. Inauditæ quidem pluviæ, assiduæ, immo continuæ, exercitum tanta affecit injuria, quod ex nimia afflictione, turgentibus membris, toto corpore more distenderentur lymphatico; ex cujus morbi vehementia, dentes quoque [5] quorundam funditus exstirpati deciderunt avulsi. O lamenta singulorum! O mœror omnium, dum dolent incolumes aliorum miserias, dum

They perish in the rains and curse the Marquis.

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[1] *LXIX.*] LXXIV., A.
[2] *Ubi*] Ibi, A.
[3] *plangentis*] om. A. B.
[4] *LXX.*] LXXV., A.
[5] *quoque*] om. A.

A.D. 1190-1. singulis diebus[1] erat videre sociorum funera, et unoquoque die celebrarent mille mortuorum exsequias.[2] Quidam tamen licet pauci convaluerunt de infirmitate, et ferventius cibum appetentes nimia post morbum affligebantur famis miseria.

O tunc plebis vox maledicentis
Marchisi perfidiam,
Quod non curat tabescentis
Populi miseriam.

[CAPITULUM LXXI.[3]]

Pugnabant famelici ad furnum.

They fight over the bread at the oven's mouth.

Præterea ubicunque notum fieret panem coquendum in clibano, factus est concursus populorum clamantium et dicentium, "Ecce moneta, ecce quantum vis panis "pretium, dummodo panis detur copia." Singuli quippe primum sibi petunt concedi, offerentes pretium in panis commutationem, quos nondum habuerunt, vel forte nunquam habituri fuerunt, singulis sibi violenter præripientibus.[4] Quoties vero divitum quempiam plurimum panis emere contigisset, tunc mœror et luctus et clamor pauperum; vox una plangentium, cum sentirent modicum illud panis a divitibus auferri, quod pauperibus utcunque potuisset prodesse particulariter distributum. Pro voluntate vendentis exhibebant avidissime pretium panis. Quia vero tantæ multitudini modicum quid non poterat sufficere, frequenter circa clibanum habentem panem fiebant iræ, rixæ, contentiones, invidiæ, nonnunquam pugnæ, et super incertis cui cederet quæ petebant mordacius[1] litigabant. A.D. 1190-1.

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[1] *singulis diebus*] tr. B.

[2] *exsequias*] obsequias, B.

[3] *LXXI.*] LXXVI. A. This chapter is omitted in C., and supplied on a slip of paper in a hand of Parker's age, with note, "Hoc caput "deest in libro; intrandum ad "signum ✠" The mark is placed in the text between the 70th and 72nd chapters.

[4] *præripientibus*] præcipientibus, A.

O tunc plebis vox maledicentis
Marchisi perfidiam,
Quod non curat tabescentis
Populi miseriam.

[CAPITULUM LXXII.[2]]

Famelici ossa a canibus[3] corrosa rodunt et immunda comedunt.

The famishing army gnaw the bones thrown to the dogs, and curse the marquis.

Sed quis scribat vel exponat quanta miseria, quanta compassio? Cum viderentur quidam, urgente fame, more canum rabidorum discurrere, et ossa forte reperta,[4] a tribus diebus corrosa, canibus[5] ejecta corripere, et ubi nihil erat corrodendum rodere, sugere, lambere, non quod eo proficerent, sed tantum quia quandoque carnes ubi[6] fuerint, ex recordatione rodentes, delectarent. Sed quid ad hæc? hostes utrinque assiduis irruptionibus fatigantes, dum subito occursantes perimerent, reputabantur mitiores, a tantæ famis magnitudine; quia hi perimentes in ore gladii sine mora vitæ finem imponerent simul et miseriæ; fame vero pereuntes longo contabescerent cruciatu. Sæpius quidem in oculis omnium, ii quibus fames præripuerat pudorem, proh dolor! cibis vescebantur abominandis, quantumlibet immundis, fortuitu repertis, et quod dici nefas est, pro deliciis duce-

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[1] *quæ petebant mordacius*] tr A.
[2] *LXXII.*] LXXVII., A.
[3] *canibus*] carnibus, A.
[4] *reperta*] comperta, A.
[5] *corrosa, canibus*] corrosis carnibus, B.
[6] *ubi*] ibi, A. B.

A.D. 1190-1. bant devorare diro ore, quæ usui non permittuntur humano.

[1] O tunc plebis vox maledicentis
Marchisi perfidiam,
Quod non curat tabescentis
Populi [2] miseriam.

[Capitulum LXXIII.[3]]

Nobiles etiam viri, cum non haberent unde panem emerent, furabantur.

Men of noble birth steal bread: the people curse the marquis.

Præterea, ex quibusdam relatu dignis argumentis poterit perpendi famis [4] magnitudo, quæ patienter pro carnis conditione sustinentibus non indigne reputatur pro martyrio, nisi forte gratiæ [5] meritorum obstiterit murmur pro scrupulo. Quoniam igitur, urgente necessitate, multa nonnunquam committuntur indigna, quidam erant quos a generis ingenuitate mendicare pudebat in publico, immo minus formidabant peccare in occulto, quam precario victum quæritare in publico, et panes furari solebant. Unde accidit quod quidam in hujusmodi latrocinio deprehensus [6] caperetur, et loris arctissime stringeretur. Ligatus itaque deputatus est custodiæ in ejusdem domo, qui eum comprehenderat, qui pistor erat: et dum circa plurima domus ministeria officiosius insisteret familia, qua nescitur agitatione illius captivi manus dissolutæ sunt, et sicut forte juxta acervum panum recentium residebat, manducabat occulte, nullo attendente vel sentiente: et cum ad sufficientiam esset [7] refectus, uno tantum pane assumpto in manu, liber exilivit,[1] et ad suos socios[2] reversus est indemnis. Et rem gestam ut erat narrans ex ordine, illum quem solum attulerat panem eis distribuit communicandum. Sed quid hoc inter plures? parcitas irritavit gulam, exasperavit potius famem quam sedaret. A.D. 1190-1.

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[1] This verse is thus abbreviated in B.:—
"O tunc p. v. m. m. pfi. q^d. ñ. c. t. p. miseriam."

[2] *tabescentis populi*] tr. A.

[3] *LXXIII.*] LXXVII., A.

[4] *famis*] om. C.

[5] *forte gratiæ*] tr. A.

[6] *deprehensus*] comprehensus, A.

[7] *esset*] fuisset, A.

[3] O tunc plebis vox maledicentis
Marchisi perfidiam,
Quod non curat tabescentis
Populi miseriam.

[Capitulum LXXIV.[4]]

Multi pro acerbitate famis apostatant.

Some of our men desert and become apostates.

[5] Quidam nostrorum, quod sine gravi mœrore nec referri potest nec[6] audiri, nimiæ famis asperitati cedentes, dum corpoream procurant salutem, animarum incurrunt damnationem. Post superatam enim ex parte maxima tribulationem, abierunt retro refugientes ad Turcos; apostatare non dubitaverunt; et ut vitam ad modicum prolongarent temporalem, blasphemiis nefandis comparaverunt mortem perpetuam. O perniciosum commercium! O flagitium qua pœna plectendum! O homo insipiens comparatus jumentis insipientibus,[7]* dum mors inevitabiliter mox futura fugitur, mors quæ fine caret non vitatur! Quia si justus ex fide vivit,† esse mors perfidia perhibetur. Repurgata vero quandoque conscientia qui forte respuerunt[8]

* Ps. xlix. 12.
† Rom. i. 17.

Tunc Marchisum detestantur
Pacti transgressorium,
Cuique malum imprecantur,
Et væ peremptorium.

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[1] *in manu, liber exilivit*] liber exivit, B.
[2] *socios*] om. A.
[3] Verse omitted in B.
[4] *LXXIV.*] LXXIX., A.
[5] Ad hæc, præf. A.
[6] *nec*] vel, B.
[7] *insipientibus*] insipientibus, om. B.
[8] *respuerunt*] resipuerunt, A.

[CAPITULUM LXXV.[1]]

A.D. 1190-1.

Duo socii tredecim[2] fabas pro[3] denario emunt.

Account of two friends who bought thirteen beans for a penny.

[4]Erant duo socii, calamitatis consortes et miseriæ, egentes, angustiati. Unum solum duobus erat numisma[5] vulgo dictum Angevinum, et eo solo cupiebant sibi quid edendum comparare. Sed quid agerent? modicum quid erat, exilis quidem reputanda substantia, etiam si omnium bonorum fuisset abundantia. Nec magis eo[6] habebant præter armaturam et vestimenta sua. Illo unico quid emerent, vel qualiter fieri posset subtiliter diutius tractabant, ut illius diei redimerent instantem malitiam. Demum[7] eorum in eo resedit sententia, ut fabas aliquot emerent, quoniam inferioris æstimationis nihil reputabatur emendum. Vix igitur prece multa[8] illo denario tredecim fabas emerunt, quarum unam, postquam domum reversi sunt, deprehenderunt demoliente vermiculo perforatam, et ideo esui inefficacem. Tandem in hoc utroque consentiente, longæ viæ emenso spatio, diutius quæsitus est venditor, et vix multa supplicatione dignatus est incolumi faba cambire vitiosam. O quantæ rei diu quæsita et procul, et suppliciter acquisita commutatio! Ex consumptis in momento fabis illis quantam æstimamus provenisse saturitatem! Illud auditorum æstimamus potius arbitrio pensandum quam calamo describendum.

Tunc Marchisum execrantur
Pacti transgressorium;
Huic et malum imprecantur
Et væ peremptorium.

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[1] *LXXV.*] LXXX., A.
[2] *tredecim*] duodecim, B.
[3] *pro*] om. A.
[4] Ad hæc, præf. A.
[5] *duobus erat numisma*] tr. A.
[6] *eo*] om. A.
[7] *Demum*] Deinde, A.
[8] *prece multa*] tr. A.

[Capitulum LXXVI.[1]]

Famelici Carubles[2] comedunt, et vinum potantes moriuntur.

A.D. 1190-1.

Some of our men eat caroubs: some die from drinking wine, without food.

[3] Venundandum exponebatur genus fructus nascens in arboribus, grana scilicet in folliculis, ut legumen, inclusa, vulgo vocatum Caruble,[4] gustu dulce, et esu satis delectabile. His reficiebantur egentes, quia major erat inde copia quam rerum aliarum: unde ad hæc emenda via satis erat[5] trita, quia, licet minoris æstimationis, nonnihil erat. Illorum qui decumbebant infirmi, quia parum edebant, vel quia non habebant, vel quia non poterant, vino quo utebantur, æstuante, suffocati sunt plurimi, vel ex Falerni violentia, quia cibis non temperabatur, vel ex infirmitate quæ vini non poterat sustinere virtutem. Vini quidem satis tolerabilis habebatur copia vendendi, sed conservando corpori humano non bene competit plurimum vini, et modicum cibi; hoc enim decet æquo temperari moderamine. Sed qui[6] tantæ fuerat egestatis occasio, non dormitat Marchisi maledictio;

[7] Ipsum semper execrantur
Pacti transgressorium,
Et cui malum imprecantur,
Et væ peremptorium.

[Capitulum LXXVII.[8]]

Famelici in Quadragesima carnes comedunt.

Some eat meat on

[9] Quidam etiam in ipso Quadragesimæ initio, quod Caput Jejunii vocatur, urgente fame compellebantur

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[1] *LXXVI.*] LXXXI., A.

[2] *Carubles*] Karrubles, A.

[3] Ad hæc, præf. A.

[4] *Caruble*] Karruble, A.; Carrable, B.

[5] *erat*] om. C.

[6] *qui*] quæ, C.

[7] Verse omitted in B.

[8] *LXXVII.*] LXXXII., A.

[9] Ad hæc, præf.

A.D. 1191. Ash-Wednesday, Feb. 27.

carnes manducare; non quia carnibus abundarent, sed quia facilius perquirebantur. Postea vero, tempore mitigato, condigna satisfactione pœnituerunt. Super hæc omnia, tota illa hyeme, caritas inter omnes metu penuriæ[1] in tantum refriguit, ut nec etiam amicus in[2] necessariis communicaret amico. Modicæ quidem fidei ![*] dubitantes quod Deus est caritas,[†] et si sua aliis distribuerent,[3] necessariis ipsi carerent. In tantum igitur invaluit vitium parsimoniæ, et tenacitas quid habentium, ut et habita occultarentur, et putarentur etiam habentes nihil habere.

[*] S. Matt. viii. 26.
[†] 1 S. John iv. 16.

Quid Marchiso tunc optaret
  Vox tot queritantium?
Quis non reum judicaret
  Tot periclitantium?

[Capitulum LXXVIII.[4]]

Exhortatione[5] Episcopi Saresbyriensis et quorundam aliorum, divites collectam[6] faciunt per quam[6] pauperes saturantur.

The bishops of Salisbury, Verona, and Fano make collections for the poor.

Ultra modum vitiata fidelium communione, nullo intelligente super egenum et pauperem, hujus infidelitatis in omnes[7] divulgata est infamia. Satagente siquidem episcopo Salesberiensi, et docente nihil esse majus caritate, nihil Deo gratius, nihil danti fructuosius, ad hoc efficaci cunctos induxit persuasione, ut aperirent manus ad distribuendum proximis, communicarent egentibus, sustentarent pereuntes, ne si negligerent necessitatem alienam, non obtinerent propriam; juxta illud:[‡] Mortem languentibus, qui cum posset non avertit, induxit: ostendit quippe reum esse mortis

[‡] Gratian, *Decret.* pt. i. *dist.* 83.

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[1] *penuriæ*] pecuniæ, A.
[2] *in*] om. A.
[3] *distribuerent*] distribuerant, B.
[4] *LXXVIII.*] om. A.
[5] *Exhortatione*] Exhortationes, A.
[6] *collectam . . . quam*] collectas . . . quas, A.
[7] *omnes*] omni, B.

A.D. 1190-1.

alienæ, qui cum possit, subterfugit succurrere, qui jubetur etiam inimico sitienti potum dare, et esurientem cibare.* Cæterum, consimili sollicitus insistit exhortationi Veronensis[1] episcopus, Fanensis[2] etiam episcopus Italiæ. Ad horum igitur tam necessariam exhortationem et instantiam, facta est collecta distribuenda in pauperes, et tot et tanta quorum Deus tetigerat corda intulerunt in donaria egentium,[3] ut copiosissime reficerentur famelici; sed et distribuentibus non minueretur substantia, cooperante gratia Dei. Tunc emergit nova lætitia, tunc labiis multorum benedicuntur erogantes, tunc multiplicantur beneficia, tunc grata narratur in eos influxisse misericordia, dum super afflictis potentiores pia gestant viscera. His exequendis se præcipuos exhibebant vir ille nobilis Walkelinus[4] de Ferrariis et Robertus Trossebot,[5] et his non inferior Henricus comes Campaniæ, Jocelinus[6] de Montoire,[7] comes quoque de Claro Monte, nec non gerendorum primicerius episcopus Salesberiensis. Horum videlicet sollicitudine et opera, et[8] aliorum, quisque secundum propriam virtutem conferebat in unum, ut distribueretur unicuique prout cuique[9] opus erat.[10]† Sicque quorum corda prius erant sub obducto cinere avaritiæ frigidissima, aspirante gratia divina, in caritate facta sunt[11] flammantia; et quia sic[12] conversi facti sunt misericordes, respexit eos Dominus[13] et magnificavit cum eis misericordiam suam, juxta illud, "Convertimini ad me, et ego convertar ad vos, dicit "Dominus."‡

* Rom. xii. 20.

They are assisted by the nobles, and a better feeling prevails.

† Acts ii. 45.

‡ Malachi iii. 7.

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[1] *Veronensis*] Verronensis, A.
[2] *Fanensis*] or Favensis.
[3] *egentium*] gentium, B.
[4] *Walkelinus*] Wilkelinus, C.
[5] *Trossebot*] Trusebot, A.; Rodbertus Trussebot, B.
[6] *Jocelinus*] Colinus, B.; Locelinus, C.
[7] *Montoire*] Montoirs, A.
[8] *et*] om. A. B.
[9] *prout cuique*] om. B.
[10] *erat*] om. C.
[11] *sunt*] est, B.
[12] *sic*] si, A.
[13] *Dominus*] Deus, A. B.

[CAPITULUM LXXIX.[1]]

A.D. 1191. *Adventu unius navis quæ vulgo dicitur Dromund,[2] cum annona, hodie emitur quatuor aureis quod die transacto vendebatur pro centum aureis.[3]*

Arrival of provisions. Universis igitur piis[4] operibus insistentibus, ecce adduxit Dominus navem quandam onustam[5] annona, per cujus adventum alleviata est plurimum prior cibariorum penuria. Non enim exstiterat fames tanta panis, eo quod non haberetur triticum, sed quia venditores immoderatum exigebant ab emptoribus pretium, ut videlicet negotiatione gravissima acquireretur multa pecunia. Quid enim non agat cupiditas? Prædicta quidem navis, quæ satis erat modica,[6] advenerat, ut arbitror, quodam sabbato; et ipsa crastina Dominica mensura quædam, quæ venundabatur prius centum aureis, dispensante bonorum omnium largitore Deo, diminuta est per adventum unius naviculæ[7] usque ad quatuor aureos. Oritur interea in populo nova jocunditas, dolentibus solis, et male zelantibus cupidis negotiatoribus, ex soliti quæstus diminutione. Sed quid? non est consilium contra Deum,[8] quia omnia quæcunque[9] voluit fecit.*

* Ps. cxv. 3.

[CAPITULUM LXXX.[10]]

Pisani reservare volentis annonam in posterum, domum cum annona ignis consumit.

A Pisan withholding corn over- Quidam Pisanus venditor annonæ, per totum annum triticum conservaverat intactum, quousque pro voto

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[1] *LXXIX.*] LXXXIV., A.

[2] *navis . . . Dromund*] naviculæ, A.

[3] *quod . . . aureis*] quod heri centum, A.

[4] *piis*] hiis, B.

[5] *onustam*] omissam, C.

[6] *quæ satis erat modica*] quæ immensa erat, B.

[7] *per . . . naviculæ*] om. A. B.

[8] *Deum*] Dominum, A.

[9] *quæcunque*] om. C.

[10] *LXXX.*] LXXXV.,

A.D. 1191.

reaches himself and his house is burned.

suo venderetur in posterum. Futuram enim speraverat famem majorem; si quando vero quantumlibet vendidisset, ad suam, prout vellet, æstimationem vendebat iis qui eo carere non poterant. Hoc autem esse nefas manifesto Deus monstravit[1] indicio; contigit enim domum illius Pisani,[2] tritico refertam, igne subito vehementer succendi. Ad quem ignem extinguendum etiam[3] cum plurimi accurrerent, omnis eorum erat conatus[4] inefficax, quia sine mora consumpta sunt omnia.

[Capitulum LXXXI.[5]]

Omnes certatim escas largiuntur, et qui contra fas comederant pœnitentia injungitur.

Charity prevails amongst all.

Igitur, certatim pietatis operibus insistentes universi, totis viribus contendunt eleemosynas partiri, dum singuli bono zelo student vicinos suos largitate superare, arbitrantes gratius obsequium se Deo præstare, si possent affluentius in necessariorum administratione egentes exhibere. Illi quoque qui de necessitate vescebantur, sicut prædictum est, carne in Quadragesima, de reatu pœnitentes post disciplinas singulis datas a memorato venerabili episcopo Salesberiensi,[6] sibi injunctam devote susceperunt peragendam condignam satisfactionem.

[*Explicit Liber Primus, Incipit Secundus.*] [7]

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[1] *monstravit*] demonstravit, A.

[2] *Pisani*] om. B.

[3] *extinguendum etiam*] tr. A.

[4] *erat conatus*] tr. A.

[5] *LXXXI.*] LXXXVI.] A.

[6] *Salesberiensi*] Seresberiensi, C.

[7] A.

[INCIPIT LIBER SECUNDUS.[1]]

[CAPITULUM I.]

A.D. 1191.

De regibus Angliæ et Franciæ.

Arrival of the kings of France (April 20) and England; (June 8).

Post Pascha venit eo rex Franciæ Philippus, et non multo post rex Anglorum Ricardus, quorum ut plenius innotescat series itineris, altius a processu eorum a regionibus suis texenda videtur narratio, quatenus ordinem gestorum digerente stilo, consequenter deducantur usque ad supradictam civitatis Achon obsidionem.

[CAPITULUM II.]

A.D. 1188.

Tam Franci quam Angli[2] certatim crucem suscipiunt.

Description of the zeal with which the crusade was taken up in Europe.

Igitur hujuscemodi[3] motus rerum, juxta præscriptam eventuum variationem,[4] ubique terrarum divulgante fama, dum narratur passim[5] Terræ Sanctæ civitates ab infidelibus occupatas, sancta data in opprobrium et conculcationem, Christicolas in direptionem et in prædam, ad exhortationem strenuissimi papæ tunc Gregorii octavi concutiuntur regna,[6] commota[7] sunt imperia, et animati sunt diversarum nationum quam plurimi, maxime Franci et Angli, et[8] signum Sanctæ Crucis devote suscipere, et ad[9] subventionem illius Sanctæ Terræ tota se virtute expedire, et tanquam David,

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[1] *Incipit Liber Secundus*] in marg. B.; in C. a space is left for a four-line initial.

[2] *Franci . . . Angli*] tr. A.

[3] *hujuscemodi*] hujusmodi, A.

[4] *variationem*] narrationem, A.

[5] *passim*] om. A.

[6] *regna*] om. A.; et, ins. A.

[7] *commota*] mota, A.

[8] *et*] om. A.

[9] *ad*] in,

A.D. 1188.

The preaching of the crusade.

accenduntur in ultionem Philistiim, exprobrantium cum suo Goliath laborantibus olim agminibus Dei Israel. Summus quippe Pontifex sub obtinenda peccatorum omnium[1] venia singulos diligenter exhortans, etiam eos qua præditus erat auctoritate, a reatu præteritorum commissorum absolvit, qui se tam pio, tam necessario instantius ingererent labori, eos argumentans merito fore beatiores, quos zelus ferventior incitaret ad arripiendum iter sine dilatione proniores. Iter, inquam, eo magis commendabile quo causa justior, et opera eo multipliciter excellentior, quo locus desolatus ex divina mystica promissione sanctior, et ex humanati[2] Dei nativitate, habitatione dedicatus est et passione: necnon et ab aliis quibuscunque regionibus divina electione secretus, et eo quod[3] occupatus eruendus videretur ab Ethnicis,[4] de quibus præceperat Deus ne intrarent in Ecclesiam Suam. Hinc certatim curritur ad crucem suscipiendam a sacerdotibus alacri zelo et pia contentione, ut jam non fiat quæstio quis cruce fuerit insignitus, immo quis adhuc tam pio onere[5] nondum accingeretur. Silent de cætero cantiones, abdicantur deliciæ ciborum, luxus vestium; sopiuntur jurgia litigantium;[6] inter olim discordantes pax nova reformatur; intervenientibus compositionibus terminantur lites causarum; et ex recenti occasione, quacunque causa, vel inveterato odio dissidentes, in novam gratiam revocantur. Quid plura? inspirante Deo fiunt omnes unanimes, quos provocat unica causa ad piæ peregrinationis labores.

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[1] *omnium*] om. A.

[2] *humanati*] humana, A.; humanato, B.; humanitati, C.

[3] *quod*] om. A.

[4] *Ethnicis*] Ennicis, B. C.; so above, *alleta* for *athleta*.

[5] *onere*] honere, A.

[6] *litigantium*] lætantium, C.

[CAPITULUM III.]

Henricus rex Angliæ et Philippus rex Franciæ, cum innumera multitudine, inter Gisortium et Triam crucem suscipiunt.

Richard, count of Poitou, takes the cross. A.D. 1187. November.

Interea Ricardus, tunc comes Pictavensis, cruce primus insignitur, et cum eo innumera multitudo, quæ tamen non tunc iter arripuit, interveniente mora, occasione dissensionis duorum regum, videlicet Philippi regis Franciæ et Henrici regis Angliæ patris ejusdem Ricardi comitis.[1] Inveterata quidem guerra hos duos reges, sicut et eorum antecessores, Francos scilicet et Normannos, inexorabili et fere continua simultate sese in mutuos sollicitaverat incursus. Satagente demum plurimum quodam archiepiscopo terræ Jerosolimitanæ, videlicet Tyri, præfixus est dies inter Gisortium et Triam concordiæ reformandæ causa,[2] inter duos reges. Venerat quippe nuncius prædictus archiepiscopus, ut fidelium aliquos animaret et auxiliatores adduceret, ad recuperandam terram Jerosolimorum, transmissus specialiter ad regem Anglorum, cujus fama virtutum[3] longe lateque super omnes reges universæ terræ innotuit, super prudentia, et gloria, et divitiis, et potentia virtutis ejus. Ea die concionis,[4] diversa diversis sentientibus et varia loquentibus, in hoc denique utriusque regis resedit sententia, ut uterque crucem acciperet et[5] uterque a terra exiret. Provide sic sibi videbatur uterque cavere, ne si forte alter remaneret, peregrinantis alterius regionem invaderet; neuter enim[6] sine altero illud præsumebat.[7] Confirmata[8] vix demum hac utri-

A.D. 1188. Henry II. and Philip Augustus meet between Trie and Gisors and agree to go on the crusade. (Jan. 21. *Hoveden*, 365.)

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[1] *Ricardi comitis*] tr. A. B.

[2] *concordiæ reformandæ causa*] tr. A.; for *causa* A. has *crucem.* B. omits *causa.*

[3] *virtutum*] virtutem, B.

[4] *concionis*] conditionis. A.

[5] *uterque crucem acciperet et*] om. B.

[6] *enim*] vero, A.

[7] *præsumebat*] præsumeret, A.

[8] *Confirmata*] Conformata, A.

usque sententia, cum præfati archiepiscopi benedictione, dato pacis osculo, eorum uterque crucizatur, et cum eisdem innumera gentis utriusque multitudo, partim Dei amore et peccatorum remissione, partim regum ipsorum respectu. Tantus itaque factus est eadem die crucem accipientium concursus, ut turba sese comprimens, præ intolerabili æstus fervore pene deficeret:[1] æstus quippe erat. Accusanda vero fuerat admodum itineris arripiendi dilatio. Fuerat autem humani generis inimici hæc operatio, cujus interest et odium inexorabile suscitare, et perpetes fovere discordias,[2] quo instigante reviviscit inter prædictos reges altercatio, et ex occasione levissima, seminarium querelarum: quorum utrumque superstitione diabolica, ne tanquam suæ famæ derogaretur et honori, gratis puduit humiliari, velut eo reputaretur abjectior et impotens, quo justitiæ patientior, et obediens.[3]

A.D. 1188.
The kings mistrust one another and delay the crusade.

[CAPITULUM IV.]

Henricus rex Angliæ moritur.

A.D. 1189.

Huic autem dissensioni finem fecit regis Henrici finis vitæ, sicque votum peregrinationis quod incolumis solvere distulit, morte præventus post tempus elapsum exequi non potuit. Votum quippe[4] faciendum quemadmodum esse debet absolute voluntarium, ita jam factum irrefragabiliter est solvendum, quia ei qui sponte fuerit voto primitus obligatus, est profecto damnabile per negligentiam illud non solvisse, qui licite potuit non vovisse. Obiit igitur rex Henricus in Normannia, die octava[5] Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli,

Henry II. dies, July 6.

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[1] *deficeret*] defecerit, A.

[2] *et . . . suscitare, et . . . discordias*] tr. A. B.

[3] *obediens*] vel consentiens, ins. B.

[4] *quippe*] quidem, A. B.

[5] *octava*] octabarum, A. B.

A.D. 1189. anno Domini[1] m^{o}c^{o}lxxx^{o}ix^{o}, et sepultus est apud Fontem Ebraldi.

[CAPITULUM V.]

Ricardus comes Pictaviæ coronatur in regem Angliæ.

Richard I. is crowned king of England, Sept. 3, at Westminster.

Igitur eodem anno post obitum patris sui, Ricardus comes Pictavensis,[2] ordinatis rebus in Normannia, tanquam transactis duobus mensibus, transfretavit in Angliam, et die Sancti Ægidii receptus est cum processione solemni ad Westmonasterium, et die tertia sequenti, videlicet in die ordinationis Sancti Gregorii papæ, quæ dies fuit Dominica, solemniter unctus est in regem, ex officio manum eidem imponente, et ministerium exequente archiepiscopo Baldewino, assistentibus suffraganeis[3] ejus plurimis; et coronatus est, circumstantibus fratre suo comite Johanne, et matre eorum Alianora,[4] quæ post mortem regis Henrici, per mandatum filii sui Ricardi regis futuri, educta fuit a custodia in qua fuerat circiter decem annos; præsentibus etiam comitibus, et baronibus et militibus et infinita hominum multitudine; et confirmatum est regnum in manum regis Ricardi. Anno igitur[5] Domini millesimo centesimo octogesimo nono, inunctus est Ricardus rex[6] in regem, videlicet tertia die Septembris, in die Dominica, dominicali littera existente A, anno scilicet proximo post Bissextum. Multi multa tunc conjecturabant, eo quod dies mala super eandem diem in Kalendario annotata est; et vere dies illa mala, et valde amara[7] fuit Judæis Londoniæ, qui eodem die[8] destructi sunt; et in illo anno similiter Judæi, in diversis locis per Angliam constituti multa mala perpessi sunt. Dignitate itaque regali trium dierum festivitate peracta in palatio regio Westmonasterii, munificentia regem Ricardum decenti,[1] donariis[2] sine æstimatione et numero singulis pro dignitate distributis, subjectos omnes lætificabat, operibus suis et incomparabili præstantia. Cujus animi generositatem, et dotes virtutum priscis potius sæculis Rector sæculorum contulerat, quæ per ætatem mundi jam senescentis, lassatis[3] veluti seminibus emedullate, parum aliquid in hoc tempore in quibusdam,[4] et id[5] in paucis mirandum ostentant[6] ac memorabile. Huic autem virtus Hectoris, magnanimitas erat Achillis, nec inferior Alexandro, nec virtute minor Rolando; immo nostri temporis laudabiliores[7] facile multifariam transcendens. Cujus, velut alterius Titi,

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[1] *Domini*] om. C.

[2] *Pictavensis*] Pictaviæ, A.

[3] *suffraganeis*] suffragiis, A.

[4] *Alianora*] Alienor, A. B.

[5] *igitur*] om. B.

[6] *Ricardus rex*] tr. A.

[7] *amara*] mala, A.

[8] *die*] om. C.

A.D. 1189. Sept. 3. Munificence of the king.

His character.

"Dextra sparsit opes,"

et quod in tam famoso milite perrarum[8] esse solet, lingua Nestoris, prudentia Ulixis, in omnibus negotiis vel perorandis, vel gerendis, aliis merito reddebant excellentiorem. Cujus nec scientia strenue agendi voluntatem refugeret, nec voluntas scientiæ inopiam accusaret. Quem[9] siquis forte præsumptionis æstimaverit arguendum, noverit ejus animum vinci nescium, injuriæ impatientem, ad jure debita repetenda, innata generositate compulsum, non inconvenienter excusari: quem ad quæque gerenda effecerat successus elegantiorem, quoniam

"Audentes fortuna juvat,"*

*Virgil, Æn. x. 284.

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[1] *munificentia . . . decenti*] om. C.
[2] *donariis*] denariis, A.
[3] *lassatis*] laxatis, A.
[4] *quibusdam*] quibuscunque, A. B.
[5] *id*] om. C.
[6] *ostentant*] ostentat, A.
[7] *laudabiliores*] commendabiliores, A. B.
[8] *perrarum*] terrarum, B.
[9] *Quem*] Quis, A.

A.D. 1189. quæ licet in quolibet suis fungatur moribus, fuit tamen iste

> “ Adversis rerum immersabilis undis.’[*]

[*] Horace, *Epist.* I. ii. 22.

Erat quidem statura procerus, elegantis formæ, inter rufum et flavum medie temperata cæsarie, membris flexibilibus et directis, brachia productiora, quibus ad gladium educendum nulla habiliora, vel ad feriendum efficaciora; nihilominus tibiarum longa divisio, totiusque corporis dispositione congrua, species digna imperio, cui non modicum competentiæ mores addebant et habitus; qui non tantum a generis dignitate, sed virtutum ornamentis summam possit consequi vel[1] laudem. Sed quid tantum virum laudum immensitate laborem extollere?

Description of the king's person.

> “ Non eget externo[2] commendatore, quod amplum
> “ Laudis habet meritum, laus comes ipsa rei est.”

Fuit nimirum longe præstans cæteris, et morum bonitate ac potentia virium; belloque et potestate memorandus; ejusque opera magnifica omnem quamvis claræ gloriæ illustrationem obumbrantia. Felix profecto, secundum hominem dico, reputandus, si gloriosis ejus gestis invidentibus caruisset æmulis, quorum fuit hoc solum odii seminarium, quia magnificus erat, quia nimirum nunquam melius torquebis invidos[3] quam virtuti serviendo.[4]

His felicity as a man.

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[1] *vel*] om. A.

[2] *externo*] hesterno, B.

[3] *quia . . . invidos*] quia nimiter nunquam melius torquebis in vitio, A.; torqueris, C.

[4] Trivet's abridgment of the Acts of Richard, from this book, begins with this chapter. He prefaces his extract of the character of Richard thus: “ Cujus mores corporisque “ formam, Ricardus, canonicus “ Sanctæ Trinitatis Londoniensis, “ qui Itinerarium ejusdem regis “ prosa et metro scripsit, secundum “ ea quæ, ut ipse asserit, præsens “ vidit in castris, per hunc modum “ describit: ‘Subjectos omnes læti- “ ‘ficabat rex Ricardus operibus “ ‘suis; cui virtus inerat Hectoris, “ ‘&c.’ ”—N. Trivet, *Annales*, ed. Hog, p. 116.

[Capitulum VI.]

A.D. 1189.

Ricardus rex,[1] *regni negotiis expeditis, in Normannia apud Liuns Nativitatem Domini celebrat, ex condicto*[2] *sui et regis Franciæ, contra eum ad Vercielai ad festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ venturus.*

Richard takes homage of his nobles, visits S. Edmund's and Canterbury as a pilgrim, fills up the vacant sees, and leaves England, (Dec. 11. *Hoveden,* 378)

Igitur completa, sicut prædictum est, festivitate coronationis, surrexit rex Ricardus pro patre suo, et magnatum terræ[3] fidelitatis securitate suscepta, sicut moris est, in signum subjectionis, singulis ejus præminentiæ submissis, a Londoniis recedens perambulabat[4] terram, et post profectus est[5] peregre ad Sanctum Edmundum[6] cujus tunc dies festivitatis instabat; inde Cantuariam. Ad cujus imperium, ad episcopatus quorum nonnulli prius vacantes in manu patris sui tenebantur, electi sunt, et assentiente rege inthronizati, episcopi Ricardus thesaurarius Londoniensis, Godefridus de Luci Wintoniensis, Hubertus Walteri[7] Salesberiensis, Willelmus de Longo Campo Elyensis, quem et fecit[8] rex cancellarium suum et totius Angliæ justiciarium. Simili quoque modo fecit idem rex episcopos ordinari ad vacantes episcopatus in aliis terris suis. Præparatis itaque itineri[9] necessariis, et regno Angliæ disposito, quantum permiserat temporis angustia, sine mora rediit in Normanniam, et apud Lyuns Dominicæ Nativitatis agebat festivitatem. Sollicitabat enim eum[10] sine intermissione arripiendæ suæ peregrinationis intentio, votique solutio, moram æstimans periculosam, dum superesset debitum in-

for Normandy, where he keeps Christmas at Lyons-la-Forêt.

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[1] *Ricardus rex*] tr. A.

[2] *condicto*] conducto, A. B.

[3] *terræ*] suæ, add. A. B.

[4] *perambulabat*] perambulat, C.

[5] *profectus est*] om. B.

[6] *Edmundum*] Eadmundum, A.

[7] *Walteri*] Walterus, C.

[8] *et fecit*] effecit, B.

[9] *itineri*] itineris, A. B.

[10] *enim eum*] tr.

A.D. 1189. choandum. Unde scripsit regi Franciæ se fuisse prorsus ad iter expeditum, ut et ipse quoque festinanter procederet; argumentans patris exemplo quia

"Semper nocuit differre paratis."*

* Lucan, *Pharsalia* i. 281.

A.D. 1190.

Richard and Philip meet at Dreux, but their preparations are disturbed by the death of Queen Isabella.

Anno igitur Domini m^{o}c^{o}xc^o, Dominicali littera G existente, super itineris eorum dispositione collocuturi[1] convenerunt reges apud Druellos. Communicato itaque multorum consilio, dum colloquerentur, venit subito nuncius referens reginam Franciæ fuisse defunctam. Cujus acerbitate rumoris rex Franciæ perculsus, vehementer desolatus est, adeo ut præmeditatam peregrinationem propemodum proposuerit negligendam. In hujus quoque[2] desolationis augmentum, ecce, nunciatur Willelmus rex[3] Apuliæ similiter decessisse. Horum itaque contrariorum adversitate[4] confracti sunt[5] quamplurimi, tanquam ex augurii diri superstitione repressi, adeo ut[6] perpetrandum abhorrerent[7] negotium, et zelus accensus ex parte tepesceret. Dei vero inspirantis instinctu, Cujus est dirigere gressus hominis,† in Cujus manu corda sunt regum,‡ ne tantopere[8] præmeditatum et solemniter procuratum pium opus periret, et verteretur in damnationem et opprobrium quod disponebatur[9] ad meritum, resumunt vires, animantur ut proficiant et proficiscantur,[10] ne per reprehensibilem[11] ignaviam torpescant. Sane fuerant ex condicto profecturi ad Nativitatem Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, ut videlicet die octava conveniret in unum uterque regum[12] cum suis ad Vergelay.[13] Cum multo itaque[14] necessariorum apparatu, non

† Proverbs, xvi. 9.

‡ Proverbs, xxi. 1.

They agree to meet at Vézelai on the octaves of S. John the Baptist.

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[1] *collocuturi*] collecturi, C.

[2] *quoque*] igitur, A.

[3] *Willelmus rex*] tr. B.

[4] *contrariorum adversitate*] tr. A.

[5] *sunt*] om. A. B.

[6] *adeo ut*] om. A. B.

[7] *abhorrerent*] abhorrent, A. B.

[8] *tantopere*] tanto opere, A.

[9] *disponebatur*] disponetur, A.

[10] *proficiscantur*] et, add. A.

[11] *reprehensibilem*] irreprehensibilem, A.

[12] *in unum uterque regum*] tr. A.

[13] *Vergelay*] vel Viciliacum, add. B.

[14] *itaque*] igitur, A.

multo post, rex Franciæ Philippus exiens a Parisius civitate, quæ est principium regni Franciæ, apud Sanctum Dionysium profectus est; cujus se commendavit orationibus et meritis. Sicque suam inchoavit peregrinationem cum plurima multitudine. Tunc quoque cum eo peregre profectus est dux Burgundiæ et comes Flandriæ. Quis sufficeret singulorum cum suis copiis enarrare[1] progressum? Undique videres[2] a diversis confluentes congregari, et unum ex[3] pluribus exercitum coadunari:[4] pias lacrymas commiscentibus iis[5] qui progrediebantur cum suis familiaribus, cognatis vel amicis, eosdem caritatis intuitu prosequentibus: discedentes nimirum amici ab erumpentibus ex pietate sive mœstitia lacrymis se nequibant cohibere.

A.D. 1190.
Philip starts from Paris, visits S. Denis and begins his pilgrimage with Duke Hugh III. of Burgundy and Count Philip of Flanders.

[CAPITULUM VII.]

Rex Ricardus Turonis existens, jubet classem suam præcedere, et Hispaniam per strictum mare circuire, et ad Messanam eum expectare.

Rex Ricardus cum electa militum manu Turonis erat. Civitas autem cum suburbanis suis tanta fuit hominum multitudine referta, ut ex nimia frequentia sese colliderent,[6] ex viarum vel platearum angustiis tot millia non capientibus. Regio igitur urgente mandato, classis regia in unum coacta seriatim progredi jubetur; numero scilicet centum et octo, exceptis aliis navibus mox secuturis. Classis itaque regis instantia promota, prospero cursu et agmine inseparabili, metuendas syrtes, et horrificos scopulorum incursus, et procellosas Africæ angustias, nec non et omnia maris pericula evaserunt[7] incolumes, et tan-

Richard from Tours orders his fleet to set sail.

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[1] *enarrare*] narrare, A.
[2] *videres*] videns, B.
[3] *ex*] cum, A.
[4] *coadunari*] coadjuvari, C.
[5] *iis*] hiis, A. B.
[6] *colliderent*] et, ins. A.
[7] *evaserunt*] evaserant, B.

A.D. 1190.

The fleet sails round Spain and reaches Messina. (Sept. 14. *Hoveden*, 383.)

Richard starts from Tours.

quam in obsequium navigantium ventis conjuratis, optatum Messanæ destinatum applicuerunt ad portum, ubi regis ex ejus mandato præstolabantur adventum, eo terreno itinere cum suis proficiscentis. Igitur rex cum sociis[1] suis dum[2] a Turonis exiret, a tantæ fremitu multitudinis commoti sunt inhabitantes terram. Quis enim ejusdem comitum[3] enarraret multitudinem, varietates armorum, sequelas procerum et electorum manum militantium? Aut quis peditum catervas, balistariorum phalanges? quos qui seriatim progredientes viderunt, ab intimis præcordiis, eliciente lacrymas pietate, condoluerunt pariter et congratulabantur[4] domino suo novo regi, tum quod in primordio regni sui, nondum gustata quietis dulcedine, tam[5] constanter, quam recenter omnia deseruerit; tum quia tantæ vir probitatis opus tam arduum, tam necessarium, et iter tam commendabile, tanquam a Deo electus arriperet. O miseranda sese deserentium suspiria! O sese complectentium in discessu gemitus, et abeuntibus successus optantium! O graves lacrymis oculos, et inter oscula carorum singultus, mutua verba colloquentium interrumpentes; nondum expleto familiarium colloquio ægre se deserentium; corde licet mœrente, vultus gravitate profecturi simulantes animi constantiam: post[6] sermonum prolixitatem ab invicem separantur, tanquam suspensi ad plura dicenda; sicque sæpius ave dicto, inter loquendum diutius subsistunt, et, ut[7] moras innectant, repetita inculcant, ut semper videantur amplius dicturi. Postremo vero vocibus sese cohortantium abstracti, prosilientes a manibus se tenentium excutiuntur.[8]

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[1] *sociis*] copiis, A. B.

[2] *rex cum sociis suis dum*] tr. A.

[3] *comitum*] commotam, C.

[4] *congratulabantur*] gratulabantur, A.

[5] *tam*] quam, A.

[6] *post*] om. B.

[7] *ut*] om. C.

[8] *sese tenentium excutiuntur*] se tenentur excutiunt, C.

[CAPITULUM VIII.]

Duo reges secundum condictum ad Verzellai[1] *conveniunt.*

A.D. 1190. June.

Richard marches by Azai, Mont-Richard, Selles, la Chapelle d'Anguillon and Donzi to Vézelai.

Anno igitur coronationis suæ primo, rex Angliæ Ricardus a Turonis peregrinationis[2] arripuit iter. De Turonis apud Laizi,[3] inde apud Montem Ricardi, post ad Cellam, deinde ad Capellam, deinde ad Danzi, deinde ad[4] Vergelay, ubi ex condicto duo reges cum convenissent cum suis in unum, utriusque populus, quia infinitus, æstimabatur innumerabilis. Præfigendis papilionibus montes occupantur et valles,[5] atque tentoriis longe lateque circumquaque terræ superficies operiebatur, ut camporum sationalium etiam occupata planities novæ civitatis prætenderet aspicientibus eminus similitudinem, tot schematum[6] gravissima varietate papilionum, et diversis coloribus distinguentibus formas incisionum. Ibi videre fuit diversis oriundam regionibus, bellis aptam Martiam[7] juventutem, quæ videretur totius orbis latitudinem facile domitura, omnium nationum superatura[8] regiones, seu diversarum gentium penetratura recessus; nulla vincendam æstimares asperitate locorum vel immanitate hostium: nullis quidem cessuram[9] injuriis, dummodo communicata virtute sese mutuis unanimes tuerentur auxiliis. Exercitus enim[10] quantalibet glorians numerositate, sive septus armorum munimine, vel[11] fervens animositate, interveniente dissensione dissipatur, et familiari discidio pervertitur; et sicut disciplina militari cohærens pariter et voluntate invincibilis perseverat[12]

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[1] *Verzellai*] Vergelay, A.

[2] *peregrinationis*] suæ, add. A. B.

[3] *Laizi*] Luzi, A.

[4] *ad*] Viciliacum, hoc est, ins. A.

[5] *et valles*] om. A.

[6] *schematum*] scematum, MSS.

[7] *Martiam*] materiam, A.

[8] *superatura*] sua paratura, C.

[9] *cessuram*] cessura, A.

[10] *enim*] quidem, A.

[11] *vel*] om. A. B.

[12] *invincibilis perseverat*] tr. A. B.

A.D. 1190. June. ab externis,[1] sic violato fœdere communionis gravius obruitur, dum distrahitur a sociis, quia "omne regnum "in seipsum divisum desolabitur."*

* S. Luke xi. 17.

[CAPITULUM IX.]

Apud Verzellai[2] reges fœdus ineunt, et se invicem apud Messanam expectaturos compromittunt, et sic simul ad Liuns super Rodanum perveniunt.

Meeting of the kings at Vézelai. July 1.

Ibi duo reges percutiunt fœdus de mutua securitate, et fide sibi invicem utrobique conservanda, et de omnibus jure belli perquirendis æqua sorte dividendis: præterea ut qui primus venerit ad civitatem Messanam, Apuliæ civitatem,[3] alterius subsecuturi patienter[4] præstolaretur adventum. Postea singulis, qui familiares suos eo fuerant prosecuti peregrinos, in sua revertentibus, reges cum suis in anteriora profecti sunt, et iter suum qualiter agerent disposuerunt,[5] magnis se invicem frequentantes munificentiis, et mutuis colentes honoribus. Unanimi quoque tantus exercitus itinerans progressu, sine querela vel quacunque dissensione confecit dietas suas, cum alacritate et gaudio. Transeuntem per civitates et villas tantam multitudinem cum tanto[6] apparatu et armorum strepitu, videntes indigenæ, attendentes distinctiones hominum a diversarum situ regionum, in processu etiam observatam disciplinam, "Papæ!" inquiunt, "quid sibi vult tanta hominum multitudo,[7] tanti robur exercitus? Quis horum poterit[8] "resistere fortitudini? O gratiosa agmina, pubesque decora! O felices[9] elegantiæ tantæ juventutis[10] parentes! "an ex discessu mœstitia affecti? Quæ terræ tam spec-

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[1] *externis*] exterius, A.

[2] *Verzellai*] Vergelay, A.

[3] *Apuliæ civitatem*] These words follow *ut* in MS. C.

[4] *patienter*] pariter, A.

[5] *disposuerunt*] deposuerunt, B.

[6] *tanto*] magno, A.

[7] *multitudo*] om. B.

[8] *poterit*] om. B.

[9] *felices*] felix, A.

[10] *juventutis*] juventus,

A.D. 1190. July.

Richard marches from Vézelai, by Corbigny, Moulins Engilbert, Mont Escot, Toulon, le Bois Ste. Marie, Belleville, and Ville Franche, to Lyons.

"tabiles forma produxerunt ephebos, aut tam gratissimos "progenuerunt tirones? cujus putamus auctoritatis vel "potentiæ tantæ multitudinis rectores, qui tantæ vir-"tutis legiones sua moderantur ditione?" Hæc et his similia dicentes, et prætergredientes piis votis prosequentes obtulerunt in vasis diversi generis aquam, gratissima obsequia itinere fatigatis; quali scilicet potuerunt ministerio protestantes devotionem. Seriatim itaque progrediens exercitus distinctis dietis,[1] alacriter a Verzellais[2] pervenit ad Sanctum Leonardum de Curbenai,[3] deinde ad Mulins, post ad Montem Escot, deinde ad Tuluns, apud Sanctam Mariam de Bosco, inde ad Belivi, post ad Villam Francam, deinde ad Liuns super Rodanum. Ibi facta difficultate transeundi propter fluminis rapacitatem, et cæcam profunditatem, aliquot diebus substiterunt, ut qui jam[4] venerat exercitus transiret,[5] et subsequentium expectarent adventum. Transmisso denique fluvio, reges fixis trans fluvium[6] papilionibus residebant in aprico; pars exercitus hospitabatur in villa, quot poterat capere, pars in suburbanis, in[7] locis virentibus. Ibi videres et locis distinctos, et armorum schematibus, diversarum regionum oriundos innumeros, quorum tamen numerus centum millia æstimabatur excedere, nec adhuc cessabant confluere. Postmodum regem Franciæ cum suis omnibus abeuntem ad Genuenses prosecutus est rex Angliæ, gratia familiaritatis et honoris. Genuenses quippe maris gnaros sibi pridem[8] obligaverat rex Franciæ ad transfretandum. Statuerant[9] autem, sicut prædictum est, ut qui[10] prior eorum attigisset Messanam Siciliæ civitatem, expectaret alterius adventum.

The king of France goes to Genoa.

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[1] *distinctis dietis*] tr. A.

[2] *Vercellais*] Vergelai, A.

[3] *Curbenai*] Curbeny, A.; Curtenay, C.

[4] *jam*] interim, A.

[5] *exercitus transiret*] tr. A. B.

[6] *fixis trans fluvium*] tr. A.

[7] *in*] om. A.

[8] *pridem*] quidem, A.

[9] *Statuerant*] Statuerunt, A.

[10] *qui*] om. A.

[CAPITULUM X.]

A.D. 1190. July.

Post discessum regis Franciæ ad Genuenses,[1] *pons Rodani, turba premente, cadit; rex Ricardus per Marsiliam mare transiens ad Messanam venit.*

The bridge over the Rhone breaks down, and the army crosses by a bridge of boats.

Turba autem multa peregrinorum undique semper confluentium, dum se properanter super pontem Rodani satis angustum imprudenter ingereret,[2] decidit ex pondere eorum pars pontis cum iis qui super ipsam erant. Nimis quidem arduus pons erat, ex quo plus quam centum homines deciderunt in aquam, quæ est tam vehemens, cursus tam rapidi, unde vix ab altitudine tanta quicquam vivum illapsum potuisset evadere. Illi autem qui ceciderant, magnis vocibus exclamantes, et suppliciter suffragium postulantes, licet fatigati, mirum dictu! ex aqua eruperunt incolumes, quorum duo tantum submersi sunt in interitum carnis,* sed spiritus vivit in Christo, in Cujus deprehensi sunt[3] obsequio. Posteriores autem, nimia turbati perplexitate,[4] dum singuli quærerent sollicite qua parte vel quomodo Rodanum transirent, omnino desperati sunt, quia pons jam confractus transitum non admisit. Quo comperto, rex Ricardus, cujus nunquam in gerendis mutabat[5] constantia, transire cupientium compatiens sollicitudini, citato opere ex cymbis[6] fortiter[7] colligatis pontem, qualem suggerebat imminens necessitas, fecit præparari, per quem licet morose utcunque cum difficultate transierunt. Unde rex et exercitus per triduum moram fecit.[8] Pars eorum profecta est ad portum propiorem Marsiliæ, pars ad Veneticos, pars ad Genuenses vel

* See 1 Cor. v. 5.

The Crusaders take different routes, by Marseilles, Venice, Genoa, Brindisi, and Barletta.

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[1] *Genuenses*] Genevenses, B.

[2] *ingereret*] gereret, A.

[3] *sunt*] om. C.

[4] *perplexitate*] prolixitate, A.

[5] *mutabat*] om. B.

[6] *cymbis*] cimbis, A. B.

[7] *fortiter*] om. A.

[8] *fecit*] fecerunt, B.

A.D. 1190. July.

Richard goes to Marseilles by Auberive, la Motte de Galaure, Romans, Valence, Lauriol, Paleys, S. Paul de Provence, Mont Dragon, Orange, Pont de Sorgues, Bonpas near Avignon, Senaiz, Salon, and Martigue.

The writer embarks at Marseilles, August 16, and sails to Messina.

ad Barlatam sive[1] Brundusium, necnon ad portum Messanæ duobus regibus destinatum quamplures profecti sunt. Post triduum recessit rex inde, et eodem die pons[2] dissolutus est. De Liuns transivimus per Viaria apud Albam Ripam, deinde ad Montem Galoure, post ad Sanctum Bernardum de Rumanz,[3] deinde apud Valences, postea apud Auriolam, postea apud Paleys,[4] dehinc ad Sanctum Paulum de Provincia. Postea transivimus per Montem Dragun, deinde apud Orenge; postea transeuntes per Montem de Sorgre, jacuimus apud Donpas juxta Avignon,[5] postea apud Senaiz,[6] deinde apud Salun, postea apud Marignane juxta mare. De Marignana,[7] apud Marsiliam, ubi moram fecimus per tres hebdomadas. Postea mare intravimus, scilicet die proxima post Assumptionem Beatæ Mariæ, anno primo coronationis regis Ricardi, et transivimus inter duas insulas, quarum altera, videlicet Sardinia, fuit a dextris, Corsica vero a sinistris. Ibi quidem est magna maris districtio. Deinde navigavimus inter duos montes semper ardentes, quorum unus vocatur Vulcanus, et alter Strango. Inde transivimus per fluvium Farum nimis periculosum. Postea pervenimus ad Messanam civitatem, ubi classis erat regis Ricardi, quam illuc, ut prædiximus, antea præmiserat.

[CAPITULUM XI.]

De civitate Messana, et de regina sorore regis Ricardi, et dote ejus et[8] Tancredo.

De civitate Messana sciendum quod multiplicibus sit bonorum copiis referta,[9] situ amœna et plurimum com-

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[1] *sive*] ad, ins. A.

[2] *pons*] ille, add. A.

[3] *Rumanz*] Rumain, B.

[4] *Paleys*] Paleis, A.

[5] *Avignon*] Avignun, A.

[6] *Senaiz*] Senaz, A.; Senai, B.

[7] *Marignana*] Marigna, A.

[8] *et*] om. A.

[9] *bonorum copiis referta*] tr.

A.D. 1190. August. Description of Messina, on the strait between Sicily and Reggio, the city of Agoland. (See Turpin's Life of Charles the Great.)

moda,[1] in confinio Siciliæ et Risæ quæ illi famoso Agolando dicitur olim fuisse pro servitio suo collata. Consistit itaque civitas Messana in initio Siciliæ, affluens necessariis et omnibus bonis, sed homines habens pessimos et crudeles. Rex eorum Tancredus opum variarum ditissimus, quas scilicet congesserant antecessores sui, qui in Sicilia regnaverant a tempore Roberti Guiscardi. Eodem tempore regina Apuliæ, viro suo[2] rege Willelmo viduata, Palermæ morabatur, rex enim Willelmus sine hærede defunctus est, cujus relicta regina jam in custodia erat, cum dote sua eidem assignata, prædicti regis Tancredi, qui regi Willelmo successerat in regnum. Hæc regina vidua soror erat regis Angliæ Ricardi, qui curam ejus habens, regem Tancredum compulit ad ejusdem reginæ super eidem debita dote condignam satisfactionem.

[CAPITULUM XII.]

De injuriis quas Griffones apud Messanam, ante adventum regum, nostris inferebant.

The army and fleet wait at Messina for the kings.

Classis illa famosa regis Angliæ apud Messanam, regis, ut prædictum est, præstolabatur adventum. Classis quidem numero miranda,[3] et apparatus instructione plenarie præmunita, cui similis nunquam ibi visa[4] fuisse ferebatur, tanta, tanto opere instaurata. Plura præterea genera hominum ejusdem classis tutelæ[5] assignata, juxta maris littora commorantium in papilionibus et tentoriis[6] diversorum schematum; civitatis enim cavebant habitationem, propter civium[7] impiorum insolentiam, usque ad regum adventum. Cives namque ne-

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[1] *commoda*] concorda, A.
[2] *viro suo*] tr. A.
[3] *numero miranda*] tr. A.
[4] *ibi visa*] visa sibi, A.
[5] *tutelæ*] om. A.
[6] *tentoriis*] et, ins. A.
[7] *civium*] ipsorum, ins. B.

A.D. 1190. August.

The Griffons, Mongrel Sicilians, insult our men.

quam, vulgo dicti Griffones, et patribus progeniti plures eorum Saracenis, nostris admodum exstiterant contrarii et infesti. Quotidiana eis irrogabant[1] convicia, digitos suos in oculos eorum protendentes, et canes fœtidos appellantes, et pluribus aliis illudentes modis: et etiam clanculo quam plurimos nostrorum perimentes, et in latrinas dejicientes, super quo scelere postea nonnulli eorum[2] convicti sunt. Super his igitur[3] et aliis modis quam plurimis, nostros[4] exprobrantes et exosos habentes, nequitiam suam, in quantum audebant, exercebant,[5] ad iracundiam provocantes, quatenus si forte repugnare tentassent, et talionem injuriis referre, ipsos funditus a civitate[6] delerent, numero quidem impares, et peregrinos, et viribus inferiores; minus quidem in eo providi, quod regum ipsorum eo non pensarent adventum.

[CAPITULUM XIII.]

Cum quali apparatu, primo rex Franciæ, postea[7] rex Angliæ Messanam applicuerunt.

Of the proper pomp of kings.

Publici moris esse dignoscitur,[8] ut quisque[9] rex præsertim, et princeps terræ, talis tantusque procedat, et tanta fulgeat auctoritate, quanta fuerit præditus potestate, quatenus non sit minor habitus quam potentia, immo pari conveniant aptitudine, ut rex regio splendescat obsequio, et ejus virtutem[10] exterior prædicet apparentia; vulgo namque dicitur, "Qualem te video, talem[11] "spero." Porro modus habitudinis formam trahit ex animo præsidentis; talis nimirum erit forma prædicati,

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[1] *irrogabant*] irruebant, C.

[2] *postea nonnulli eorum*] plurimi eorum postea, A.

[3] *igitur*] om. A.

[4] *nostros*] nostris, C.

[5] *exercebant*] eos, add. A. B.

[6] *civitate*] sua, add. A. B.

[7] *postea*] sive, præf. B.

[8] *dignoscitur*] dinoscitur, A. B.

[9] *quisque*] quisquis, A.

[10] *ejus virtutem*] tr. A.

[11] *talem*] te, add.

A.D. 1190.

King Philip slinks into Messina, as if shunning the gaze of men. (Sept. 16. *Diceto*, 656. *Hoveden*, 383.)

qualem[1] permiserit natura subjecti. Ille tanti nominis rex Franciæ, cujus emisso tot principes, tot[2] terrarum nationes parent edicto, cum Messanæ civitatis nunciaretur applicaturus ad portum, omnis ætas, omnis sexus, cujuscunque conditionis indigenæ ad tam famosum regem prosiluerunt[3] videndum. Ille vero una tantum[4] nave contentus, tanquam visus hominum refugiens, in ipsius urbis castelli portum latenter se[5] ingessit. Cujus adventum præstolantes in littore pusillanimitatem ejusdem arguentes, et exprobrantes, non facile talem regem posse fore magnarum virtutum patratorem, cui sic esset suspectus visus hominum, sicque[6] spe[7] videndi eum frustrati, redierunt indignantes ad propria. Porro rex Angliæ ille magnanimus, ex quo fama prædicante divulgabatur adventare,[8] catervatim ruunt populi, illum cernere cupientes, et in littus se ingerentes certatim occupant sedes illum ascendentem visuri. Et ecce! eminus prospiciunt mare galeis opertum innumeris, et vox a longe intonabat in aures eorum tubarum reboantium,[9] et lituorum[10] clarius et acutius resonantium. Interea propius accedentibus fuit videre galeas seriatim remigantes, variis undique ornatas et refertas armaturis, ventilantibus ad auram innumeris ordine decoro signis et penuncellis,[11] in hastilium summitatibus, rostris galearum varietatibus picturarum distinctis, appensorum in singulis proris scintillantibus[12] radiis scutorum. Videres ex multitudine adventantium remigantium mare fervescere, tubarum intonationibus, quas trumpas vulgo dicunt, audientium aures tinnire, et ex vario tumultuantium accessu delecta-

King Richard comes with great pomp and majesty. (Sept. 23. *Diceto*, 656. *Hoveden*, 383.)

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[1] *qualem*] qualis, A.

[2] *tot*] om. B.

[3] *prosiluerunt*] prosilierunt, A. B.

[4] *una tantum*] tr. A.

[5] *latenter se*] tr. A.

[6] *sicque*] sic quoque, B.

[7] *spe*] sepe, A.

[8] *adventare*] adventus instare, C.

[9] *reboantium*] roboantium, A.; roborantium, B. C.

[10] *lituorum*] lituum, A. B.

[11] *ordine decoro signis et penuncellis*] tr. A.

[12] *scintillantibus*] scillentibus, A.B.

A.D. 1190.
Sept. 23.

Richard comes like a man, wishing to see and to be seen.

tionem excitari. Cum ecce! rex magnificus juxta navigantium galearum catervatim obsequio stipatus, cæteris eminentiori et ornatiori prostans in prora, tanquam ignota visurus, sive ab ignotis videndus, fertur in littus obsitum densarum turbarum[1] agminibus, et omnibus tanquam se ultro videndum exponens. Eleganter ornatus, in littus ascendit; ubi nautas, quos eo præmiserat, cum cæteris addictis obsequiis suis reperit, eum[2] gratanter excipientes, et dextrarios et equos suos nobiles sibi pridem commissos, ad vecturam exhibentes. Confluunt hinc inde cum suis indigenæ, prosequentes ipsum usque ad hospitium suum. Super cujus tanta[3] gloria vulgus attonitum conferebat ad invicem, " Hic " quidem dignus imperio! Hic merito constituitur " super gentes et super regna, cujus fama olim audita " multo minor est ipsa veritate quam videmus." Interea concrepantibus invicem trompis, et alternos commiscentibus convenienter accentus, fit quædam tonorum discors concordia,* dum congrua sonorum productiore identitate, singulæ singularum quodam modo repeterent exceptiones mutuas, et vocum restaurarent depressiones.

* Lucan, *Pharsalia*, i. 98.

[Capitulum XIV.]

Quantas injurias passi sunt peregrini[4] nostri apud Messanam a Longobardis.

The Griffons are overawed by our strength, but the Lombards are moved by jealousy to insult us.

Griffonum,[5] dum reges tanta cum virtute viderent appulsos, in parte repressa est arrogantia; quippe qui se perpenderent virtute inferiores et gloria. Longobardi vero contumaciter murmurantes, contendere non cessabant conviciis et opprobriis lacessere[6] nostros, tentoria

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[1] *turbarum*] tubarum, A.

[2] *eum*] om. B.

[3] *tanta*] A., in margin.

[4] *peregrini*] om. A.

[5] *Griffonum*] Grifonum, A.

[6] *lacessere*] lacessire, MSS.

A.D. 1190. September.

nostra se comminantes invasuros, ut eos occiderent, et res suas diriperent. Zelo quidem ducebantur super uxoribus suis, cum quibus nonnulli peregrinorum colloquebantur, potius ad ipsos irritandos maritos, quam ad perpetrandum adulterium. Hac itaque occasione et invidia perturbati, Longobardi cum communa civitatis, semper in quantum licuit, nostris erant infesti, maxime pro eo quod ab antecessoribus suis se didicerant olim a nostris fuisse subjugatos; unde quanta poterant nobis procurabant incommoda, et turrium exaltabant propugnacula, et altioris profunditatis fossas ambientes perfodere. Præterea ad incitandum animorum impulsum, frequentissimis provocabant conviciis, et dehonestabant contumeliis.

[Capitulum XV.]

Occasione unius panis a muliere vendendi,[1] *fit pugna inter nos et Longobardos.*

An open quarrel breaks out between the Crusaders and the Lombards. (October 3. *Hoveden,* 383.)

Forte die quadam contigit, unum ex nostris convenire quandam mulierem super pane recenti, quem ad vendendum exposuerat: cumque confabularentur ad invicem, et ipse de pretio dando taxando loqueretur, mulier, eo quod minus obtulisset pro pane quam voluerit, tantam subito prorupit in iram, quod virum nefandis afficeret contumeliis et opprobriis, vix abstinens manibus quin pugno[2] percuteret, aut crines exstirparet. Et ecce! subito ex litigantis tumultu mulieris, convenit multitudo civium,[3] et peregrinum illum violenter correptum immisericorditer verberaverunt, et capillis dilaceratis, et[4] multis modis vexatum et conculcatum pene reliquerunt exanimem. Facto clamore, rex Ricardus petiit pacem et amicitiam, asserens se venisse paci-

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[1] *vendendi*] venditi, A.

[2] *pugno*] om. C.

[3] *multitudo civium*] tr. A. B.

[4] *et*] om. B.

A.D. 1190. October 3.

ficum, et ad exsequendam peregrinationem simpliciter fuisse eo usque profectum; nec prius a perorando super pace obtinenda destitit, quam pacis securitate promissa, singuli secederent pacati in sua.

[CAPITULUM XVI.]

October 4. (*Hoveden*, 384.)

Longobardi impugnant homines regis Ricardi, unde rex civitatem obsidet, impugnat et expugnat, et vexilla sua[1] *turribus urbis imponit, invidente rege Franciæ, et auxilium Longobardis præstante.*

The next day the tumult breaks out again.

Verum[2] illius antiqui humani generis inimici procuratione,[3] cujus est pacem perturbare, seditionesque excitare, reparatur in crastino contentio, et rediviva inter cives et peregrinos fit exorta perniciosior altercatio. Fuerant interea duo reges colloquentes cum justitiariis Siciliæ, et cum majoribus civibus civitatis, super pace tractaturi et securitate. Et ecce! Clamor factus est dicentium, quod indigenæ jam perimerent homines regis[4] Angliæ; quod cum rex adhuc dissimularet, maxime quod Longobardi non ita verum esse[5] assererent, venit secundo nuncius exclamans jam indigenas invasisse peregrinos. Dissuadentibus Longobardis adhuc se rem ita[6] habere, qui et ipsi tunc ex eodem conflictu[7] venerant, sed proposuerant mendaciis regem[8] circumvenire, cum jam tertio cum impetu apparuisset nuncius accurrens,[9] et vociferans pacis hujusmodi modum improbandum, cum cervicibus gladii jam imminerent; tunc sine mora[10] rex accelerans, relicto colloquio,

The Lombards detain the king with false tales.

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[1] *sua*] om. A.

[2] *Verum*] Unde, B.

[3] *procuratione*] protaxatione, A.

[4] *regis*] Ricardi, ins. A.

[5] *ita verum esse*] tr. A.

[6] *se rem ita*] tr. A.

[7] *conflictu*] confluctu, A.

[8] *mendaciis regem*] tr. A.

[9] *accurrens*] occurrens, B.

[10] *sine mora*] novissime, B.

A.D. 1190. October 4.

Richard hastens to help his men.

Jordan del Pin and Margarit try to deceive him.

King Philip first shirks the fray, then helps the Lombards.

vectus equo eo venit, ea scilicet intentione et intuitu, ut litem dirueret,[1] et litigantes pacificaret. Erant autem duo Longobardi nimis astuti et mendaces, quorum instinctu commota est turba civitatis in peregrinos. Qui tamen, ut dolositatem suam mendaciis palliarent, asserebant se inde venisse, et nihil mali factum fuisse. Quorum nomina hæc sunt, Jordanus Del Pin[2] et Margaritus. Cum rex Ricardus eo loci venisset, quo jam congressi hinc inde mutuos ingeminant ictus, et jam non tantum verbis contendunt, sed pugnis et contis, ipsumque regem sollicitum pugnantes separare, Longobardi jam ira succensi, et contumaces, contumeliis et nefandis insectantur opprobriis; ipse vero irrisionis talium impatiens se statim armis munivit assumptis, et ipsos inclusos in civitate obsidione subita cingebat. Franci interim de domino suo rege Franciæ quid actum esset ambigentes, huc et illuc discurrebant, ipsum quærentes, cum ecce! a loco colloquii properanter se in palatium quo fuerat hospitatus, recepit. Commota est igitur omnis civitas; indifferenter rapiunt singuli quod manus errabunda invenerit, et se jactanter defensuros proculdubio invicem compromittunt. Adeunt tamen Longobardi regem Franciæ, ejus suppliciter implorantes auxilium et defensionem, et se et sua ejus subdentes ditioni[3] et voluntati, dummodo conatus regis Angliæ jam civitatem pertinaciter impugnantis elideret, etiam civitatem sibi subditam haberet. Et statim rex Franciæ assumpsit arma sua, et, ut veritatis conscius nobis referebat, Longobardis potius auxiliaturus quam hominibus regis Angliæ, cui prius juramento,[4] fide præstita, tenebatur obnoxius, super auxilio ferendo et fidelitate

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[1] *dirueret*] dirimeret, A. B.

[2] *Del Pin*] Luppin, A. C. Hoveden, fo. 384, calls him Jordanus de Pino.

[3] *ditioni*] ditione, C.

[4] *juramento*] et, add. A. B.

A.D. 1190. October 4.

The French and Lombards prepare for a joint defence.

* Virgil, *Æneid*, i. 150.

The lodgings of Hugh le Brun, outside the walls, attacked by the Lombards;

Richard comes to the rescue, and enters the city in pursuit.

ubique servanda. Obseratis jam portis civitatis, et dispositis in[1] propugnaculis murorum custodiis, fit clamor, et tumultus, et commotio magna hinc a foris[2] oppugnantium, inde deintus repugnantium.[3] Curritur ad arma, singulorum manus armantur,[4] tela quæ furor ministrat* et impetus rapientium, arripiunt.[5] Franci Longobardis conjuncti communi[6] agebantur consilio, et conglobati velut unum efficiebant populum. Hoc autem ignorabant exteriores, quod sibi confœderati fierent adversarii. Ab initio vero exierant quidam Longobardorum, antequam portæ civitatis clauderentur, ad impugnandum[7] hospitium Hugonis Bruni,[8] et ibi pertinaciter insistebant dimicantes, cum ecce! rex Angliæ, hoc comperto, eo celeriter divertit. Quem cum advenire vidissent, sine mora versi sunt in fugam, et velut oves a lupis dispersi sunt in momento; et tunc cessabant eorum comminationes verborum et impugnationes telorum. Refugientes itaque insecutus est rex, usque in[9] quandam muri posternam, quo se agebant, non audentes in eum saltem respicere, nec[10] repugnare, cum rex nec etiam viginti homines de suis, in primis cum in eos irrueret,[11] habuisse diceretur. In introitu autem illius posternæ nonnullos ipsorum prostravit, ulterius cum peregrinis nunquam congressuros. Longobardi igitur perpendentes seria agi et se revera oppugnari, quanta sufficiebant virtute resistebant; et murorum propugnacula occupabant, et saxa projiciebant, et jacula arcubus, et balistis imbrium more tela[12] mittentes, et quot poterant modis oppugnantes impetebant, ut vel ab insultibus cessarent, vel saltem

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[1] *in*] om. A. B.

[2] *a foris*] afforis, B.

[3] *inde . . . repugnantium*] om. B.

[4] *armantur*] armant, A. B.

[5] *arripiunt*] om. A. B.

[6] *communi*] om. B.

[7] *impugnandum*] pugnandum, C.

[8] *Bruni*] Baura, C. It was Hugh le Brun, count of la Marche.

[9] *in*] ad, A.

[10] *respicere, nec*] inspicere, nedum, A.

[11] *cum . . . irrueret*] follows *diceretur* in A., which reads also *irruerent*.

[12] *tela*] om.

A.D. 1190. October 4.

We lost three men in particular, Peter Tirepreie, Matthew de Saulcy, and Ralph de Roverei.

The king of France kept our galleys out of the harbour.

parcius cœptis insisterent. Unde nonnullos nostrorum, in ipso defensionis fervente[1] initio, plures irrogabant injurias, quosdam ad mortem, alios ad livorem, nonnullos ad membrorum conquassationem vulnerabant. Volantibus enim telis cum spiculis densissimis, cum saxis demissis, et silicibus,[2] præter alios tres amisimus ibi milites, scilicet Petrum Tirepreie, et Matthæum de Saliceto, et Radulfum de Roverei. Longobardis quidem si recta Christi fides inesset, et respectus justitiæ, maximam nostris stragem dedissent, et multitudine vicissent, sed eorum arrogantia merito debuit eisdem, et impietas nocere, qui nostris nihil meritis tantam irrogaverant[3] injuriam et gravamen. Æstimabatur[4] civium cum aliis civitatem defendentium multitudo excedere quinquaginta millia. Ibi videres[5] ferocissimos virorum assultus plurimis modis machinari introitus, audacter hos tela dirigere, illos portas succidere, nunc hos nunc illos occumbere, galeas nostras ex parte maris versus palatium portum occupantes urbem obsidere. Verum rex Franciæ eisdem portum prohibebat, et nonnullos eorum qui[6] inerant cedere[7] nolentes sagittis perimi tunc contigit. Ex parte vero terræ, ubi[8] rex Angliæ fuerat, qui in rebus bellicis singularis erat, vehementior urgebat oppressio: pars instabat portarum flagella succidere, ubi cum pro voto non proficerent,[9] collem excelsum civitati proximum ascenderunt, et per posternam quandam, quam rex Angliæ, secunda die adventus sui, ad cautelam futurorum circuiens cum duobus sociis, quasi neglectam a civibus perpenderat, muros civitatis cum magno im-

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[1] *defensionis fervente*] ferventis defensione, A.

[2] *silicibus*] scilicet, A.

[3] *irrogaverant*] irrogassent, A. B.

[4] *Æstimabatur*] Æstimatur, A.; Æstimantur, B.

[5] *videres*] videns, B.

[6] *qui*] blank in A.

[7] *cedere*] om. A.

[8] *ubi*] om. A.

[9] *proficerent*] perficerent, C.

A.D. 1190. October 4.

Our forces unite in a mass, and take the city.

petu audacter introierunt, et portas[1] civitatis diruerunt, et reliquum exercitum intromiserunt. Tunc quoscunque civium obvios, sive repugnantes, vel ceperunt, vel prostraverunt, et civitatem conglobati[2] hostiliter invaserunt: unde sicut[3] Longobardorum, sic et nostrorum quamplures in eo conflictu occubuerunt. Cives enim intrantibus undique, et civitatem jam occupantibus resistere non audentes, a summitatibus domorum et turrium propugnaculis, eis tela tota virtute miserunt, et a solariis quibus inerant, quot modis poterant, oppugnantes contendebant reprimere. Nihilominus autem jam captam civitatem peragrabant victores, ipso rege præeunte, et omnia primitus invadente; ipse denique primus civitatem introivit, ipse dux et prævius, et[4] suis præbuit audaciam et hostibus incussit horrorem. Ipsum igitur circiter decem millia hominum sequentes[5] civitatis totam diripuerunt substantiam. Ibi audires horrificos clamores, confusas vocum diversitates, hinc nostrorum sese ad persequendum cohortantium, illinc Longobardorum fugientium, et præ timore mugientium, ictus etiam ingeminare,[6] et quoscunque obvios gladiis homines sicut segetes falcibus metere. Ubi nostri[7] domos occuparunt, desiliebant a summitatibus, et a solariis Longobardi, magis metuentes incidere in hostilem manum quam casum infortunatum, suæ quidem impietatis conscii, de consequenda quam non meruerant misericordia sunt desperati. Nec mora, jam subacta viriliter civitate, non apparebat qui ulterius mutire præsumeret. Quid plura? Rex Ricardus uno impetu citius jure belli occupaverat Messanam, quam quilibet presbyter cantasset matutinas. Multo quidem plures occumberent civium, nisi rex motus pietate[8] parcere jussisset. Amissæ vero pe-

King Richard took Messina in less time than a priest could say Mattins.

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[1] *portas*] partes, C.

[2] *conglobati*] globati, A.

[3] *sicut*] et, ins. A.

[4] *et*] om. A.

[5] *sequentes*] sequebantur et, A. B.

[6] *ingeminare*] geminare, A.

[7] *nostri*] nostros, C.

[8] *motus pietate*] tr.

A.D. 1190. October 4.

The spoils of Messina are divided, and the Sicilian fleet burned.

cuniæ civium quis poterit æstimare summam?[1] Quicquid auri vel argenti, sive cujuslibet generis pretiosi, inventum est, occupantis cessit in usum. Præterea galeæ ipsorum igne supposito succensæ sunt in pulverem, ne si forte fugerent, vires resistendi resumerent. Mulieres quoque nobiliores sibi diripuerunt victores. Et ecce! tanto patrato negotio, viderunt Franci subito vexilla et signa regis Ricardi super muros et turres civitatis, unde rex Franciæ acriter commotus, vitæ suæ coævam[2] concepit invidiam, et postmodum pro tempore peperit iniquitatem,* quam contestatus est natam,[3] dum percussit Normanniam.

* Psalm vii. 15.

[Capitulum XVII.]

Invidente rege Franciæ sola signa regis Angliæ turribus apponi, rex Angliæ se humilians concessit utriusque signa simul apponi.

King Philip having played the traitor in the struggle, now claims the chief honour of the victory.

Rex Franciæ regis Angliæ invidens successibus, et ægre ferens magnanimitatem, admodum doluit hoc suæ non ascribi gloriæ, quod ipse sudore triumphaverat præstantiæ. Qui pro conditione mutuæ pactionis, etiam in discrimine maximo suorum, et cæde non modica oculis perspecta, non tantum regi Angliæ contra hostes pertinacissimos non præbuit manum auxiliarem, ut tenebatur confœderatione societatis, immo totis viribus restitit, et ab introitu civitatis occupandæ, qua potuit instantia, longius arcebat, qua parte ipse cum suis commanebat hospitio, præsumptione prævaricationis. Capta sicut prædictum est, civitate, et baneriis[4] regis Angliæ muris collocatis, mandavit rex Franciæ, de consilio suorum, ut rex Ricardus de excelso murorum vexilla sua faceret deponi, et sua apponi, in eo scilicet ipsi tanquam superiori deferens honorem. Rex Ricardus super hujusmodi indignans mandato, præcedentia pensans, et jura societatis examinans, nec etiam respondere curavit, ne videlicet cederet adquisitis et victoria ascriberetur non tantum otioso, immo adversario perjuro. Mediantibus vero intercessoribus, regis Ricardi tandem indignatio deferbuit, et quieverunt verba contumeliosa. Vix igitur faciens vim animo per blandimenta suorum, qui videbatur invincibilis oppugnationi inimicorum, adquievit regis Franciæ petitioni, ut videlicet, ejus traderet tutelæ turres quas ceperat, cum communibus custodiis, quousque regis Tancredi, super iis[1] quæ gesta sunt, experirentur sententiam; et qui minacibus et jactantiæ verbis perseverabat vehementior et rigidus, blanditiis flectebatur et precibus. Eriguntur igitur utriusque vexilla super muros civitatis, quatenus regis Franciæ tentaret constantiam et probaret familiaritatem.

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[1] *quis poterit æstimare summam*] tr. A. B.

[2] *coævam*] nocuam, B.

[3] *natam*] om. A.

[4] *baneriis*] banariis, A.

A.D. 1190. October 4. Richard consents that the flag of France shall be set on the towers, side by side with his own.

[CAPITULUM XVIII.]

Nuncii mittuntur ad Tancredum, ut satisfaceret pro transgressis, et dotem reginæ redderet, rege Franciæ clam in contrarium mittente.

Communi itaque decretum est consilio, ut nuncios destinarent[2] ad regem Siciliæ Tancredum, perquisituros super[3] hominum suorum tam enormi commisso satisfactionem, et quid super his quæ gesta fuerant censeret agendum. Præterea mandavit rex Ricardus regi Tancredo, ut sorori suæ reginæ Siciliæ super dote

Envoys are sent to Tancred to demand satisfaction;

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[1] *iis*] hiis, MSS.

[2] *destinarent*] destinaret, A.

[3] *super*] om. B.

A.D. 1190. October.

and to ask for Queen Joanna's dowry.

Philip demands half of the spoil of Messina, according to the agreement. See above, cap. ix.

The kings are reconciled. (October 8. *Hoveden*, 384.)

competente provideret, et super portione thesauri mariti sui regis, quæ eam jure contingeret, super mensa quoque aurea, æqua sorte dividenda illius uxori cujus exstiterat. Horum gerendorum nuncii fuerunt dux Burgundiæ et Robertus de Sabloel, et alii quidam quorum nomina exciderunt. Interea rex Franciæ regis Ricardi perpendens magnanimitatem, et successum,[1] tabescens invidia cœpit super iis quæ in expugnata civitate direpta sunt, movere quæstionem, exigens suam juxta pactionem initam portionem. Igitur super his verba jaculans ampullosa et contumeliosa, cum[2] rex Ricardus gratis suæ exactioni non adquiesceret, verborum versutiis et jactabundis opprobriis irritare non destitit ejus animum ad iracundiam, et fœdera inter eos initæ pactionis transgredi præsumere conatus est, et in[3] amicitiam prævaricari. Unde rex Ricardus magis indignans quam fractus,[4] ejus astutiam[5] declinare proposuit, et naves suas cum omnibus sarcinis illatis repetere disposuit,[6] ut abiret.[7] Maluit enim, Deo duce et rectore, solus cum suis progredi ad executionem suæ peregrinationis, quam communicare cum invido, juxta illud vulgare proverbium, "Satius est esse solum, "quam habere malum socium." Quod ut regi Franciæ innotuit, procuravit ut per mediatores reformarentur vitiata; et in debitum statum amicitiæ iterum confœderantur,[8] salva quoque omnium[9] perquirendorum æqua divisione in posterum.

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[1] *et successum*] om. A.

[2] *cum*] quia, A. B.

[3] *in*] om. C.

[4] *fractus*] factus, B.

[5] *astutiam*] amicitiam, A.

[6] *disposuit*] om. A. B.

[7] *abiret*] abirent, A.

[8] *confœderantur*] confœderarentur, A. B.

[9] *omnium*] omnis, B.

[CAPITULUM XIX.]

Rex Tancredus in dubiis respondet, unde rex Angliæ ira succenditur, et Longobardi victualia suis negant.

A.D. 1190. October.

Tancred tries to trifle with king Richard: at the instigation, as it was said, of king Philip.

Interim nuncii negotium exsecuti, secundum quod sibi fuerat injunctum, regis Tancredi super mandatis perscrutantur sententiam. Rex vero in dubiis locutus est, asserens regibus satisfaciendum de consilio magnatum terræ suæ, pro tempore et loco et modo competenti, super omnibus quæ fuerant sibi mandata. Dicebatur quod rex Franciæ litteris mandaverat[1] regi Tancredo, ut non adquiesceret exigentiis regis Angliæ, sed se rigidum exhiberet in jure suo per omnia tuendo; certus omnino quod nunquam pro rege Ricardo in ipsum delinqueret, sibi vero fidelis existeret. In hujus, si tamen verum fuit, argumentum mandati[2] accessit verisimilis probatio, quod rex Tancredus nunciis regis Franciæ pretiosa largitus est munera, nunciis vero regis Angliæ nec impertitus est ovum. Reversi itaque nuncii cum rem gestam regibus retulissent; "Non est," inquit rex Ricardus, "opus "multiloquio, nec in longum sermo protrahendus, ex "quo spontaneam non exsequitur satisfactionem rex "Tancredus, qualem potuero super erratis corrigendis "impendenda est opera et diligentia." Super his igitur regibus[3] turbatis, animosiores effecti indigenæ ex confœderatione regis Franciæ, regem Ricardum cum suis in quantum callebant, opprimere vacabant; victualia aque tanto exercitui necessaria venundanda inhibebant, t ne quid exponeretur emendum statuerunt, ut vel sic coerciti ditioni cogerentur submitti indigenarum.

The natives recover their spirits, and refuse supplies.

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[1] *mandaverat*] mandaverit, A. B.

[2] *mandati*] mendacii, C.

[3] *regibus*] rebus, A. B.

[CAPITULUM XX.]

A.D. 1190.

De constructione Mategriffun, et discordia duorum regum.

Richard had before this fortified a castle, which he called Mategriffun, to keep the Sicilians in check.

Rex Ricardus operam magnam adhibuerat et diligentiam cujusdam castri constructioni, cui nomen imposuit Mathegriffun;[1] unde nimium exacerbabantur Griffones, quod in eorum exitium opprimendorum hujusmodi vacaret ædificio. Erat autem illud opus jam præparatum in colle proximo civitati, satis accommodo receptui. De cujuscunque generis cibariis ne exhiberentur vendenda prohibitis, quantum in eis erat, jam laboraret exercitus, nisi ex his quæ classe adduxerant, fuisset eis in futurum provisum. Exercebant igitur quantas poterant inimicitias, et[2] detrimenta exercitui. Civitatem de nocte custodiebant vigiles, et vice versa peregrini ab eorum irruptione, excubias agentes, se munire curabant. Reges præterea ab invicem repellebat[3] discordia, et rex Franciæ adversariis regis Ricardi jam se[4] publicum præbebat fautorem. De pace vero inter eos reformanda, pars magna potentum satagebat, nunc ad palatium, nunc vero ad Mathegriffun pergentes, utriusque regis magnopere tentant emollire motus irarum. Frustra vero operam impendunt et diligentiam, utroque causante et plurimam occasionem offensionis adversus alterum habere se asserente. Neuter enim eorum alterius adquiescendum æstimavit voluntati, ne videlicet, rex Franciæ inferioris se committeret arbitrio, et eo suæ derogaretur dignitati, sed nec rex Ricardus, ne subjectionis illius notaretur infamia, quem anteibat[5] operum magnificentia.

The nobles try in vain to bring the kings to a hearty reconciliation.

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[1] *Mathegriffun*] Mategriffun, A. B.

[2] *et*] om. C.

[3] *repellebat*] repetebat, A.

[4] *se*] om. A.

[5] *anteibat*] animabat, A.

[Capitulum XXI.]

A.D. 1190. November.

Tancredus pacificatur cum rege Ricardo, dans[1] ei quadraginta millia uncias auri pro dote reginæ et conjugio Arturi; pacificantur etiam duo reges et cives.

Tancred offers reasonable terms of agreement

Sic rebus in dubio fluctuantibus, cum rex Tancredus perpendisset ex[2] diuturniori discordia provenire[3] posse periculum, et regem Ricardum didicisset a cœptis non temperaturum donec pro voto consequeretur effectum, missis legatis nobilibus obtulit pacem, et petiit concordiam, asserens apposite ad persuadendum, se nolle tanti viri cum suorum discrimine, quantum in eo erat sustinere exacerbationem; sed se paratum, si vellet interveniente pecunia, cum eo amicitiæ fœdus inire, et[4] pro dote reginæ Siciliæ sororis regis Ricardi daturum viginti millia uncias auri, et præterea alia viginti millia in maritagium cum quadam sua filia[5] bonæ indolis puella, et elegantis formæ, Arturo Britanniæ nepoti suo, si vellet, maritanda. In quam conditionem, cum assensum præberet rex Ricardus, satagentibus utriusque nunciis consummatum est negotium; et pecuniæ summa recepta, scilicet quadraginta millia unciæ auri; et regina fratri suo regi Ricardo reddita absoluta. Sicque pace firma[6] prolocuta, et scriptis confirmata, omnium omnino conquievit controversia. Cum vidisset igitur rex Ricardus prout petebat[7] sibi fuisse satisfactum, omnem decrevit gratis æqua sorte dividendam summam pecuniæ[8] tunc a rege Tancredo susceptæ. Dividere vero pecuniam susceptam pro dote

Richard accepts them, and peace is made between the two. (November 11, *Hoveden*, 386).

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[1] *dans*] dansque, B.
[2] *ex*] om. A.
[3] *provenire*] om. B.
[4] *et*] om. C.
[5] *sua filia*] tr. A.
[6] *pace firma*] tr. A. B.
[7] *petebat*] patebat, C.
[8] *summam pecuniæ*] tr. A.

A.D. 1190. Nov. 11.

The spoils of Messina restored to the inhabitants by the advice of the archbishop of Rouen.

sororis,[1] licet de jure confœderationis non teneretur, tamen ex mera liberalitate id etiam fieri voluit; quod et ipsi cessit ad gloriam et commendationem, et inimicantium in parte delevit invidiam. Denique de consilio venerabilis Rothomagensis archiepiscopi Walteri,[2] denunciatum est, sub anathematis interminatione, ut quicquid auri vel argenti sive cujuslibet[3] generis pecuniæ, victorum manus diripuisset a civibus, restitueretur[4] integrum. Restitutis itaque cunctis, et quantum ad exteriorem apparentiam firmiter pacificatis,[5] cives gaudent securitate, peregrini pacis tranquillitate, fit civitatis status incolumis, statuuntur leges pœnales in pacis prævaricatores. Ingrediuntur cives et egrediuntur cum peregrinis sine offensa et altercatione, renovantur omnia in gratiosam concordiam, lætantur universaliter singuli, et jam libere exponuntur venalia esui necessaria pretio satis tolerabili et hominibus et equis. Regum etiam reflorescit amicitia, et omnium redintegratur gratia, mediante justitia. Verum[6] palliata superficie tenus simulatoria dilectione, semel concepta in animo regis Franciæ perseveravit immortalis æmulatio, et regis Ricardi gesta præclara zelans,

"Astutam vapido servabat pectore vulpem."*

* Persius, *Sat.* v. 117.

[CAPITULUM XXII.]

Rex Tancredus et rex Ricardus se invicem visuri apud Catinensium urbem conveniunt.

Tancred invites Richard

Interea rex Tancredus tunc temporis commorans Palermæ, super audita regis Ricardi magnificentia, et

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[1] *sororis*] suæ, add. A.

[2] *Walteri*] de Nunant, B.; the scribe having mistaken the next word for the surname of the archbishop, Walter of Coutances.

[3] *cujuslibet*] cujuscunque, B.

[4] *restitueretur*] in, add. A. B.

[5] *pacificatis*] compaciscatis, B.

[6] *Verum*] Unde, B.

A.D. 1191.

to meet him at Catania. (March 1. *Hoveden*, 391.)

gloria gestorum non parum attonitus, missis legatis nobilioribus rogat eum, ut apud Catinensium civitatem sibi invicem occurrerent sese visuri. Plurimum quidem illius faciem desiderabat videre, cujus eximiæ virtutis olim, fama divulgante, satis admiratus est magnanimitatem. Eadem autem[1] civitas Catinensium medio spatio sita est[2] inter Messanam et Palermam. Annuens his rex Ricardus nobiliorum procerum suorum[3] glorioso comitatus agmine processit eidem obviam loco statuto. Cumque convenissent ex condicto in unum, uterque super alterius eximie lætatus est adventu; et omnem gratiam[4] sibi invicem satagebant exhibere; et mutuæ dilectionis solemne fœdus inierunt; omnimodaque pacis confirmatione in perpetuum inter eos[5] observandæ confœderati, munificentia[6] regali datis invicem muneribus et acceptis, et peracta competenti regibus solemnitate digressi sunt alacriter ab invicem. Rex Tancredus reversus est Palermam, et rex Ricardus ad Messanam.

They form a sound friendship.

[CAPITULUM XXIII.]

Rex Ricardus militibus et aliis, pro mora quam ibi fecerant indigentibus, largissima partitur munera.

Richard bestows large gifts on his men. (February, A.D. 1191. *Hoveden*, 391.)

Interea milites, qui in seditione prædicta et rerum turbatione totam illam æstatem gravibus transegerant impensis, moleste ferebant tantam ibi[7] moram otiosam et inutilem. Causabantur etenim[8] fratres suos in Christo in obsidione Achonensi in agone continuo contendere, et se dies ducere otiosos, et sua absque profectu jam ex parte majore consumpsisse; cum etiam ea quæ in occupatæ civitatis direptione jure belli fuerant

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[1] *autem*] om. B.

[2] *est*] om. A. B.

[3] *procerum suorum*] tr. A.

[4] *omnem gratiam*] tr. A.

[5] *eos*] om. C.

[6] *munificentia*] magnificentia, A.

[7] *ibi*] sibi, C.

[8] *etenim*] enim,

A.D. 1191. February. Bounty of King Richard. adepti compellerentur[1] restituere. Super hujusmodi jam divulgata querimonia commotus rex Ricardus, regali munificentia, tot universis indigentibus præter spem largitus est munera, ut sufficientissima singuli prout quemque decebat copia ditarentur. Ex distributis itaque[2] largissime donariis aureis sive argenteis, sive cujuscunque generis alterius, plurimum consolati sunt milites, nec non nobiles Palæstinæ mulieres hæreditatibus privatæ, et a patria exules, viduæ scilicet sive virgines, sunt affluenter locupletatæ. Unde rex Ricardus omnium obtinuit gratiam et favorem. Peditibus quippe et inferioris fortunæ satellitibus centum ad minus solidos impertiebatur.[3] Rex etiam Franciæ ipsius illectus exemplo quamplura suis largitus est[4] donaria. Hinc rediviva reflorescit in populo lætitia, et prius confracti mœstitia tam gratiosa subriguntur munificentia.

[CAPITULUM XXIV.]

De magna festivitate regis Ricardi die Natalis Domini, ad quam vocaverat regem Franciæ, et totum populum ad convivium apud Mategriffun, et de donariis ejus largissimis.

A.D. 1190. Dec. 25. Richard's Christmas feast at Mategriffun. Instabat illa præclara Nativitatis Dominicæ festivitas, tanto celebriori veneranda solemnitate, quanto magis necessaria humani generis redemptioni. Hujus gratia celebrandæ festivitatis rex Ricardus venerabiliter regem Franciæ invitavit ad prandium, et voce præconaria omnem animam vocavit ad diem tantam deducendam secum cum lætitia et gaudio. Ad cujus instantiam venit rogatus rex Franciæ cum innumero magnatum agmine. Venit et turba copiosa; quid plura? non multum laborat qui cogit volentem,[5] et quem æstimamus

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[1] *compellerentur*] compellantur, B.

[2] *itaque*] igitur, A. B.

[3] *impertiebatur*] impertiebat, A. B.

[4] *est*] om. C.

[5] *volentem*] voluntatem, C.

A.D. 1190. Dec. 25.
Description of the feast.

tunc temporis de industria gratis abesse a Ricardi regis convivio? Igitur in castro suo quod invitis indigenis ædificaverat, Mategriffun, honorifice sunt suscepti, et juxta quod cujuslibet dignitas exigebat collocati discubuerunt. Quis illatorum ferculorum enumeret[1] varietates, vel genera poculorum, vel ornatam operose turbam ministrantium? Quod qui nosse voluerit, animo metiatur regis Ricardi magnanimitatem, cui et convenientem pensitet suæ festivitatis procurationem. Nihil indecens videres vel incompositum, nihil non pretiosum, nihil non commendabile. Cyphi[2] quippe sive disci quibus inferebantur cibi vel potus,[3] non alterius erant materiæ vel substantiæ quam auri vel argenti; vasa denique omnia erant aurea vel argentea,[4] mirandi operis anaglypha, vel lima rodente subtiliter cælata, formatis imaginibus hominum sive bestiarum, pretiosis insitis[5] gemmata lapidibus. Præterea, unde conviviorum universa constat gratia,

——" Super omnia vultus
Accessere boni."

Quid ultra? singuli lætati sunt[6] eximie, tanta cibariorum et poculorum electorum abundantia, et ministrantium hilari facetia. Soluto tantæ celebritatis convivio, regem Franciæ, generis eximii pretiosis diversis gazis expositis, gratia honorificentiæ familiariter compulit eligere sibi potiora. Quinimmo, inæstimabilis pretii largitus est singulis rex Ricardus pro dignitate donaria, ad perfecte consummandam festivitatis gratiam. Diem nimirum se dolebat perdidisse, qua nihil se contingeret donasse, Titi solius liberalitati comparandus, cujus

" Dextra[7] sparsit opes."

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[1] *enumeret*] enumeraret, B.

[2] *Cyphi*] Ciffi, MSS.

[3] *cibi vel potus*] om. A. B.

[4] *vasa . . . argentea*] om. B.

[5] *insitis*] gemmis, et, ins. B.

[6] *lætati sunt*] tr. B.

[7] *Dextra*] om. C.

[CAPITULUM XXV.]

A.D. 1190. Dec. 25.

Pisani et Genuenses[1] *invadunt custodes classis regis Ricardi.*

Affray between the Pisans and Genoese, and our men.

Accidit eo tempore,[2] ut mero æstuantes Pisani et Genuenses, qua nescitur occasione turbati, classis regis Ricardi invaderent hostiliter custodes, et dum violenta irruptione sese acriter impeterent, facta est magna utrorumque peremptorum ruina. Crastino quoque hesternæ cædis reminiscentes, tanquam nondum completam se dolentes exercuisse malitiam, in eosdem præmeditati revertuntur insultus. Quibus atrociter sese invicem cædentibus, festinato rex Ricardus accurrit, ipsosque pertinaciter grassantes vix compescuit, et ab invicem recedere coegit.

[CAPITULUM XXVI.]

De adventu reginæ Alienor, et Berengariæ uxoris futuræ regis Ricardi, et de recessu in Terram Sanctam, primo regis Franciæ et secundo regis Angliæ.

A.D. 1191. The kings had stayed at Messina from Michaelmas to Lent.

Anno igitur Domini m°c°xc°i°, F.[3] littera Dominicali existente, post languidioris temporis hiberni ninguidos menses, cum jam dies instarent solidiores, tempus aptum navigio gratulatur populus advenisse, pertæsus in otiis moræ longioris. A festo enim Sancti Michaelis in civitate Messana, sicut prædictum est, commorati sunt reges cum universo exercitu, usque ad jam transmissam Quadragesimam. Colloquuntur igitur de transfretatione, moram ulteriorem allegantes multifarie incommodam, tum propter serenioris temporis[4] instantiam, tum ne inutiliter otio torpentibus deficerent expensæ, tum quod in obsidione laborantibus compatiebantur, quibus nimis tardum se dolebant præstare subsidium. Igitur dum se singuli[1] ad iter aggrediendum[2] expediunt, præcurrentibus nunciis regi Ricardo innotuit matrem suam reginam Alienoram, post eum properantem, emenso itinere multo, jam in proximo constitisse, et nobilem puellam regis Navariæ filiam, nomine Berengariam, secum adduxisse, regis futuram uxorem. A multo nimirum tempore quo primum comes erat[3] Pictavensis, ipsius puellæ morum illectus elegantia, necnon et generis dignitate, plurimum desideraverat eam. Unde et ipsius pater puellæ rex Navariæ eandem commiserat[4] matri regis Ricardi ducendam[5] ad eum, ut eam antequam transfretaret, sicut disposuerat, duceret in uxorem. Super quorum adventu lætati sunt universi. Interea rex Franciæ cum omni apparatu suo, ad iter arripiendum expeditus, aspirantibus prosperis ventis, cum omni classe sua profectus est: videlicet, die sabbati post Annunciationem Beatæ Mariæ; quem rex Ricardus prodeuntem diutius prosecutus est cum dignioribus proceribus in galeis suis. Sed ad transfretandum nondum ipse[6] expeditus, tum quod universas naves suas ad vehendos[7] equos suos et sarcinas nondum aggregaverat, tum quod, ut[8] æstimaverat necessarium, sufficienter non erat instructus, tum quod, ut prædictum est, matrem suam cum memorata puella jam acceperat eo venturam. Igitur postquam regem Franciæ transfretaturum dimiserat in pace, ultra Farum transvectus est usque ad civitatem Risam, ubi didicerat reginam matrem suam esse cum Berengaria,

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[1] *Genuenses*] Genevenses, B.

[2] *tempore*] die, ins. B.

[3] *F.*] E., A.

[4] *serenioris temporis*] tr. A. B.

A.D. 1191.

Richard hears of the near approach of his mother Eleanor, and his intended wife Berengaria.

Philip sails for Acre, March 30.

Richard goes to Reggio, to meet his mother.

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[1] *se singuli*] tr. A.

[2] *aggrediendum*] eadem, ins. A.

[3] *erat*] fuit, A., interlined as a correction; om. B.

[4] *commiserat*] om. C.

[5] *ducendam*] deducendam, A. B.

[6] *ipse*] om. A.

[7] *vehendos*] vehendum, C.

[8] *ut*] om.

A.D. 1191. March 30. Eleanor comes to Messina, and leaves soon after for England, (April 2. *Hoveden*, 392.) with the archbishop of Rouen and Gilbert de Gascuil.

quas cum summo gaudio gratanter suscipiens, secum deduxit ad Messanam, ubi facta aliquanta mora, matrem reginam[1] dimisit abire, et regni sui rogavit habere custodiam, simul[2] cum prædicto archiepiscopo Rothomagensi Waltero, viro magnarum virtutum.[3] Cum quibus etiam inde reversus est ille Gilebertus de Gascuil, cujus postea proditione obtinuit rex Franciæ castrum illud famosum Gisortium, situ fortissimum, in confinio Franciæ et Normanniæ, cujus fidei fuerat commissum. Puellam vero prænominatam, quam ducturus erat uxorem, secum retinuit rex Ricardus. Alienor regina inde regrediens per bargas[4] venit Salernam, et sic usque Normanniam. Rex præparatis omnibus itineri necessariis, regem Franciæ subsequi quam potuit expeditius ex condicto properavit. Classi itaque deducendæ et custodiendæ præposito Roberto de Torneham, sponsam suam præfatam, cum sorore sua vidua, olim Siciliæ regina, præmisit prima fronte in navibus quas vulgo dicunt Dromones, versus orientem recto navigantes respectu.

Sending on Berengaria and Joanna in advance of the fleet, Richard sets sail from Messina, April 10.

Deputaverat etiam eisdem mulieribus aliquot milites ad solatium et tutelam, et obsequentium turbam copiosam. Sunt autem hujusmodi generis naves ex sui gravitate cæteris pigriores, fabrica firmiori.[5] Galearum vero multitudo perseverabat immobilis, donec rex pransus, propter contingentes importunitates, cum omni exercitu valedicens indigenis processurus ascenderet. Qui cum se ventis prosperis committeret, et fluctibus marinis, omnis illa navium multitudo[6] ad prodeundum expedita crebris remigantium impulsibus[7] promovetur in pelagus. Civitas quidem Messana non immerito poterit singulari gloriari jactantia, nunquam a retroactis temporibus, classem talem et tantam a finibus illis egressam, nec forte[1] ullo tempore ibidem ulterius videndam consimilem. Septimo decimo die post discessum regis Franciæ, id est, die Mercurii post Dominicam Palmarum, cum classe navium copiosa rex Ricardus subsecutus[2] est, per medium Farum, aspirantibus auris, et seriatim velificantes et remigantes in altum progressi sunt, Dromones qui præcesserant recto itinere contendentes a tergo prospicere. Disposuerat etenim[3] rex, ne unquam separarentur naves, in quantum daretur facultas, nisi forte æstibus marinis abactæ dispergerentur ab invicem. Moderato itaque de[4] industria progressu galearum, gregatim tardiores naves onerarias comitari contendebat, ad tutelam multitudinis et[5] solatium[6] infirmioribus.

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[1] *matrem reginam*] reginam matrem suam, A.

[2] *simul*] scilicet, A. B.

[3] *viro magnarum virtutum*] tr. A. B.

[4] *bargas*] burgas, A.

[5] *firmiori*] firmiores, B.

[6] *navium multitudo*] tr. A.

[7] *impulsibus*] impulsu, A. B.

A.D. 1191. April 10. Departure of the fleet from Messina.

[CAPITULUM XXVII.]

De ventis nunc quiescentibus, nunc mare turbantibus, et periculis quæ sustinuit classis regis Ricardi usque ad Cretam, et a Creta usque ad Rodas.

Ecce, subito ventum sensimus[7] deficere,[8] ita quod de necessitate nos oportuit fixis anchoris immobiliter permanere inter Calabriam et Montem Gibellum. In crastino vero, hoc est, die Cœnæ Dominicæ, Ipse qui ventos subducit et educit de thesauris suis,* item ventum nobis destinavit[9] tota die perseverantem, sed tamen minus sufficientem, et classem modestius agentem. Unde et nocte sequenti omnino quievit. Die vero Parasceues ventus ingruens[10] contrarius repercussit a sinistris,

April 10. The fleet becalmed.

April 11. A fair wind.

* Jeremiah x. 13.

April 12. Wind contrary.

"Quo mare turbatum nimium fervebat[11] ab imo,"

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[1] *forte*] om. A.

[2] *subsecutus*] obsecutus, C.

[3] *etenim*] enim, A.

[4] *de*] om. C.

[5] *et*] om. C.

[6] *solatium*] solamen, B.

[7] *ventum sensimus*] tr. B.

[8] *deficere*] om. B.

[9] *destinavit.*] This word in A. is transposed to the end of the sentence.

[10] *ingruens*] ingratus, B.

[11] *fervebat*] fervescit,

A.D. 1190. April 12. Good Friday. Storm at Sea.

involventibus se fluctibus et procellis intumentibus.[1] Fragor undarum se collidentium et ventorum vehementia navium crepitantium non modicum cunctis incussit horrorem. Ad irruentium igitur nimietatem ventorum cessavit omnino ministerium nautarum; nec enim poterat sic jactatas naves moderari gubernatio. Feruntur in[2] incertum: dissolvitur series navium jam in diversa tendentium, solius Dei se committunt gubernaculo, jam desperati de humano auxilio. In quantum modo[3] humana sustinebat infirmitas, omnia sustinere decrevimus patienter, Salvatoris nostri intuitu, qui ea die pro nobis immeritam sustinere gratis[4] dignatus est passionem. Separatim igitur navibus errabundis, et in diversa dispersis, ex tanta jactatione stomachis hominum indignantibus, nauseam[5] provocat gravedo, et jam ex parte non minima ablatus est sensus discriminis ab ægrotantibus hominibus.

The storm goes down in the evening.

Advesperascente vero jam die, paulatim quievit et ventorum illa nimietas et maris intumescentis indignatio. Vento itaque pro voto satis opportuno perseverante, resumptis viribus nautæ et confidentia, recto progredi itinere contendebant.

Behaviour of the king.

Rex autem nec in illa magna turbatione animo turbatus, destitit alios animare, et ut confidenter durarent, et lætiora sperarent cohortari. Ipse quoque de consuetudine habere solebat in navi sua cereum maximum accensum in laterna,[6] et in edito positum omnibus[7] circumquaque præbere lumen et navigantibus viam. Habebat etiam[8] nautas maris[9] peritissimos, qui quantum humanum sufficit artificium, tantæ ventorum restiterant vehementiæ. Ad lucernam igitur regis ardentem, universi quibus poterant conatibus navem regiam sequi contendebant.

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[1] *intumentibus*] imminentibus, B.
[2] *in*] om. C.
[3] *modo*] vero, A.
[4] *gratis*] om. A.
[5] *nauseam*] nausiam, A. B.
[6] *laterna*] lanterna, B.
[7] *omnibus*] omnium, C.
[8] *etiam*] autem, A.
[9] *maris*] om. A.

Rex nihilominus classem tempestate dispersam aliquamdiu perseverans immobilis expectabat, quousque lumine viso congregarentur circum eum. Modo quidem consimili et affectu rex classis agendæ curam gerebat, quo et gallina desiderat super pullos suos. Nocte quoque sequenti ventis prosperis[1] velificantes, sine offensa cucurrimus et sine discrimine. Die quoque Sabbati Paschæ, necnon et ipso die magnæ festivitatis Paschæ et deinceps usque diem Mercurii. Ea[2] die vidimus insulam Cretam, in quam rex applicuit ad quiescendum, et ad classem congregandam: quo cum venissent universæ naves, super viginti quinque quæ non comparuerunt, vehementer rex commotus est. In arduis montibus illius insulæ Cretæ collis est supereminens,[3] quasi vertex montium, qui dicitur Camelus, qui, ut nautæ maris gnari ferunt, illa insula medias obtinet metas inter Messanam Siciliæ et Acram civitatem Palæstinæ. Crastino[4] die Jovis naves repetiit rex, et omnis illa multitudo, et promotis navibus cœpto itineri institit: cum ecce! inclinata jam die, ventus effectus validior, non tamen nimius, vehementius agebat classem in anteriora, impetu non minimo, sed nec volatui avium dissimili, sinuato velo et malo paululum curvato. Talis itaque ventus perseverans tota illa nocte, diluculo in insulam Rodam dictam, velis demissis[5] totam[6] classem violenter ingessit. Non[7] tamen portus erat, quo possemus applicare, sed gurges porrectus in terram. Verum tamen quo magis optata, tanto dulciori reficiebamur ibi quiete, ab eo usque ad[8] diem Lunæ sequentem,[9] quo in Rodam insulam applicuimus. Erat autem Roda civitas olim[10] permaxima, Romæ non mul-

A.D. 1190.
April 12.
The fleet makes way in the night; and from the 13th to the 17th of April.

April 17.
Crete in sight. Richard lands.

April 18.
The king re-embarks. A strong wind carries the fleet to Rhodes, April 19.

We land in Rhodes, April 22.

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[1] *prosperis*] properis, A.

[2] *Ea*] Eadem, A.

[3] *supereminens*] superveniens, C.

[4] *Crastino*] Crastina, C.

[5] *demissis*] dimissis, B. C.

[6] *totam*] illam, ins. A.

[7] *Non*] Nec, A.

[8] *ad*] in, A.

[9] *sequentem*] sequentis, A. B.

[10] *civitas olim*] tr. A. B.

A.D. 1191. April 22. Description of Rhodes.

tum dissimilis. Vix poterat[1] veritas æstimari; tot sunt ibi domorum ruinæ, et turrium dirutarum partes exstantes, murorum[2] et ædificiorum operis præclari et mirandi relliquiæ: monasteria quoque nonnulla adhuc permanentia,[3] sed ex parte majori deserta a tot antiquorum olim[4] ibi manentium. Situs quidem tantæ civitatis, licet vetustate jam deletæ, maximam olim testatur hominum frequentiam ibi fuisse: nonnulli tamen reperti sunt inhabitantes, licet paucissimi, qui nobis victui necessaria vendebant. Et quia rex infirmabatur, ibi morati sumus aliquot diebus, quibus rex expectabat quas aberrantes perdideramus naves, et galeas suas eo venturas, quæ eum semper[5] prosequebantur.[6] Inquisivit etiam interim de tyranno illo sævissimo imperatore Cypri, qui peregrinos ibi applicantes retinere solebat.

Richard is sick, and stays some days at Rhodes.

[Capitulum XXVIII.]

De recessu regis Ricardi a Rodis per Gulfrum, et adventu reginarum ad Cyprum.

May 1. The king leaves Rhodes.

Peractis apud Rodas decem diebus, quæ satis est fertilis et abundans, classem repetentes iter cœptum aggrediebamur, scilicet die primo mensis Maii. Ferebamur itaque velis extensis in locum, quo non est alter periculosior in mari, dictum Gulfrum[7] de Satalea. Ibi nimirum est conflictus[8] continuus quatuor marium concurrentium, et jugi collisione sibi invicem repugnantium. Gulfrum fuimus intraturi, cum ecce! ventus nobis irruens contrarius retrocedere compulit, usque ad eundem de quo fueramus digressi locum stationis.

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[1] *poterat*] posset, A.

[2] *murorum*] etiam, add. A. B.

[3] *adhuc permanentia*] tr. A.

[4] *olim*] om. A.

[5] *semper*] om. A.

[6] *prosequebantur*] sequebantur, B.

[7] *Gulfrum*] Golfrum, A. B.

[8] *conflictus*] condictus, B.

A.D. 1191 May 1.

A storm drives him into the gulf of Satalia.

Nec multa in medium mora, ventus idem, cujus est frequentius in diversa variari, nobis item imminebat a tergo, et quanto vehementior tanto formidolosior, cum impetu maximo nos in Gulfrum impegit. Cujus vehementiam timentes, quanto potuimus conatu, locorum discrimina transcurrere sategimus, et fluctuum æstus tumentium transire. Navis regia continuo cursu prima semper erat. Rex igitur cum serenato aere oculos sublevasset, eminus prospexit per tremuli maris planitiem obviam venientem navem permaximam, quam Buzam dicunt, a terra Jerosolimitana regressam. Rumorum itaque avidus ocius destinavit, qui ab eisdem qui illi navi inerant, super statu obsidionis Achonensis inquirerent certitudinem. Responderunt inquisiti, jam regem Franciæ incolumem ad obsidionem venisse, et fabricandis machinis diligenter[1] operam impendere, quousque eo veniret rex Angliæ. Sabbato quidem Paschalis hebdomadæ applicuit rex Franciæ in portum Achon, et tota intentione occupandæ civitati operam adhibuit et diligentiam. Petrarias igitur erectas statui fecit juxta turrim Maledictam, aliasque machinas præparari muris conquassandis. Nam secus turrim illam hospitabatur rex Franciæ. Impletis etiam et obturatis[2] terra fossatis, ea parte civitatis, machinis ad murum conductis, et petrariis jaculantibus, dissipatus est ex parte murus. Sed non multo post, repugnantium industria Turcorum, concrematæ sunt machinæ. Hæc omnia cum didicisset rex Ricardus a prædictis navigantibus, prætereunte Buza, rex alto corde prorsus alia disposuit agenda. Contendens itaque rex ventum non satis accommodum retorquere ad libitum, laborabat[3] exsuperare ventorum inæqualitatem. Aliquamdiu enim laborando, nil proficiens classis ejus ventorum adversitate, et intumescentium undarum reciprocatione, in

The king learns from the crew of a Buss, that Philip has reached Acre, on the 20th of April and is pressing the siege.

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[1] *diligenter*] diligentem, B.

[2] *obturatis*] in, ins. B.

[3] *laborabat*] laborat,

A.D. 1191. May 1. The queens had reached Cyprus.

altum repulsa, jactabatur fluctibus. Prius autem Buza illa de Liuns, in qua erant reginæ, appulsa est in portum insulæ Cypri, ad civitatem Limezon,[1] verumtamen terram non apprehenderunt, sed in mari longe fixis anchoris immota manebat.

[CAPITULUM XXIX.]

De pluribus incommodis, quæ acciderunt Terræ Sanctæ, cui maxime nocebat Imperator Cypri.

The misfortunes of Jerusalem; the fatality attending all attempts at deliverance.

Quo plectendam æstimamus piaculo, vel feriendam graviori flagello terram illam Jerosolimorum? aut quo ream commisso quod ejus subventioni tot obsistunt adversa, tanta mora prorogatur auxilium? immo in nequitiam eam defendentium potius creditur redundare tantæ meritum dilationis, quod in tam longum tempus suspenditur redemptio. Multis patenter constat argumentis, divinum fuisse suspensum subsidium illius terræ, a malitia inhabitantium in ea.* Unde et[2] viros eximios qui sperabantur futuri fortes auxiliarii, contigit intempestive auferri de medio. Quid enim pensandum de morte illius illustris Imperatoris Alemanniæ, cujus præclari gloriam principii sors denigravit fine plurimum dissimili? aut de morte olim gloriosi et ditissimi Henrici regis Angliæ, quis enarret[3] dolorem? Ipsius enim pecunia incolumis civitas Tyri conservata est, cujus etiam sapientia et prudentia sperabatur Terra Sancta recuperanda. Quid denique super occasu magnifici regis Siciliæ Willelmi[4] dicendum? qui postquam peregrinationis necessarios disposuisset[5] apparatus, et toties optatum sæpius destinasset subsidium, inopina

* Psalm cvii. 34.

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[1] *Limezon*] Limezun, A. B.
[2] *et*] per, B.
[3] *enarret*] enarraret, A. B.
[4] *Siciliæ Willelmi*] tr. A.
[5] *disposuisset*] disposuit, A.

morte subtractus est, et diem clausit extremum. Omnia hæc et plura alia Terræ Sanctæ acquirendæ accesserunt detrimenta, quorum singula satis et ultra potuissent nocuisse. Verum omnia prædicta unum erat exsuperans, de insula dico Cypri, de qua non modicum terra Jerosolimitana consequi consueverat annuatim emolumentum; nunc vero ei quicquam impertiri dedignans, cujus subjectionis jugum abjecerat, hoc idem procurante tyranno in ipsa insula imperatoriam usurpante potentiam. Hic Cursac nomine,[1] omnium malorum nequissimus, Judam exsuperans perfidia, Guenelonem proditione, quoscunque Christianæ relligionis professores pertinaciori persequebatur protervia. Salahadino dicebatur familiaris, et mutuum singuli hausisse cruorem, in signum et testimonium invicem initæ confœderationis, tanquam ex commixtione sanguinis exterius revera fierent consanguinei. Hoc quoque postmodum eos fecisse certis constabat indiciis. Cujus erectus tyrannus ille confidentia, omnium aspernatus debitam etiam subjectionem, falso quoque nomen usurpaverat[2] Imperatoris. Quoscunque in insulam gratis applicantes peregrinos, vel ventorum violentia rejectos, comprehendere solebat, ut a divitibus redemptionem extorqueret,[3] et pauperes servituti subigeret. Huic igitur cum innotuisset classem ignotam in illas partes adventasse, omnes qui inerant, sic enim de more consueverat, pecunia spoliatos comprehendere decrevit et captivos tenere.

A.D. 1191.

The emperor of Cyprus, Isaac Comnenus, was not the least enemy of the Holy Land.

His league with Saladin.

His cruelty to pilgrims.

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[1] *Cursac nomine*] om, A.

[2] *nomen usurpaverat*] tr. A.

[3] *extorqueret*] retorqueret, C.

[CAPITULUM XXX.]

A.D. 1191. *De naufragio et adversitate quorundam nostrorum, et captione, et inclusione, et eruptione, et victoria eorum contra insulanos Cypri.*[1]

Some of our ships had been wrecked on the coast of Cyprus, on the 24th of April.

Vigilia vero Sancti Marci Evangelistæ, paulatim ante solis occasum, cœlum obtexit nubes atra[2] caligine; et ecce! spiritus procellarum, et ventus vehemens, maris undas turbatas subvertens, irruit contrarius navigantibus. Navium autem regis Ricardi, ante ejus adventum inæqualitate ventorum dispersarum, quædam dum terram Cypri niterentur apprehendere, repugnantibus undis procellosis,[3] ventoque rejiciente, ferebantur in cautes. Vento autem vehementius grassanti totis viribus, cum resistere nautæ tentarent, tres regis naves non procul a terra fluctibus irruentibus conquassatæ sunt, et quidam eorum qui inerant sunt submersi. Quidam autem[4] armamentorum navium fortuitu correptorum suffragiis, non sine maxima laborum vexatione, undarum obsequio, immo procellosis jactationibus, pecunia amissa, nudi delati sunt[5] in terram. Ibi inter cæteros submersus interiit Rogerus, cognomento Malus Catulus, regis sigillifer, et amissum est sigillum. Postmodum vero, ipsius Rogeri corpore undarum æstibus in terram projecto, invenit sigillum quidam plebeius et in exercitum detulit vendendum. Sicque redemptum est et regi restitutum sigillum. Illos autem qui de naufragio evaserunt ad terram, sub prætextu pacis admiserunt gaudentes indigenæ, et tanquam[6] compatientes eorum infortunio, deduxerunt in quoddam castellum vicinum reficiendos. Quoscunque vero applicantes incolumes, spoliatos omnibus armis,

The keeper of the king's seal was drowned, but the seal was recovered.

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[1] *Cypri*] Tyri, B.
[2] *atra*] atque, B.
[3] *procellosis*] periculosis, B.
[4] *autem*] om. C.
[5] *sunt*] om. C.
[6] *tanquam*] in, ins. C.

A.D, 1191. April.

The Cypriot Greeks deal treacherously with the shipwrecked men, and plunder the provisions sent to them.

similiter[1] intromiserunt in custodiam, eo se intuitu id facere allegantes, ne videlicet, si armati incederent, viderentur terram exploraturi, vel etiam expugnaturi. Asserebant quippe se Griffones aliter facere non audere, donec voluntatem imperatoris sui consulerent. Naufragis autem nostris in custodia detentis, compassi proceres nostri eisdem destinaverunt et vestimenta, et alia quæcunque necessaria. Stephanus etiam de Torneham[2] mareschallus regis et thesaurarius, eisdem misit necessariorum abundantiam; verum etiam omnia, quæ missa erant[3] inclusis, ad introitum castelli quo inerant, direpta sunt a Griffonibus et custodibus civitatis. Attamen verbis[4] adulatoriis et captiosis[5] blandientes, nondum[6] patentes exercebant inimicitias. Exitum vero eis non concesserunt, quousque quæ acciderant notificarentur imperatori. Interim vero, loquentes in dolo, omnia eis necessaria[7] se spoponderunt exhibituros. Convocatis igitur provinciæ illius magnatibus, consilium inierunt, ut captivos quot possent peregrinos, dolo tenerent et occiderent. Quod cum nostris innotuisset, in eodem se gratis incluserunt castello, sese viriliter defensuri, quorum nonnullos peremerunt indigenæ, et castellum obsederunt. Perpendentes itaque peregrini sibi revera imminere periculum, elegerunt de consilio potius bellorum inire discrimen, quam diutius periclitari famis injuria, incidentes in manus infidelium Christianorum persecutorum.[8] Igitur cum a castello exirent catervatim[9] in campum, circumdederunt eos indigenæ et perimere cœperunt inermes. Ipsi[10] vero Christiani,[11] ex desperatione concipientes[12] audaciam, quantum pote-

Our men shut themselves up in a fort.

They issue from the fort, and, assisted by

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[1] *similiter*] simul, B.

[2] *Torneham*] Turneham, A. B.

[3] *erant*] fuerant, A.

[4] *verbis*] om. C.

[5] *captiosis*] curiosis, C.

[6] *nondum*] non, C.

[7] *eis necessaria*] tr. A.

[8] *persecutorum*] persecutores, A.B.

[9] *catervatim*] certatim, A.

[10] *Ipsi*] om. C.

[11] *Christiani*] om. A. B.

[12] *concipientes*] excipientes, C.

A.D. 1191.

Roger Harcourt and William Du Bois, resist until our fleet comes to the rescue.

rant, nitebantur resistere, non minorem impugnantibus stragem inferentes cum tribus tantum arcubus,[1] quos secum habuerant, insciis indigenis. Erat enim[2] ibi miles magnæ probitatis Rogerus de Harecurt,[3] qui fortuitu[4] inventam equam ascendens, instanter turbam Griffonum prosternens disgregavit. Willelmus etiam de Bosco Normannus, arcus[5] peritissimus, sagittis et pilis infatigabiliter emissis, nunc hos nunc illos percutiens dissipavit. Cum hoc perpendissent igitur[6] milites nostri, adhuc existentes[7] in navibus, properanter processerunt in eorum auxilium armati: quibus applicantibus Griffones, in quantum poterant, obsistebant arcubus utentes et balistis. Verumtamen, protectore Deo,[8] a navibus erumpentes, indemnes portum nacti sunt. Denique dissipatis Griffonibus et viam cedentibus, peregrini nostri[9] a castello prædicto[10] egressi, sese jugiter defendentes a tergo, pervenerunt ad portum, quo nostros a navibus egressos, et Griffones eisdem resistentes totis viribus invenerunt dimicantes. Communicata denique utrorumque virtute, dispersi sunt indigenæ, et nostri portum adepti sunt, quo stabat Buza reginarum.[11] Pervenerat enim Buza illa incolumis in portum de Limazun, sicut supradictum est, ante regis adventum, sed ad terram ii qui inerant ascendere non præsumebant, quia et terræ statum ignorabant, et imperatoris formidabant sævitiam simul et perfidiam.

The queens had arrived at Limasol, but had not landed.

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[1] *tantum arcubus*] tr. A.
[2] *enim*] autem, A.; etiam, B.
[3] *Harecurt*] Hardecurt, A. B.
[4] *fortuitu*] forte, A. B.
[5] *arcus*] arcu, C.
[6] *perpendissent igitur*] tr. A.
[7] *existentes*] om. A.
[8] *protectore Deo*] protectorem, B.
[9] *nostri*] om. A.
[10] *castello prædicto*] tr. A. B.
[11] *quo . . . reginarum*] om. C.

[CAPITULUM XXXI.]

De adventu regis Ricardi apud Cyprum.

A.D. 1191. May 2. The emperor of Cyprus promises redress to the shipwrecked pilgrims.

Eadem die advesperascente, quo, sicut supradictum[1] est, a prædicto castello evaserunt[2] peregrini, venit eo imperator Cypri, scilicet die[3] quadam Jovis, cui innotuerat[4] de peregrinorum adventu. Conquerentibus igitur peregrinis de suorum injuria et pecuniæ direptione, omnimodam promisit imperator satisfactionem, et de pecunia naufragorum reddenda, et quatuor etiam de fidelitate servanda contradidit obsides, unde sub hac conditione liberum introitum et exitum villæ de Limazun obtinuerunt peregrini. Interim vero imperator mandaverat[5] totius imperii sui convenire viros bellatores, et virtutis magnæ congregavit exercitum. In crastino adventus sui mandavit imperator reginis, verbis pacificis in dolo, ut securius applicarent, et pro libero arbitrio suo se haberent in omnibus, sine qualibet suorum molestia, nihil adversitatis perpessuræ. Ipsis vero renuentibus, iterum die altero destinavit eisdem reginis imperator, sub prætextu exhibendi honoris, xenia multa, panes scilicet et carnes arietinas, vinique peroptimi ex Botris Cypri, cujus alterius terræ fertur non[6] esse simile. Tertio quoque die, scilicet die Dominicâ, reginas tentavit circumvenire blanditiis, et seducere fallaciis: quæ jam[7] in arcto positæ, et super ambiguis fluctuantes, anxiatæ sunt, ne si se submitterent imperatoriis[8] persuasionibus, captivæ diriperentur, aut si pertinaciter contradixissent, ejusdem violentos timuerunt insultus. Nondum enim quicquam innotuit de regis adventu, aut de prosperitate classis regiæ. Sed ut sub ambiguo

May 3. He invites the queens to land.

May 5. He again tries to get them into his power.

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[1] *supradictum*] prædictum, A. B.

[2] *evaserunt*] evaserant, A. B.

[3] *die*] om. A.

[4] *innotuerat*] innotuerant, C.

[5] *imperator mandaverat*] tr. A. B.

[6] *non*] cujus non alterius, &c., tr. A.

[7] *jam*] om. A.

[8] *imperatoriis*] imperatoris, A. B.

A.D. 1191. May 5. They promise to disembark the next day. responsi imperatoris animum ad tempus suspenderent, asserebant se die crastino[1] processuras, se imperatoris committentes arbitrio. Sub hujus spe sponsionis sustinuit imperator. Reginis autem, dum mordacium curarum æstibus super his sollicitarentur, opitulante Deo, indilatum provenit suffragium. Quæ dum secum tristes quererentur et confabularentur ad invicem, ecce! Richard comes in sight the same day. eadem die Dominica eminus intuentibus, inter ipsos undarum crispantium spumeos vertices, in modum cornicularum agitatæ, comparuerunt duæ naves eo versus expeditius velificantes. Cumque reginæ et qui cum eis erant super his adhuc incertæ ambigerent, prospexerunt[2] et alias aliquot naves subsequentes. Nec mora; copiosa navium multitudo subsecuta est, et magno cum impetu directo cursu ferebantur in portum. Hanc regiam classem conjicientes, gavisi sunt gaudio tanto[3] majori, quanto graviori desolatione desperatis gratius subveniebatur. Ecce enim! post multos et[4] fastiditos labores, gubernante Deo deductus est rex Ricardus ad insulam Cypri. May 6. The king lands in Cyprus. Die igitur festivitatis Sancti Johannis ante portam Latinam, applicuit rex[5] Ricardus cum universo comitatu suo in portum de Limazun, verumtamen infra naves se cohibebat.

[CAPITULUM XXXII.]

Rex Ricardus cum suis imperatorem cum suis, primitus navali bello, postmodum terrestri fugavit.

He sends envoys to the emperor. Cui cum innotuisset de naufragorum discrimine, et rerum direptione, et de cæteris quæ interim acciderant, altius indoluit, et missis[6] in crastino, scilicet die Lunæ, duobus militibus legatis ad imperatorem, pacifice ro-

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[1] *crastino*] crastina, A. B.

[2] *prospexerunt*] perspexerunt, A.B.

[3] *tanto*] magno, C.

[4] *et*] om. C.

[5] *rex*] om. C.

[6] *missis*] emissis,

A.D. 1191. May 6.

The emperor answers contemptuously.

gavit sibi et suis satisfieri de illatis injuriis, et super rebus naufragorum restituendis in integrum, ad voluntatem suam. Imperator vero super hoc mandato vehementius indignans, ac si maxima eidem fuisset illata injuria, in verba prorupit contumeliosa, dicens nunciis regis irrisorie,[1] "Ptrut,[2] Sire;" sibique nihil esse[3] cum rege Anglicano,[4] usurpata nimirum imperatoria excellentia glorians, et impunitate diutina[5] luxurians, quicquid libebat licere putavit. Cujus responsum cum legati[6] regi nunciassent, ægre ferens imperatoris arrogantiam, responsumque contumeliosum, nec non et suorum jacturam, confestim exclamavit præcipiens omnibus suis, "Armate vos;" quod ipsi citissime impleverunt. Ipse igitur armatus cum omnibus suis in cymbis Esneckarum[7] ad portum apprehendendum provectus est. Imperator vero cum exercitu multo resistens applicantibus, circumquaque totius portus exitus cujuslibet generis obicibus et repagulis dispositis in offendiculum ascendentium, quotcunque poterat procuraverat impedimenta in portu. Ostia quippe[8] domorum, et fenestras raptas ibi collocaverant, dolia etiam cum asseribus, scamna quoque et tabulata graduum, et ligna procera in transverso locata. Scuta quoque et ancylia, galeas antiquatas[9] aliasque naves olim desertas et situ squalentes, et omnia genera utensilium. Quid plura? quicquid portatile ligneum[10] vel saxeum potuit in civitate Limazun reperiri, congesserant Griffones in littore, in advenientium offendiculum. Præterea imperator armatus cum gente sua perambulabat in littore. O quam decenter populum imperatoris ornatum! armaturis operosis,[11] et vestibus pretiosissimis et multicoloribus, in equis

Richard prepares to attack the city, and the emperor to resist.

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[1] *nunciis . . . irrisorie*] om. A.

[2] *Ptrut*] Ptruht, A.; Ptrut, B.; Tprut, C.

[3] *esse*] om. A.

[4] *Anglicano*] om. A.

[5] *diutina*] divina, A.

[6] *cum legati*] om. B.

[7] *Esneckarum*] Esnekarum, C.

[8] *quippe*] quoque, A.

[9] *antiquatas*] antiquas, C.

[10] *ligneum*] lignum, A.

[11] *operosis*] pretiosis,

A.D. 1191. May 6. General engagement.

bellicosis et spumantibus,[1] fræna mandentibus, et mulis pulcherrimis. Oberrabant igitur parati ad bellum cum penuncellis innumeris, et baneriis pretiosissimis ad auram ventilantibus, ut videlicet vel ascendentes longius arcerent, vel ad pugnam fortius exciperent. Nostros itaque ad applicandum se expedientes, illi exclamationibus[2] horrisonis,[3] ut canes hirrientes[4] exturbare tentabant, contumeliis tanquam canes nos afficientes, et quod impossibilia molirentur improperantes. Balistarios autem[5] quosdam habebant et sagittarios, et quinque galeas satis armatas in littore, plenas juventute navalis prælii perita. Nostri quidem ipsis plurimum[6] videbantur ad congressum impares, tum quod in minimis cymbis et fragilibus, se remigantes exposuerant portum obsitum occupaturi; tum quod plurimum destituebantur[7] fatigati diutius ex maris assidua jactatione; tum quia pedites erant armis propriis satis onusti.[8] Indigenæ vero in patria sua et omnia pro voluntate gerebant. Igitur cum nostri seriatim processissent in cymbis, imprimis propiores statuerunt expugnare, balistarios scilicet et sagittarios, qui in galeis eos infestabant. Ad quos nostri balistarii conversi, dum sese mutuis pilis impetentes aliquamdiu decertarent, plurimis tandem Griffonum peremptis, reliqui cedebant, nec enim pondus belli sustinere valebant. Volantibus autem[9] sagittis densissime, cedentes terni prosiliebant in mare, sive quaterni, et ut sagittas evaderent morituri se fluctibus immergebant, mutuis se collidentes impulsibus, dum certatim fugæ præsidium appeterent. Captis igitur a nostris eorum galeis,[10] et nostris navibus applicatis, balistarii nostri et sagittarii,[11] ex primo successu animosiores, in

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[1] *spumantibus*] spumantia, A.

[2] *exclamationibus*] exclamantibus, B.

[3] *horrisonis*] horresunes, B.

[4] *ut canes hirrientes*] tr. B.

[5] *autem*] etiam, A.

[6] *ipsis plurimum*] tr. A.

[7] *destituebantur*] destruebantur, C.

[8] *onusti*] honusti, A.

[9] *autem*] igitur, A. B.

[10] *eorum galeis*] tr. A.

[11] *nostri et sagittarii*] tr.

A.D. 1191. May 6.

Our men, after a great struggle, succeed in landing.

Rout of the Greeks: the king challenges the emperor to single combat; he occupies Limasol.

modum imbrium pila mittebant in eos, qui littoris exitus observabant. Nec mora; Griffones impetum[1] nostrorum non ferentes, loco cesserunt et in terram solidiorem[2] se receperunt. Balistarii tamen et eorum et nostri pertinaciter sine intermissione sagittis utebantur, et pilis, a quorum densitate videretur aer obtenebrari, et diei serenitatem pilorum pluvia noctescere. Civitas tota hominum fervebat frequentia, et tota vicinia balistariorum sese pertinaciter exercitantium occupatur multitudine. Stetit in ambiguo victoria, diutius fluctuans cui parti faveret. Nostris autem totis viribus vicem pro vice reddere contendentibus, sed nequaquam progredientibus, dum rex perpenderet nostros minus audaces ad egrediendum de cymbis, et ad littus aggrediendum, ipse primus a barga sua prosiliens in mare, Griffones audacter invasit. Cujus constantiam cæteri nostrorum imitantes, hinc inde regem comitantes satagebant resistentes fugare Griffones. Nec mora, nostris irruentibus, eorum agmina lacerata[3] cesserunt. Ibi fuit videre imbrem pilorum volantium, Græcos prosterni fugientes; murmur audires congredientium, gemitus occumbentium, ululatus retrocedentium. Dissipatos itaque Græcos nostri jugiter cædentes repulerunt primum in civitatem, et postea a civitate usque in adjacentium camporum planitiem. Rex igitur cum persecutus esset imperatorem fugientem, lucratus est runcinum vel jumentum, sacculo[4] retro sellam collocato, a terra expeditius ascendit in sellam, quæ vice streparum cordas habebat. Festinanter igitur imperatorem impetiit, exclamans, "Domine imperator, veni mecum inire singulare[5] certamen." Ipse vero tanquam obaudiens velociter aufugit. Sic rex civitatem de Limazun occupans, reginas a Buza fecit educi, et in villa hospitari, ubi post tot maris vexationes et fastidia, quiete se refecerunt et securitate.

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[1] *impetum*] impetus, B.

[2] *solidiorem*] solidiores, A.

[3] *lacerata*] laterata, A.

[4] *sacculo*] saculo, A.; jaculo, C.

[5] *inire singulare*] tr. A.

[CAPITULUM XXXIII.]

A.D. 1191. May 6.

Item de pugna inter regem et imperatorem, et de victoria regis, et fuga imperatoris in Nicosiam.[1]

The horses are landed.

Nocte quoque eadem, rex in papilionibus suis moratus, fecit equos suos educi ab esneckis. Imperator autem, eum non æstimans equos habere, minus timuit, et ad duarum leucarum terminum veniente nocte hospitatus est in tentorio. Die crastino circa horam nonam rex eques[2] incedens,[3] quosdam Græcos non procul invenit, juxta viam stantes in oliveto cum baneriis suis gloriosis, quos statim fugientes rex insectatus est. Verum quoniam equi nostri vexatione marina per unum mensem semper stando, plurimum fuerant turbati, equis ipsis[4] parcentes modestius insecuti sunt, donec perspicerent eminus exercitum imperatoris, qui in valle proxima illa nocte resederat. Tunc ipsis visis, nostri prosequi[5] desistentes substiterunt. Græci vero, clamore tumultuantes horrisono nostris insultando concrepuerunt. Unde imperator a dormitione excitatus, ascensis equis, cum exercitu suo versus nostros paulatim progressus est, usque in collem vicinum, ut videret quid fieret de congredientibus exercitibus. Græci itaque arcubus tantum utentes et balistis, jugiter nostros exclamaverunt immotos. Ibi venit ad regem clericus quidam,[6] Hugo nomine de Mara, armatus, dicens ad eum, "Domine, "mi rex, sani videretur[7] esse consilii declinare ad "tempus hanc multitudinem adversariorum tantam, "tam fortem." Cui rex, "Domine clerice, quod "vestram sapit professionem, scripturæ tuæ immis-

May 7. The king pursues the emperor.

Hugh de Mara, a warlike clerk, is bidden to mind his own business.

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[1] *Nicosiam*] Nicossiam, A.
[2] *eques*] equos, B. C.
[3] *incedens*] incendens, A.
[4] *ipsis*] nostris, A.
[5] *prosequi*] persequi, A. B.
[6] *clericus quidam*] tr. A.
[7] *videretur*] videtur, A.

A.D. 1191. May 7.

“ cearis, nobis cedas militiam, et a turba te satagas “ ejicere.”

The king with fifty men puts the Greeks to flight.

Sed et[1] alii quidam dissuaserunt regem congredi cum tanto exercitu. Rex nimirum tunc secum non habuit milites nisi circiter quinquaginta; ipse vero[2] etiam ex eorum trepidatione animosior, equo admisso repente ferebatur in hostes, et aciem turbæ dissipavit pertransiens, et nunc hos nunc illos conficiens[3] sine mora dispersit universos. Cujus exercitum cum adversarii ex jugiter convenientibus crescere perpendissent, tabefacta est virtus eorum, et fugere cœperunt. Qui equos habebant agiles et veloces evaserunt, pedites vero cuncti et vulgus ad fugam minus expeditum, cæsi passim indifferenter occubuerunt, nec ulterius propter regis etiam adventum fugerunt.

He unhorses the emperor

Imperatorem ergo,[4] dum suos ad pugnam animaret exhortans, rex veniens ex adverso, equo admisso, lancea equo[5] dejecit; sed sine mora altero equo oblato[6] in turba dilapsus est in fugam. De sociis vero suis ibi quosdam amisit. O quot ibi videres equos generosos peremptos, loricas jacentes et galeas, gladios et lanceas, penuncellos projectos, et signa multiformia, corpora hominum sanguine volutata mortuorum, vel[7] adhuc supremo spirantium anhelitu, quorum non erat numerus.

The emperor takes to flight.

Imperator perpendens nostrorum audaciam et suorum fugam,[8] calcarium non immemor, quod solum superesse videbat, fugit et ipse in montana valde velociter, cujus baneriam qui gestabat rex percussit, et baneriam nobilem et insignem sibi rex reservari præcepit. Græcos itaque fugientes persecuti sunt equites nostri, qua potuerunt instantia, duobus millibus: deinde[9] moderatis passibus regredientes, pacifice reversi sunt. Populus conversus ad

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[1] *et*] om. C.
[2] *vero*] enim, A.
[3] *conficiens*] afficiens, A. B.
[4] *ergo*] autem, A.
[5] *admisso . . . equo*] om. C.
[6] *oblato*] ablato, C.
[7] *vel*] et, A.
[8] *suorum fugam*] tr. A.
[9] *deinde*] demum, B.

A.D. 1191. May 7. Plunder of the emperor's stores.

prædam diripuit spolia multa, scilicet arma, vestes sericas pretiosas, tentorium etiam imperatoris, et omnia quæ in eo reperta sunt vasa, aurea et argentea, lectum ipsius imperatoris[1] cum apparatu eximio, et omnem ejus supellectilem, loricas, galeas, et enses electos, equos et mulos, necnon[2] gregum quoque et armentorum[3] prædam multam nimis, boum scilicet et vaccarum, caprarum et ovium, equarum et pullorum nobilium, porcorum, altilium et gallinarum. Reperement et vina electa et victualia plurima: hominum insuper captivorum infinitæ multitudinis abduxerunt exercitum, ut diripientibus præ multitudine fuerint fastidio. Sed quid amplius? ex tantæ copia prædæ omnis anima satiata est, ut nec oblatum quantumlibet quid pretiosum quisquam ad plenum onustus respicere curaret. His ita[4] gestis rex voce præconaria proposuit[5] edictum, ut omnes indigenæ, pacis amatores, libere irent et redirent absque suorum offendiculo, et salva gauderent libertate; quisquis autem haberet regem[6] ut hostem, sibi caveret, ne in ejus vel suorum manus incideret: cuilibet enim ipsum hostem reputanti se professus est exhibere ut hostem; singulis talis exstitit, quales ipsi ei. Pluries cum rege vel cum exercitu congressus postmodum, imperator singulis vicibus plures suorum amisit. Denique vero in castellum quoddam firmissimum, Nichosiæ dictum, se recepit,[7] confusus et mœstus quod non pro voto proficeret.

After several engagements, the emperor takes refuge in Nicosia (Lefkosia).

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[1] *et . . . imperatoris*] om. B.

[2] *necnon*] et, ins. A.

[3] *armentorum*] armamentorum, A.

[4] *His ita*] Hiis itaque, A.

[5] *proposuit*] præposuit, A.

[6] *haberet regem*] tr. A. B.

[7] *Nichosiæ dictum se recepit*] tr. A.; Nicossiæ, A.

[CAPITULUM XXXIV.]

De adventu regis Guidonis in Cyprum.

A.D. 1191. May 11. Guy of Jerusalem comes to Cyprus with pressing news for the king.

Sabbato sequenti, cum apparuissent tres galeæ in mari longe, ambigentibus cunctis quid sibi vellent, vel unde venirent, rex ad omnia promptissimus, ne dicam præsumptuosissimus,[1] cymbæ vectus permodicæ remigio, processit obviam venientibus, inquirens qui vel unde venirent qui veniebant. Cui cum responderetur, hoc esse Guidonem de Leziniaco[2] regem Jerosolimorum, confestim rex veloci rediit[3] recursu,[4] imperans sine mora suis cœnam instruere venturis hospitibus. Regem itaque Guidonem appulsum, summa[5] cum veneratione suscepit et gratanter exhibuit. Venerat autem idem Guido ad regem Ricardum, petiturus consilium et auxilium, super eo quod rex Franciæ disposuerat Marchisum de quo prius[6] supradictum est, fieri regem Jerosolimorum, abjecto rege Guidone. Quem rex Ricardus benigne suscepit, et tanquam tenuem, et[7] rebus destitutum, honoravit muneribus. Dedit itaque eidem duo millia marcarum argenti, et viginti cuppas pretii centum marcarum, et quinque quarum duæ fuerunt de auro purissimo.

[CAPITULUM XXXV.]

De nuptiis regis Ricardi et Berengariæ.

May 12.

In crastino, scilicet die Dominica, in festo[8] Sancti Pancratii, contractum est matrimonium inter regem Ricardum et Berengariam filiam regis Navariæ, apud

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[1] *præsumptuosissimus*] præsumptuosus, A.

[2] *Leziniaco*] Liziniaco, A.; Leziniako, C.

[3] *veloci rediit*] tr. A.

[4] *recursu*] cursu, A.

[5] *summa*] om. A. B.

[6] *prius*] om. A.

[7] *et*] om. C.

[8] *in festo*] die, A. B.

A.D. 1191. May 12.

Richard and Berengaria were married at Limasol: Berengaria crowned.

Limazun. Puella vero[1] erat prudentissima, et bene morigerata, ibi coronata[2] in reginam. Huic contractioni interfuit archiepiscopus de Burdellis,[3] et episcopus Ebroycensis, et episcopus de Baneria,[4] et alii quamplures magnates et proceres. Rex itaque[5] in deliciis gloriosus et hilaris, se cunctis[6] jocundum exhibuit et gratiosum.

De adventu galearum regis.

The rest of the fleet arrives.

Celebratis igitur more regio solemniter nuptiis, ecce ! quadam die perveniunt ad portum galeæ suæ universæ, quas sollicitus expectaverat. Erant autem armaturis decenter instructæ et munitæ, quibus meliores et securiores nemo vidit unquam. Ille igitur supradictas quinque galeas imperatoris a se captas aggregavit. Habuit ergo rex galeas quadraginta armatas, sexaginta aliis præstantiores.

[CAPITULUM XXXVI.]

De colloquio et modo pacificationis inter regem et imperatorem.

The king prepares for his departure.

Succedentibus igitur prosperis, rex factus erectior arridentem arbitratus est sequi fortunam. Sane ad expeditionem hortatus exercitum, ad omnia jussit fore paratum. Et ne repentinam in improvidos moliretur imperator irruptionem, de nocte fecit celebrari[7] excubias, et vigiles procuravit qui custodirent exercitum. Proposuerat itaque rex, cum exercitu persequi imperatorem ubicunque locorum, donec eum comprehenderet, vel ad deditionem compelleret. Mediante vero et plurimum satagente magistro Hospitalis Jerusalem,

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[1] *vero*] quidem, A. B.

[2] *coronata*] est, ins. A.

[3] *de Burdellis*] om. A. B.

[4] *Baneria*] Baionia, Hoveden.

[5] *itaque*] om. A.

[6] *se cunctis*] tr. A. B.

[7] *fecit celebrari*] tr. A. B.

A.D. 1191. May. Interview between Richard and Isaac.

statutum est colloquium inter regem et imperatorem, maximo affectum mœrore pro suorum amissione, et quod probrose ita fugatus est apud Nichosiam, quo fugerat a facie regis; odio nimirum ipsum habebant indigenæ, unde de suorum diffisus auxilio, eo magis regis[1] extimuit persecutionem. Convenientibus igitur in unum ante adventum regis hinc inde quam plurimis, in planitie amplissima inter mare et stratam regiam, juxta civitatem de Limazun, rex postmodum eo processit regio decoratus amictu. Cui insederat

"cor fervens erexit equum natura"

Hispanum.[2] Erat itaque elegantis formæ, staturæ prægrandis,[3] micans auribus, ardua cervice, collo prolixiori, pectore amplo, tibiis sinceris, pedibus patulis, et omnium membrorum decentissimus[4] lineamentis, qualem nec pictor plurimum laborans linealiter[5] imitaretur ad unguem.[6] Hic tanquam ad motum citatiorem se expediens, ad rapiendum cursum, indignabatur aureo

"fræno remorante teneri,"

et pedum ordine præpostero, nunc anterioribus subsiliens ut[7] a posterioribus progressurus videretur.[8] Huic rex insiliens, insedit sellæ aureis scintillis multicoloribus micanti[9] sinopide[10] interlucentibus; parte nihilominus posteriori binis aureis sese respicentibus hirriendo leunculis, singulorum uno pedum anteriorum versus alterutrum tanquam ad lacerandum porrecto. Regis etiam aurea decorabant pedes calcaria. Erat itaque ex roseo samito[11] tunica, pallioque vestitus lineariter distinctis lunulis semicirculatis, argento solido candentibus, orbibus tanquam solaris[12] schematis densissime localiter micantibus. Sic rex ornatus ense probato processit

Dress of the king.

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[1] *regis*] om. A.
[2] *Hispanum*] Hyspanum, MSS.
[3] *prægrandis*] pergrandis, A.
[4] *decentissimus*] decentissimis, A. B.
[5] *linealiter*] liniariter, A.
[6] *unguem*] imaginem, B.
[7] *ut*] om. A. B.
[8] *videretur*] videtur, A. B.
[9] *micanti*] om. A.
[10] *sinopide*] sinope, A.
[11] *samito*] samitto, B.
[12] *solaris*] coloris, C.

A.D. 1191. May.

The king and the emperor agree on terms of peace.

accinctus, capulo aureo, balteo serico, operosæ vaginæ oras mordente argento. Capellum ex scarlata gestabat in capite, docta manu artificum variarum avium formis seu bestiolarum, acu operante, ex aurifragio insutis. Baculum quoque manu gestans, etiam in gestu militem exhibens eximium, intuentium oculis ingerebat delicias. Post multas[1] hinc inde propositiones inter regem et imperatorem, se juraturum obtulit imperator fidelem fore regi per omnia, et quod quingentos equites secum duceret in Dei servitio, in terram Jerosolimorum juxta regis dispositionem et voluntatem. Et ne super his quicquam ambigui in corde regis resideret, in satisfactionem omnia castra sua et munitiones regiis obtulit mancipanda custodibus. Præterea pro satisfactione pecuniæ suorum amissæ, sive direptæ, daret marcarum tria millia et quingenta. Et cum[2] pro conditione inter eos sic[3] inita, se cum suis fideliter militasse rex perpenderet in operum exhibitione, restitueretur eidem imperatori terra sua cum castris et munitionibus, sicut prius, salva inter eos mutua in posterum amicitia. Cumque rex oblatam concordiæ summam suis ad[4] examinandum exposuisset, an videlicet in aliquo per talem conventionem regio derogaretur honori; et an universorum gratanter animo sedisset: respondebant[5] sui hoc regis honori in omnibus convenire et sibi per omnia placere. His auditis a rege, statim imperator regi omnia prædicta se juravit fideliter observaturum, et dato pacis osculo confœderati sunt in hunc modum. Rex a soluto reversus concilio, statim tentoria imperatoris misit ei prius capta in prædicto certamine, in pignus pacis et dilectionis. Præterea vasa quoque sua in tentoriis direpta eidem destinavit. Tentoria statim[6] in eodem loco supradicti colloquii fecit imperator extendi.

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[1] *multas*] igitur, ins. A. B.

[2] *cum*] si, A. B.

[3] *inter eos sic*] tr. A.

[4] *ad*] om. A.

[5] *respondebant*] responderunt, B.

[6] *statim*] om. C.

[CAPITULUM. XXXVIII.]

De fuga imperatoris nocturna per Famagustam usque Candairam,[1] *et de captione Nichosiæ a rege.*[2]

A.D. 1191. May.

Nocte sequenti, instinctu cujusdam militis sui mendacis, nomine Pagani de Cayphas, fugit inde velociter imperator, nocturnis tenebris confisus, equo sedens favello peroptimo. Asserebat enim miles ille[3] regem Ricardum proposuisse eadem nocte rapere imperatorem, vinculis mancipandum; unde turbatus imperator, relictis tentoriis et dextrariis optimis, cum omni sua supellectili, in initio noctis fugit apud Famagustam civitatem suam. Quo rex audito, in galeis suis ipsum cœpit insectari, asserens eum perjurum et fidei transgressorem. Regi vero Guidoni commisit exercitum conducendum ad prædictum castrum Famagustam, itinere terreno; quo tertia die pervenit et desertum hominibus reperit. Imperator enim sentiens se non esse tutum obsideri, ne incluso subterfugium[4] non pateret, in locis asperis delitescebat et nemorosis, ut nostris transituris insidiaretur. Rex Ricardus cum ad[5] Famagustam venisset in galeis suis, maris portus strictissime præcepit observari, ut si forte fugam attentaret,[6] comprehenderetur imperator. Igitur dum tribus ibi moraretur diebus, venerunt legati ad regem Ricardum, episcopus Belvacensis, et Drogo de Merlo, vir nobilis et famosus, ex parte regis Franciæ, ipsum hortantes festinanter transfretare ad obsidionem Achonensem, quoniam ante ejus[7] adventum asserebant regem Franciæ non oppugnaturum civitatem. Hæc et his

The emperor, at the instigation of Payn of Haipha, flies to Famagusta.

Richard comes to Famagusta.

Messengers from Acre.

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[1] *Candairam*] Candariam, A.
[2] *a rege*] om. A.
[3] *miles ille*] tr. A. B.
[4] *subterfugium*] subterfugio, A.
[5] *ad*] om. A.
[6] *attentaret*] tentaret, A.
[7] *ante ejus*] tr. A.

A.D. 1191. May.

The king is much irritated by the remonstrances of the envoys.

similia nuncii prosequentes, verba addebant contumeliosa, quia non cum eis expeditius veniret, sed, omissis necessariis, supervacuis exercitiis operam impenderet, et arroganter persequeretur Christianos innocuos, cum tot millia Saracenorum superessent in proximo expugnanda; in quos experiendos[1] etiam sua virtus, licet esset potior, videretur tamen esse inferior. His rex commotus indignationis verba quædam reddidit eisdem, scripto nequaquam inserenda. Inanis quidem fuit eorum opera, licet plurimum urgens, ipsum a cœptis dehortantium. Negotiosus satis erat, qui Græcos ita non immerito[2] vexasset: plurimum enim[3] videbatur ad rem publicam[4] pertinere insulam Cyprum terræ Jerosolimitanæ tam necessariam subjugasse.

He moves upon Lefkosia.

Neglectis itaque[5] nunciis, movit exercitum suum apud Nichosiam.[6] Eo[7] versus ferebant singuli victui necessaria, quia regio deserta fuit: seriatim acies dispositæ procedebant, imperatorem enim transituris insidiari didicerant. Rex ipse extremo procedebat in agmine, ad repellendam subitam forte irruptionem. Et ecce! repente prosiliit e[8] latebris imperator cum Græcis ferme septingentis.

The emperor lies in ambush and shoots at Richard with poisoned arrows.

In anteriores itaque nostros balistarii ipsorum[9] jacula mittere satagebant, sed nec sic acies nostræ disciplinariter cohærentes se sustinebant dissipari. Imperator autem a latere paulatim progrediens, tanquam exploraturus, inordinate ferebatur, ut videlicet acies nostræ, eo viso gratis dissolverentur, sive ut regem sagittaret inventum. Postquam enim regem in ultima acie reperit, binas in ipsum toxicatas misit sagittas, unde rex ira[10] vehementiori commotus, equum urgens calcaribus, ferebatur in imperatorem, ipsum lancea percussurus. Veruntamen

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[1] *experiendos*] expediendos, C.

[2] *immerito*] ita, ins. B.

[3] *enim*] etiam, B.

[4] *publicam*] om. A. B.

[5] *itaque*] ita, A.

[6] *Nichosiam*] Nicossyam, A.

[7] *Eo*] Et, B.

[8] *e*] in, B.

[9] *ipsorum*] eorum, A.

[10] *ira*] om. C.

A.D. 1191. May.

The emperor flies to Candaira; (perhaps Cape S. Andrea).

jam imminentem imperator evadens, cursu rapidissimo fugit in castellum suum, dictum Candaira,[1] mœstus nimirum[2] et confusus[3] quod non pro voto proficeret. Quem rex quidem non procul persecutus est, quia comprehendere diffidebat. Equum enim habebat favellum, tantæ velocitatis et patientem cursus assidui, cui nunquam quantælibet agilitatis alterum posse quisquam vidit æquiparari. Rex igitur versus Nichosiam tendebat cum exercitu,[4] cum præda magna nobilium[5] hominum qui in congressu ceciderant. Cives igitur universi Nichosienses in regis occursum gratulanter processerunt, et ut dominum admiserunt, quos rex pacifice suscipiens, barbas eorum fecit abradi, tanquam in signum commutationis alterius dominii. Quo audito, imperator, ultra modum furore turbatus, quot poterat de nostris apprehendere, oculum fecit eruere, vel nasum abscidere, sive brachio mutilabat vel pede; scilicet qualem poterat exercens[6] ultionem in doloris sui mitigationem. Rex nobiliorum Græcorum suscepit homagia, qui videbantur etiam voluntarie jugum imperatoris[7] abjicere. Ibi rex se sentiens aliquantulum morbo gravari, ut quiete reficeretur moratus est.

[CAPITULUM XXXIX.]

De captione trium castellorum, in quorum uno capta erat filia imperatoris et ejus thesaurus.

Cum exercitu regis, a rege in tres partes[8] diviso, rex Guido tria interim obsedit castella; scilicet Cherines,[9] et Didimus,[10] et Bufevent,[11] quorum duo priora

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[1] *Candaira*] Candayra, A.

[2] *nimirum*] nimium, A. B.

[3] *confusus*] quidem, add. A.

[4] *tendebat cum exercitu*] tr. A.

[5] *nobilium*] equorum, ins. A.

[6] *exercens*] exercitus, B.

[7] *voluntarie jugum imperatoris*] tr. A.

[8] *a rege in tres partes*] tr. A.

[9] *Cherines*] Cherunes, A.

[10] *Didimus*] Didemus, C.

[11] *Bufevent*] Butphevent, A.: *scilicet . . . adeptus est*, om. B.

A.D. 1191. May.

King Guy two strong castles, Cherines (Ghyrna) and Didimus (Audimo).

cito adeptus est. Ipso enim duce, qui vias planas et loca novit aspera, pars exercitus a parte terræ et maris etiam, castrum dictum Cherinas,[1] obsessum instanter oppugnavit. Inclusi diffisi de cujusquam auxilio, regi Guidoni castellum reddiderunt, et filiam imperatoris ibi morantem invenit, quam pater suus ultra omnem creaturam amavit, thesauros quoque imperatoris ibi reconditos. Hoc ut audivit imperator, pene decidit ex nimii doloris vehementia in mentis alienationem. Rex Guido, suspensis in excelsis turrium propugnaculis regis Ricardi baneriis, et dispositis custodiis, duxit exercitum ad aliud castellum, Didimus nuncupatum, situ firmissimum,[2] in nulla expugnabile,[3] unde sese defendere parantes inclusi, in obsidentes etiam aliquot diebus lapides mittebant et jacula, quousque ad mandatum imperatoris regi Guidoni redditum est castellum. In quo commisit filiam imperatoris, custodiendam, ne forte raperetur. Inde cum exercitu reversus est ad Nichosiam, ubi rex Ricardus, sicut supradictum est, ægrotaverat.[4] Qui statim, ut convaluit de infirmitate, castellum Buffeventum appellatum obsedit, quod et[5] inexpugnabile æstimabatur.

Richard takes Buffevent.

[Capitulum XL.]

Imperator a Candaira in Nichosiam veniens, ad pedes regis se prosternit, et potestati ejus Cyprum tradit.

O imperatoris tanta opulentia! O terra omnibus bonis opima! O castra reddita, quæ situ firmissima, nullis oppugnantium machinis viderentur expugnanda, nisi dolo præoccupata vel fame! Perpendens igitur imperator, se fatis adversis urgeri, filiam scilicet unicam[6] suam captam, ex qua pendebat anima sua, cum castris occupatis vel redditis, et se pridem a suis jam alienatis potius sustineri quam amari: advertens etiam jam nihil spei resistendi superesse, se decrevit licet invitum de necessitate petere pacem et misericordiam. Missos itaque[1] legatos ad regem Ricardum, ad agendam causam suam, et regis animum ad pietatem præstandam inclinandum, a castro de Candaira[2] descendens, subsecutus est, habitu lugubris et vultu dejectus, et veniens ad regem ante pedes ejus se humiliavit, genibus minor, asserens se misericordiæ ejus ex toto submittere, ita quod nec sibi terram retineret, vel castellum, sed ipsum de cætero haberet ut dominum, dummodo ipsum in vincula ferrea non conjiceret.[3] Motus rex pietate erexit eum, et sibi collateralem fecit considere. Cui et filiam suam videndam exposuit, quam cum vidisset, inenarrabiliter exultans, et ipsam affectuosius amplexans, pluries insatiabiliter osculatus est, lacrymis ubertim fluentibus. Hoc factum est die Veneris proxima post festum Sancti Augustini,[4] proxima ante Pentecosten. Imperatorem autem non in ferrea, sed in vincula conjecit argentea.

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[1] *Cherinas*] Cherunas, A.

[2] *firmissimum*] fortissimum, B.

[3] *expugnabile*] expugnabilem, B.

[4] *ægrotaverat*] ægrotavit, A.

[5] *quod et*] tr. A.

[6] *unicam*] om. A. B.

A.D. 1191. May 31. The emperor surrenders.

The emperor thrown into chains of silver.

[CAPITULUM XLI.]

Cypro sic sibi subjugata, et a rege ordinata, rex iter suum præparavit, et exercitum suum ad Limazun[5] remisit.

Sic[6] rex obtinuit in quindecim diebus insulam Cyprum, et suis eam commisit inhabitandam. Turres omnes invenerat munitas, et castella referta thesauris multis, et opibus variis, cupis et vasis aureis et scutellis,

Cyprus was conquered in a fortnight.

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[1] *itaque*] igitur, A. B.
[2] *Candaira*] Sandayra, C.
[3] *conjiceret*] committeret, B.
[4] *Augustini*] et, add. A. B.
[5] *Limazun*] Limazum, A.; Limachun, B.
[6] *Sic*] Hic, C.

A.D. 1191. May 31. Spoils of Cyprus. ollis argenteis, et caldariis et doliis magnis, sellis aureis, frænis et calcaribus, necnon et[1] lapidibus pretiosis et plurimam virtutem habentibus. Præterea reperit vestes de scarlata et pannos sericos, schematis admirandi et[2] pretiosissimos. Quid plura? quicquid opum variarum legitur Crœsus habuisse, reperit rex Ricardus imperatorem congessisse: et hæc omnia expeditioni necessaria, tanquam sibi procurata diripuit. Vix est enim ut divitem animum deserat possibilitas, et abundantia sequatur hominem mente mendicum.[3] His ita[4] patratis, remisit rex exercitum ad civitatem de Limazun, ubi fuerant reginæ et familia cum sarcinis. Omnem itaque classi restaurandæ diligentiam ad transfretandum jussit impendere. Imperatorem igitur regis Guidonis commisit custodiæ, et ejus filiam,[5] juvenculam[6] parvulam Reginæ suæ tradidit exhibendam et moribus instituendam.[7]

[CAPITULUM XLII.]

Classi regis,[8] a Cypro versus Achon remiganti, apparuit navis maxima Saracenorum, omnibus bonis referta, quam statim rex expugnavit.

The king prepares to sail to Acre. His itaque[9] patratis, rex festinanter ad transfretandum intendit, et sarcinis dispositis, et spirantibus ventis prosperis, soluta est a littore classis. Reginæ promoventur in Buzis cum comitatu suo in altum. In Cypro disposuerat rex viros industrios custodes et bellatores, qui ei postea transmitterent necessaria victualia,[10] frumentum et hordeum, carnes etiam cujuslibet generis animalium quibus Cyprus satis erat abundans. Et

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[1] *et*] om. A.

[2] *schematis . . . et*] om. B.

[3] *mente mendicum*] tr. A.

[4] *His ita*] Hiis itaque, A.

[5] *ejus filiam*] tr. A.

[6] *juvenculam*] om. B.

[7] *instituendam*] instruendam, A.

[8] *regis*] Ricardi, add. A.

[9] *itaque*] ita, B.

[10] *necessaria victualia*] tr, B.

A.D. 1191
June 5.
The king sails from Cyprus.
(*Hoveden*, 394.)

ecce! fama divulgante, rumor increbruit Achon in proximo fore capiendam. Quod cum rex audisset, alto corde suspirans, "Nolit," inquit, "Deus, quod, me "absente, obtineatur Achon, tanto tempore obsessa, et "tanto gloriosius, Deo annuente,[1] triumphanda." Tunc igitur[2] multa cum[3] festinatione se expediens, apud Famagustam intravit unam galearum suarum potiorem et majorem; et, sicut ejus[4] erat consuetudinis, dilationis impatiens, prima semper processit in fronte, sequentibus undique cæteris galeis opportunius instructis. Quarum quidem hostiliter occursum non est qui merito non formidaret. Summa itaque cum festinatione, ex transverso mare sulcantibus primo apparuit terra illa sancta Jerosolimorum. Cujus castellum oculis primum occurrit Margat dictum: postea Tortusa in littore maris sita, deinde Tripolis, Nephyn, et Botron.[5] Nec multo post apparuit turris excelsa de Gibeleth. Postremo citra Sidonem versus Baruth, eminus apparuit navis quædam Saracenorum plena, quos destinaverat Salahadinus ex omni paganismo electos, in auxilium obsessorum in Achon. Hi quoniam non prorsus expeditum perpenderant introitum in Achon, propter imminentem Christianorum exercitum, paululum se in mare[6] retrahentes,

He sights Margat (Merkeb), Tortusa, Nephyn (Enfeh), Botrun, and Jebeil.

"captabant temporis horam,"

qua expeditius in portum repente irruerent. Rex navem attendens, primum ad se vocatum[7] quendam suorum galeatorem Petrum de Barris imperavit[8] ut properanter remigans, inquireret quis navi præesset. Quam cum responso reddito didicisset regis esse Franciæ, Rex in impetu ferventissimo eo versus appropians, nec Francorum idioma,[9] vel aliquod signum vel vexillum attendit Chris-

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[1] *annuente*] animante, A.

[2] *igitur*] om. A.

[3] *multa cum*] tr. A.

[4] *ejus*] om. A.

[5] *Botron*] Botion, A. B.; Bonon, C.

[6] *se in mare*] tr. A.

[7] *ad se vocatum*] advocatum, A. B.

[8] *imperavit*] impetravit, C.

[9] *idioma*] ydioma, MSS.

A.D. 1191. June 7. Capture of a Saracen vessel, containing munitions of war. (*Hoveden*, 394.)

tianorum, quod eorum responso faceret fidem; navem autem contemplatus e[1] proximo, ejus admirabatur magnitudinem, amplitudinem firmissima solidatam compagine, tribus malis altissimis fastigiatam, et hinc filtro viridi, illinc croceo opertam laterum planitiem, circumquaque ita decenti coaptatam apparatu, quod nihil supra, omnique victualium copia refertam. Erat quidam[2] qui diceret se apud Baruth exstitisse, quando navis illa his omnibus congestis fuerat onerata, centum videlicet camelorum sarcinis omnis generis armorum, videlicet magnis cumulis balistarum, arcuum, pilorum et sagittarum. Septem inerant Saracenorum admirati et octingenti[3] Turci electi, et præterea omnem æstimationem excedentia omnium genera victualium. Habebant et ignem Græcum in abundantia in phialis, et ducentos serpentes perniciosissimos, in exitium Christianorum procuratos. Destinatis itaque[4] aliis inquisituris certius,[5] cum se, variata a superioribus assertione, respondissent esse Genuenses, Tyrum tendentes, et supra ea alteratione[6] responsi cunctis ambigentibus, ecce! quidam galeatorum nostrorum constanter asserebat, sibi constare navem esse Saracenorum. Inquirenti regi respondit; "Caput," inquit, "meum "gratis abscidendum, aut in stipite me suspendendum "concedo, si non hanc[7] probavero vobis testibus "navem[8] Saracenorum esse,[9] certissimis argumentorum "indiciis. Mittatur itaque altera properanter[10] post "eos galea jam festinanter abeuntes, et nullum eis "salutationis ab ipsis proferatur eulogium, sicque "probabitur cujus intentionis fuerint vel credulitatis." Imperante rege, navem illam galea velocissimo subsequitur remigio, cumque jam lateraliter nautis illis

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[1] *e*] est, B.

[2] *quidam*] quidem, A. B.

[3] *octingenti*] octoginta, A.

[4] *itaque*] igitur, A.

[5] *inquisituris certius*] tr. A. B.

[6] *alteratione*] altercatione, A.

[7] *hanc*] jam, ins. A.

[8] *navem*] om. B.

[9] *Saracenorum esse*] tr. A.

[10] *altera properanter*] tr.

A.D. 1191. June 7.

Struggle with the Turkish crew.

insalutatis[1] remigarent, protenus[2] ii qui in navi erant in ipsos arcubus pila jaciebant et balistis. Quod rex attendens navem jussit instanter oppugnare; volantibus igitur hinc inde in alterutrum more imbrium[3] missilibus, navis illa laxatis remorum tractibus, motu jam agebatur modestiori, nec enim ventus sufficiebat. Galeatoribus igitur nostris, licet frequentius cursu citatiori navem obambientibus,[4] nullus[5] pro voto patebat scrutiniis aggressus proficiens. Tanta videbatur navis soliditate compacta robustiori materie,[6] et bellatorum munita præsidiis, sine intermissione jaculantium et sese fortiter defendentium. Nostri itaque tela molestius[7] a tanta supereminentia navis emissa ferebant: nonnihil enim erat motibus inniti naturalibus; facilius quidem est conteri subjecta desuper veniente[8] pilo, cujus est naturaliter ferri deorsum. Unde desperabilius hæsitantes, nostri sese remissius agebant, quid super his invicti regis Ricardi censeret absoluta magnanimitas; qui fortiter exclamans suis ait, "Numquid navem intactam
" et illæsam sustinetis abire? proh pudor! post tot
" triumphos exactos irrepente desidia, ceditis ignavi?
" Nondum quiescendi tempus advenit,

" 'Dum restant hostes, et quos sors obtulit ultro;'

" noverit revera universitas vestra vos omnes in cruce
" suspendendos, vel ultimis afficiendos suppliciis, si hos
" sustinueritis abire." Galeatores igitur nostri de necessitate facientes virtutem, certatim se miserunt in mare, navemque subeuntes, implicabant funibus gubernacula, ut navem inclinarent et progressum impedirent; multa quidem sollicitudine et instantia irrepentes, quidam

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[1] *insalutatis*] insalutantes, A.

[2] *protenus*] quatenus, A., marked for erasure.

[3] *more imbrium*] tr. A. B.

[4] *obambientibus*] ab ambientibus, A., with the "ab" marked for erasure; abambientibus, B.

[5] *nullus*] nullis, B. C.

[6] *robustiori materie*] robustioris materiæ, A.

[7] *tela molestius*] tr. A.

[8] *desuper veniente*] de superveniente, A. C.

A.D. 1191. June 7. Struggle with the Turkish crew.

tandem[1] apprehensis rudentibus navem insiluerunt. Quos Turci pertinaciter excipientes sine mora trucidaverunt, amputantes huic brachia, illi manus, vel capita introeuntium: corpora vero[2] projecerunt in mare. Quod cæteri videntes, ex ira fervente et zelo ultionis concipientes virtutem, acriori sæviebant insultu, et navis transcendentes tabulata, se in ipsos Turcos ingerebant, jugiter cædentes sibi fortiter resistentes. Turci nimirum ex desperatione concipientes audaciam, totis viribus sibi imminentes repellere tentabant galeatores, huic pedem amputantes, illi manum vel etiam capita quampluribus. Galeatores vero tandem toto nisu irruentes usque in ipsam navis proram Turcos propulerunt cedentes. Turci vero ab ipsius navis interioribus prorumpentes, resistebant conglobati, eligentes aut[3] fortiter mori, aut adversarios viriliter repellere. Erat quidem Turcorum juventus eximia, bellis apta, decenter armata. Pugnatur utrinque diutius; passim prosternuntur utrique; nostros denique, dum fortius instarent Turci, omni nisu resistentes, communicata virtute retrocedere compellunt, et a navi exire. Galeatores itaque, se in galeas[4] recipientes, navem undique circueuntes sollicite perquirunt, qua parte commodior pateret assultus. Rex vero suorum attendens discrimen, et quod non de facili, salva navi, Turci possent[5] obtineri cum armis, et victualibus, et cæteris omnibus quæ in navi erant, jussit ut unaquæque galea navem suis perpungeret calcaribus, id est, rostris ferratis. Galeæ itaque retroactæ multiplicatis remorum impulsibus cum impetu feruntur in latera navis perforanda, et statim navis soluta, et fluctibus pervia cœpit aquis influentibus submergi. Turci[6] ut mortem in navi pereuntes evaderent, ex-

The Turkish ship sunk by the spurs of the galleys.

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[1] *tandem*] tamen, A.

[2] *vero*] quoque, A.

[3] *aut*] autem, B.

[4] *galeas*] galeis, C.

[5] *possent*] possint, B.

[6] *Turci*] autem, ins.

A.D. 1191. June 7. The greater part of the crew perish: Richard preserves thirty-five prisoners.

siliebant in fluctibus, nihilominus perituri, quos nostri armis excipientes, hos occidebant, illos submergebant. Rex vero triginta et quinque vivos retinuit, admiratos scilicet, et machinarum conficiendarum peritos. Omnes alii perierunt, et arma perdita, serpentes submersi, et marinis fluctibus in diversa jactati. Si navis illa in obsidionem Achonensem salva pervenisset, nunquam a Christianis capta fuisset. Hoc autem procuravit Deus in infidelium detrimentum, et Christianorum sperantium in se subsidium, per ministerium regis Ricardi, cui in rebus bellicis jugiter pro voto prospera sorte succedebat. Saraceni eminus a montanis quod acciderat prospicientes, ultra modum desolati, hoc Salahadino notificaverunt, qui statim ut audierat, barbam suam arripiens præ ira et furore depilavit; et postmodum in hæc verba suspiriosus prorupit, "O Alla kibir ychalla!" id est, "O Deus "magnus omnipotens,[1] nunc[2] Achon perdidi, et "homines meos caros, electos in quibus habebam "fiduciam; nimis amara sorte premor." In exercitu Saracenorum, referentibus illis qui hoc viderant, fit ploratus et ululatus[3] multus,* et super hoc infortunio vehementem deducunt lamentationem; quod præ mœrore capillorum suorum tricas resecarent, et vestimenta scinderent, et horæ temporis et fatis constellationis maledixerint,[4] qua in Syriam venerunt. In prædicta namque[5] navi perierat omnis eorum juventus præcipua, in qua habebant confidentiam.

Saladin's grief at the loss of the vessel. (June 11, *Bohadin*, 166.)

* S. Matt. ii. 18.

[*Explicit Liber Secundus, Incipit Tertius.*]

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[1] *O Alla . . . omnipotens*] A. and B. read here merely, "O Deus."

[2] *nunc*] num, A. B.

[3] *ululatus*] magnus et, ins. A.

[4] *maledixerint*] maledixerunt, A.

[5] *namque*] nam, A.

LIBER TERTIUS.

[CAPITULUM I.]

De adventu regis Ricardi ad Achon.

A.D. 1191. June 7. Richard anchors off Tyre for the night.

June 8. He passes Scanderoon and Casal Imbert, and sees Acre, besieged by the Crusaders.

* Acts ii. 5.

The besiegers are surrounded by the Saracens,

Sic nave pessundata et rebus prospere gestis, rex Ricardus cum omni sua sequela, gaudenter et alacriter versus Achon, quo ferebat eum[1] suum desiderium,[2] properabat, et aspirante vento prospero, proxima nocte ante Tyrum[3] fixis anchoris classis persistebat. Mane classis soluta, et velis elevatis, cum non multum progressa fuisset, apparuit locus ille, de quo prædictum est, Scandalion:[4] deinde transmisso Casello Ymberti,[5] eminus apparuit civitatis Achon turris excelsa, et sic paulatim cætera civitatis propugnacula. Achon circumquaque obsidione cingebat populus infinitæ multitudinis, populus ex omni natione Christianorum, quæ sub cœlo est,* populus ex omnibus Christianis præelectus, bellis aptior et laborum assiduitati. Achon nimirum obsederat populus jam longo tempore, multis afflictus tribulationibus, laboribus assiduis, et famis inedia, et pluribus adversitatum[6] generibus, juxta quod in superioribus in parte distinguitur. Apparuit præterea, a parte eorum exteriori Turcorum exercitus, quorum non erat numerus, cooperiens montes et valles, colles et camporum planities, fixis passim eorum tentoriis diversorum schematum radiantibus coloribus. Vident quoque papiliones ipsius Salahadini, et tentoria fratris ipsius Saphahadini,[1] et procuratoris Paganismi Techehedini.[2] Ipse etiam observabat maritima et portus maris, et frequentes in Christianos moliebatur assultus, et gravissimas incursiones. Rex Ricardus omnem eorum æstimando speculatur exercitum; qui cum delatus in portum applicuisset, rex Franciæ et totius incolarum exercitus magnates, proceres, et potentes processerunt ei obviam, excipientes cum gaudio et exultatione, cujus nimirum adventum admodum desideraverant.

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[1] *eum*] om. C.

[2] *suum desiderium*] tr. A.

[3] *ante Tyrum*] om. C.

[4] *Scandalion*] Candalion, A. B.

[5] *Casello Ymberti*] Casella, A. B. The name of this place is always written by Gale *Ymbrici:* in the MSS. it is always Hymberti or Ymberti. It seems to be the same place called by Marino Sanuto, Casale Lambertum, or Lamberti, (*Secreta Fidelium Crucis;* Bongars, ii. 86,) the position of which is fixed at the mouth of the river which, rising near Castrum Regium, flows between Montfort and Judyn into the sea. (*Ibid.* p. 252.) The only place well answering to this description is Zib, or Achzib.

[6] *adversitatum*] adversita, B.

A.D. 1191. June 8.

who had moved back to Tel-Ajadia; (June 4, *Bohadin*, 163).

Richard lands at Acre.

[CAPITULUM II.]

De gaudio, et cantibus, et processionibus quæ fiebant pro adventu regis Ricardi.

Proximo Sabbato ante festum Beati Barnabæ Apostoli, in Hebdomada Pentecostes, cum rex Ricardus cum comitatu suo apud Achon applicuisset, commota est terra a fremitu exultantium Christianorum. Omnis enim populus lætabatur eximie, fausta acclamans, concrepantibus trumpis; deducitur in jubilo, et fit lætitia magna in populo, quia venit desideratus cunctis gentibus.* Turci vero obsessi, vice versa,[3] de ejus adventu nimium exterriti, desolati sunt. Perpendebant enim exitus suos et reditus de cætero cessare a multitudine galearum regis. Duo reges a portu, sese mutuo deducentes gratanter, officiosis alterutrum venerabantur obsequiis. Deinde rex Ricardus in tentoria sibi præparata se recipiens, de gerendis negotiis disponebat. Multa quidem meditabatur sollicitudine, qua instantia, quo artificio, quibus machinis civitas expeditiori comprehenderetur compendio. De cujus adventu, nec calamus absolute poterit populi describere lætitiam,

Joyful reception of Richard.

* Haggai ii. 7.

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[1] *Saphahadini*] Safahadini, A.; Salahadini, B.

[2] *Techehedini*] Kahadini, A. B.

[3] *vice versa*] tr.

A.D. 1191. June 8.

The people welcome Richard with music and singing.

nec cujusquam lingua retexere. Noctis etiam serenitas, aere solito puriore, eidem æstimabatur arridere. Sed et hinc trumpæ perstrepunt, illinc intonant tubæ: hic acutius modulantes concinunt tibicines, illic[1] tympana concrepant, sive gravioribus harmoniis[2] susurrant troinæ, et tanquam ex variarum vocum dissonantiis mulcens auditum coaptatur symphonia. Nec enim de facili inveniretur[3] qui modo suo cessaret a laudibus et gaudio; aut enim cordis testantes lætitiam resonant populares cantiones,

"Aut antiquorum præclare[4] gesta priorum,"

exempla recitabantur incitamenta[5] modernorum. Hi cantantibus vina propinant in vasis pretiosis, alii quibuslibet indifferenter accipientibus, pusillis cum majoribus, summo cum tripudio noctis transigebant instantiam. Accessit in augmentum lætitiæ, quod Cyprum, insulam tam commodam, tam necessariam, rex Ricardus nostræ subjugasset ditioni, quæ tam opportune tanto serviret exercitui. Nihilominus, in testimonium exortæ lætitiæ in cordibus omnium, ad removendas noctis tenebras, ubique cerei scintillabant lampantes, luminaria flammantia, ut multiplicato fulgore nox diei videretur usurpasse claritatem, ita ut totam vallem Turci reputarent igne succensam.

An illumination in the evening.

[CAPITULUM III.]

Pisani regi[6] se tradunt: Turci nostros ad bellandum provocant.

The Pisans offer their services to Richard.

Pisani regis Ricardi attoniti magnificentia et gloria, venientes ante eum, obtulerunt ei homagia sua et fidelitates, ejus se gratis obligantes imperio, et mancipantes obsequio. Turci vero versipelles, regiæ invidentes dignitati, vel ut novam ex ejus adventu astute simularent audaciam, vel ut ad[1] acceleratum provocarent congressum, Dominica die[2] mane, quidam Turcorum tanquam exercitii causa se exhibebant impetendos, extra exercitum oberrantes, et tela in incertum[3] mittentes, qui etiam, se[4] quandoque propius ingerentes, fossæ videbantur profunda transituri, quibus scilicet præsumebant nostros infestantes molestiis, et perversis irritantes importunitatibus.

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[1] *illic*] illinc, A. B.

[2] *harmoniis*] armoniis, A.

[3] *de facili inveniretur*] tr. A. B.

[4] *præclare*] præclara, A.; om. B.

[5] *recitabantur incitamenta*] recitamenta, C.

[6] *regi*] Ricardo, add. A.

A.D. 1191. June 9. The Turks, on the Sunday, make a show of defiance.

[CAPITULUM IV.]

Quæ donaria uterque rex militibus egentibus conferret, et de infirmitate regis Ricardi.

The armies of Richard and Philip unite.

Ex adunato tanto utriusque regis comitatu, fit unus ex omni multitudine Christianorum exercitus. Cum rege Franciæ qui illuc venerat in octavis Paschæ, venit comes Flandriæ, comes Sancti Pauli, Willelmus de Garlanda, Willelmus de Barris, Drogo de Amiens, Willelmus de Merlo, comes Perchensis. Cum ipsis etiam eo rediit ille, de quo supradictum est Marchisus, qui Tyrum tenebat, et aspiraverat ad[5] regnum Jerosolimorum. Sed quid singuli memorentur? Non resedit magnæ vir[6] auctoritatis vel famosus in Francia, qui non tunc venerit, vel postea, ad expugnandam Achon. Ad sequens igitur Pentecosten venit rex Ricardus, sicut prædictum est, cum exercitu et virtute bellorum. Qui postquam didicerat regem Franciæ singulis mensibus erogasse singulis militibus tres aureos, et inde omnium obtinuisset favorem et gratiam, rex Ricardus, ne quem in quibuscunque gerendis videretur habere superiorem, immo nec parem, voce præconaria in

Philip gives his soldiers three gold pieces monthly.

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[1] *ad*] om. B. C.
[2] *die*] om. A. B.
[3] *in incertum*] invicem, C.
[4] *se*] si, B.
[5] *ad*] in, B.
[6] *magnæ vir*] tr. A.

A.D. 1191. June. Richard therefore promises four to those who will take service under him.

omni jussit exercitu denunciari, ut milites singuli, cujuscunque regionis oriundi, qui stipendiis egerent, ab ipso reciperent singulis mensibus quatuor aureos, certa conditione statutos. Laudem ergo regis Ricardi efferebant universi, ipsum prædicantes aliis quibuscunque merito præcellere et gratia, qui cunctos etiam superavit in donariis et magnanimitate. "Hic est,".[1] inquiunt, "quem tanto[2] desiderio expectabamus; quando igitur "fiet assultus? Venit jam regum præstantissimus, et "præ omnibus Christicolis bellorum peritior;[3] modo fiat "voluntas Dei." In rege nimirum Ricardo spes omnium pendebat. Cum autem per aliquot dies ibi moram fecisset, gravissimam incurrit ægritudinem, quæ vulgo Arnoldia vocatur, ex ignotæ regionis constitutione, cum ejus[4] naturali complexione minus concordante. Nihilominus vero, petrarias suas interim et mangunellos, et castellum ante portam civitatis fecit erigere, omnem adhibens sollicitudinem conficiendis machinis et expediendis.

He falls sick of the disease called Arnoldia.

[Capitulum V.]

Rege Ricardo infirmante, rex Franciæ urbem viriliter oppugnat, sed Salahadino exterius fossatas oppugnante,[5] Turci inclusi viriliter obsistunt, et machinas regis incendunt, unde Rex præ tristitia infirmatur.

Philip proposes a joint attack on Acre.

Rex Franciæ tantam assultus celebrandi fastiditus dilationem, regi Ricardo mandavit tempus opportunum jam instare, quo fieret assultus, et quo voce præconis ad id aggrediendum moveretur exercitus. Rex autem Ricardus his exsequendis significavit adhuc se non posse vacare, tum propter urgentem corporis molestiam, tum propter hominum suorum absentiam per ventorum adversitatem, sed qui in proximo spera-

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[1] *est*] om. A.

[2] *tanto*] toto, A.

[3] *peritior*] experitior, A.

[4] *ejus*] om. C.

[5] *rex Franciæ .... oppugnante*] om. B.

A.D. 1191. June. Richard refuses and Philip attacks alone.

bantur classe venturi, et ad machinas conficiendas materiam allaturi. Rex vero Franciæ, nec ob id censens a proposito desistendum, voce præconis per exercitum faciendum denunciari jussit assultum. Die Lunæ itaque,[1] proxima post festum Nativitatis Sancti Johannis Baptistæ, rex Franciæ, erectis machinis, omnes suos jussit armari. Inæstimabilem ibi videres[2] armatorum multitudinem, armis decenter instructam, tot nitentes hamatas loricas, tot galeas rutilantes, tot equos nobiles hinnientes, tot albicantia operimenta, tot milites electos, quot nunquam ibi[3] visi fuisse æstimantur;[4] tot satellites magnæ[5] probitatis et audaciæ, tot penuncellos, tot banerias operum variorum.[6] Ordinatis igitur qui fossatis insisterent defendendis, propter irruptionem Salahadini, et exercitus Turcorum exterius imminentium, gens armata muris civitatis appropiant, et ferocissimos ingerunt assultus, balistis et machinis, sine intermissione tela jacientes et lapides. Quod cum Turci præsensissent inclusi, tanto tumultuantes boatu et[7] clangore buccinæ, efferebant clamores ad sidera, ac si micantibus fulgoribus æther tonando perstreperet. Quidam enim eorum his tantum erant deputati ministeriis, sonare pelves et tymbras, pulsare tympana, et aliis diversis modis[8] tumultuare, et ignis fumum suscitare,[9] ad significandum ex condicto Salahadino, et exercitui exteriori, quo venirent eis in auxilium. Quo

When the Crusaders approach the city, the Turks give notice to Saladin by drums.

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[1] *Lunæ itaque*] tr. A. B. Wilken, *Geschichte der Kreuzzüge*, iv. 337, has pointed out that this date, July 1, is too late. It leaves no time for the sickness of Philip and other events that took place between this assault and that of July 3, in c. ix. It is possible that *post* is a clerical error for *ante*, and that this assault is the one described by Bohadin, p. 168, as taking place on June 17; or our author may have confounded the two assaults. Wilken seems to place it too early.

[2] *videres*] videns, B.

[3] *ibi*] om. A.

[4] *fuisse æstimantur*] fuerant, B.

[5] *magnæ*] maximæ, A. B.; prolixitatis, ins. B.

[6] *operum variorum*] tr. A.

[7] *boatu et*] om. B.

[8] *modis*] modulis, A.

[9] *et ignis fumum suscitare*] om.

A.D. 1191. June.

The Turks from the outside attack the camp, and take the barricades; but Geoffrey of Lusignan repels the attack, and recovers the defences.

viso et audito, catervatim exteriores irruunt Turci, congerentes cujuscunque materiem generis ad fossata complenda, quo facilius transirent nostros oppugnaturi: sed ad effectum id perducere nequibant. Gaufridus namque de Liziniaco, miles egregiæ probitatis, restitit eis, et a barris quas jam super nostros occupaverant præstantissime repulit, et plus quam decem occidit, quadam quam manu gestabat bipenni; nullus enim quem percusserat vivus evasit. Quamplures etiam vivos retinuit, tanta se gerens agilitate et constantia, ut a tempore illorum militum famosorum, Rollandi et Oliveri, nullus tanta[1] dignus laude, in ore omnium prædicaretur. Barram quidem recuperavit, sed maximo cum labore et angustia; nam propter Turcorum multitudinem sese pertinaciter ingerentium, diutius ancipiti congressu dimicabant; conserto tam gravi prælio et importabili conflictu, et horrifica[2] contendentium collisione, et clamore tam valido, ut hos[3] qui civitatem oppugnabant, et fossatis complanandis extra muros civitatis ferventius instabant, oporteret retrocedere, et assultum omnino dimittere. Nec enim poterant sufficere et civitatis oppugnationi, et suæ defensioni a facie irruentium a foris[4] Turcorum. Plures quidem Francorum telis balistarum et lapidum, jaculis, et ignis Græci infusione ibidem perempti sunt; et erat populi planctus magnus et ululatus lamentantium et dicentium, "O quid tanto tempore[5] regum expectatus "adventus?[6] Heu spes frustrata! Jam venerunt, et "nihil proficimus, sed et solito gravius atterimur, et "quam speravimus infructuosius expectavimus." Nostris igitur, Francis arma ponentibus, Turci turpiter conviciantes ignominiose improperabant, quod quæ

Despair of the Crusaders, who are repulsed from the city.

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[1] *tanta*] dignitate nec, ins. B.

[2] *horrifica*] horrifico, B.

[3] *hos*] om. C.

[4] *a foris*] afforis, B.

[5] *tempore*] opere, A. B.

[6] *expectatus adventus*] expectamus adventum,

A.D. 1191. June. Philip falls sick with disappointment.

inchoassent non potuerunt Franci consummare. Ignem insuper Græcum jaculantes, machinas regis Franciæ, cura sollicita fabrefactas, et alia instrumenta bellica paulatim dissipaverunt. Unde rex ipse[1] Franciæ tanto iræ furore turbatus est, quod præ tristitia decidit in languorem, sicut dicebatur, et equum non ascendebat ex desolatione et confusione.

[CAPITULUM VI.]

Ex regum infirmitate desolatur exercitus, et plurium Nectarum adventu consolatur.

Despair of the army.

* 1 Sam. xviii. 17.

The Count Flanders was dead. (June 1, *Hoveden*, 394.)

Arrival of the bishop of Evreux, Roger de Toony, Gerald Talbot, the viscount of Chateaudun, the knights des Préaux, the Stutevilles, and many others.

Igitur ex regum languoribus contabescebat exercitus, ex nimia mœstitudine et desolatione, quia non erat jam princeps aut dux, qui præliaretur bella Domini.* Comes Flandrensis,[2] in cumulum mœroris, jam immatura morte decesserat. Hinc nimium conturbato exercitu,[3] hoc tantummodo accessit ad consolationem plurium adventus nectarum. Venerant enim[4] placida navigatione in auxilium Christianorum episcopi et magnates quam plurimi, singuli suorum comitati sequela. Quorum hæc sunt nomina: Episcopus Evereuensis,[5] Rogerus de Toony, et plures fratres et consanguinei cognominati de Corneby,[6] Robertus de Novo Burgo, Jordanus de Humez, Camberarius de Tancarvilla, comes Robertus de Legecestria, Girardus de Taleboz, Radulfus Taisson; milites etiam agnominati Torolenses, vicecomes de Castello Dun, Bertramnus de Verdun, Rogerus de Hardencourt,[7] et milites de Praels, Garinus filius Geroldi, et illi de Mara, Henricus filius Nicholai, Ernaldus de Magna Villa, et

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[1] *ipse*] om. B.

[2] *Flandrensis*] Flandriensis, A.

[3] *hoc*] om. C.

[4] *enim*] autem, A.

[5] *Evereuensis*] Eveuernensis, A.

[6] *Corneby*] Cornebu, A.

[7] *Hardencourt*] Hardencort, A. B.

A.D. 1191. June.

Stutevillenses, Willelmus Marcel, Willelmus Malez,[1] Willelmus Bloez, Chotardus[2] de Loreora, Rogerus de Satya, Andreas de Chavengny, Hugo Brunus,[3] Gaufridus de Rancona, Radulfus de Maloleone, Willelmus de Rupibus, Gaufridus de Lacellis,[4] Hugo de Fierte: hic capiendæ Cypro intererat,[5] et inde ad Achon jam pervenerat. Duo reges infirmabantur, verum tamen Deus eos reservaverat ad adjutorium Christianorum et civitati recuperandæ.

[Capitulum VII.]

Petrariæ duorum regum, et petrariæ exercitus fidelium turrim Maledictam et magnam partem muri conquassant et dissipant.

The military engines of the king of France, the duke of Burgundy, the Templars, and the Hospitallers.

Rex Franciæ citius convaluit de infirmitate, et machinis intendebat conficiendis, et petrariis locis aptis[6] applicandis, quas et nocte dieque incessabiliter instituit jaculari. Quarum unam habuerat peroptimam quam vocavit Malam Vicinam. Turci vero infra civitatem alteram habebant quam vocabant Malam cognatam, quæ vehementibus jactibus frequentius dissipare solebat Malam Vicinam: quam rex[7] reædificabat, quousque jugiter[8] jaciendo, principalem civitatis murum[9] in parte diruit, et Turrim Maledictam conquassavit. Hinc et petraria ducis Burgundiæ non in vanum[10] jaciebat: illinc Templariorum petraria Turcos vastabat egregie, et Hospitalariorum quoque Turcis metuenda nequaquam cessabat a[11] jactibus. Præter has quoque fuit quædam petraria, communicatis impensis compacta, quam vocitabant petrariam Dei. Juxta illam[1] prædicabat presbyter assidue, vir magnæ probitatis, multum conquirens monetam ad eam jugiter restaurandam, et ad conducendum qui lapides congregarent jaculandos. Per ipsam demum ad æstimationem duarum perticarum, juxta turrim Maledictam, conquassatus est murus. Comes Flandriæ petrariam habuerat electam, quam post ejus mortem habuit rex Ricardus, et præterea minorem electam. Hæ duæ sine intermissione jaciebant versus turrim juxta portam quandam, quam Turci frequentabant, donec turris medietatem diruerunt. Et præter has, fecerat rex Ricardus alias novas duas, operis electi et materiæ, ineffabiliter destinatam percutientes quorumcunque metam locorum. Ædificaverat etiam machinam, firmissimis compactam compagibus, gradibus ad ascendendum dispositis, vulgo dictam[2] Berefredum, sese nexibus arctius complectentibus coriis opertam et funibus et solidissimis ligneis tabulatis, nec petrariarum jactibus dissolvendam, nec ignis Græci perfusione, nec cujuscunque materiæ cessuram[3] injuriis. Duos etiam præparaverat mangunellos quorum unus tantæ fuerat agilitatis et vehementiæ, quod jactus ejus pervenirent in interiores macelli civitatis plateas. Petrariæ itaque regis Ricardi die noctuque jugiter jaciebant, de quarum una certissime constat, quod unius lapidis jactu prostraverit in mortem duodecim homines. Idem lapis ad Salahadinum transmissus est videndus per nuncios dicentes, quod ille diabolus rex[4] Angliæ attulerat illuc[5] a Messana, civitate quam ceperat, tales silices marinos, et limpidissimos lapides[6] ad puniendos Saracenos, quorum

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[1] *Malez*] Maloz, B.

[2] *Chotardus*] Godardus, A.; Cotardus, B.

[3] *Brunus*] Brunes, B.

[4] *Lacellis*] Lancellis, A.

[5] *intererat*] inerat, A.

[6] *locis aptis*] tr. A.

[7] *rex*] semper, ins. B.

[8] *jugiter*] om. C.

[9] *murorum*] jugiter, ins. C.

[10] *vanum*] vacuum, B.

[11] *a*] om. B.

A.D. 1191. June.

The Stone-bow of God, and the priest attending on it.

A breach made, of two perches in length, near the cursed tower.

King Richard's engines: the Beffroi, two Mangonels.

One stone from an engine of Richard's killed twelve men.

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[1] *illam*] om. C.

[2] *dictam*] deinde, B.

[3] *cessuram*] casuram, B.

[4] *per nuncios . . . rex*] quod ille nobilis rex, A.

[5] *attulerat illuc*] tr. A. B.

[6] *limpidissimos lapides*] tr. A. B.

A.D. 1191. June. Illness of Richard, and mortification of mind.

ictibus nihil potuisset resistere, quin quassaretur vel in pulverem minueretur. Rex vero acrius febribus molestatus, lecto decubuerat, plurimum desolatus, quod Turcos videret nostros frequentius provocantes, et importunius se ingerentes, quibus præ infirmitate congredi nequibat: gravius enim torquebatur ille[1] Turcorum importunis irruptionibus, quam ferventissimis quibus urebatur febribus.

[Capitulum VIII.]

Turci igne Græco comburunt omnes machinas, et cattum, et cercleiam regis Franciæ oppugnantis urbem.

July 2. (See *Hoveden*, 395.) The Turks destroy the engines of the king of France with Greek fire.

Civitas Achonensis situ fortissima, et Turcorum electorum munimine tutissima, difficillime videbatur impugnatione obtinenda. Plurima quidem prius sollicitudine, operam frustra machinis impenderant Franci conficiendis, et instrumentis fabrilibus ad muros diruendos, quia quæcunque Franci magnis procuraverant impensis, Turci repentinis ignis Græci perfusionibus dissolvebant, vel prorsus edacibus absumebant incendiis. Nam et inter alias machinas et instrumenta, quæ fecerat rex Franciæ ad subvertendum murum urbis,[2] magno præparaverat studio instrumentum quoddam muris ascendendis applicandum, unde et illud[3] cattum nominabant, eo quod more catti subrependo muro inhæserit occupando. Aliud quoque confecerat[4] instrumentum ex cratibus virgis rigentibus firmissime consolidatis, quod cercleiam vocabant. Sub hac craticula crudis coriis vestita rex ipse sedere[5] consuevit, balistæ jacula sollicite contorquens, et Turcorum explorans super murum

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[1] *ille*] om. B.

[2] *urbis*] civitatis, A.

[3] *et illud*] tr. B.

[4] *confecerat*] fecerat, A.

[5] *sedere*] scandere, B.

A.D. 1191. July 2.

eminentium adventum, quos inter propugnacula feriret improvidos. Contigit autem die quadam, dum instarent Franci solliciti catto muris applicando, ecce! Turci pertinacia vehementi dejicientes a muris ligni siccioris struem supra cattum congerebant; nec mora, ignis Græci copiam desuper jaculabantur, et super craticulam,[1] quam tanto opere præparaverant,[2] et insuper petrariam eo versus jacientem erexerunt; et ecce! subito correpta[3] sunt omnia igne, et petrariæ jactibus dissipata. Unde rex Franciæ, immoderato turbatus furore, in universos suæ ditioni addictos, cœpit horrifica imprecatione maledicere, et probrosis dehonestare conviciis, quod non expeterent condignam ultionem a Saracenis in se talia perpetrantibus. In ipsius iracundiæ fervore, eadem die jam advesperascente, sub voce præconis proposuit edictum in crastino faciendum assultum.

The king of France in a passion.

[Capitulum IX.]

Exercitu regis Franciæ murum[4] *suffodiente, Christiani infra fossatum positi, viriliter repellunt Turcos ab exterius se gravissime impugnantes.*

July 3. (*Hoveden*, 395, *Bohadin*, 174.)

Mane itaque, cunctis armatis, disponuntur ad exteriora fossata custodes virtutis eximiæ præcipui et præelecti, propter contingentes importunitates et Saracenorum repentinas incursiones. Salahadinus quippe jactaverat se eadem die[5] fossas potenter transiturum, et[6] quantæ fuisset virtutis ea demum die in Christianorum contritionem[7] ostensurum. Verumtamen verbo non stetit; non[8] venit, sed exercitus suus ferocissimus et pertinax,

Saladin had threatened an attack on this day, but did not make it.

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[1] *craticulam*] om. B.

[2] *præparaverant*] præparaverat, A.

[3] *correpta*] corrupta, C.

[4] *murum*] nimium, A.

[5] *se eadem die*] eadem die se, A.

[6] *et*] om. A.

[7] *contritionem*] contritione, A. B.

[8] *non*] nec,

A.D. 1191. July 3.

Takieddin at the head of his force tries to break through the camp into the city.

cum Kahadino procuratore ejus conglobatim se in fossam ingerens, contendebat violenter pertransire, quibus[1] Franci non segniter resistentes, abigere pertentabant. Congredientium fit utrorumque strages non modica; Turci relictis equis pedites incedebant expeditius, et conserto gravi prælio, gladiis strictis cominus pugnatur, et pugionibus et bipennibus[2] ancipitibus, necnon et clavis dentibus hirsutis acutissimis. Hi feriunt; illi cadunt; isti exclamant, illi gemunt, perimuntur indifferenter quam plurimi. Ingruunt Turci improbissimi, quos rejiciunt Christiani præstantissimi, tanto vero laboriosius, quanto pertinacius instant Turci multitudine graviori. Æstuant utrique duplici fervore, æstus quippe temporis erat. Pars exercitus, ad expugnandam civitatem destinata, incessabiliter instabat vel tela mittere,[3] vel muros suffodere, vel crebris ictibus machinarum obtundere, vel muris superandis irrepere. Quorum tantam animositatem Turci formidantes inclusi, elevato in altum signo Saladini, Turcis exterioribus innuebant, ut properanter venirent eis in auxilium, aut Francis irruerent amovendis.[4] Quo comperto, Kahadinus et[5] Turci exteriores se pertinacius ingerentes, totis viribus se in nostros agentes, fossam violenter impleverunt; quibus nostri nihilominus repugnantes, irruentibus se opposuerunt, pro muro, Deo auctore,[6] impenetrabili, et eos repulerunt. Interea regis Franciæ fossores cuniculis subterraneis sub terra paulatim progredientes, eo usque profecerant, ut muri extrema fundamenta diruerent, et illam interruptionem lignis igne supposito repleverant. Nec mora, lignis igne consumptis, quibus murus sustentabatur, magna pars muri subsedit,[7] paulatim in-

The Crusaders work away with their engines, until the besieged make a signal of distress.

The French undermine a part of the wall and make a breach.

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[1] *quibus*] quosque, C.

[2] *bipennibus*] bipennis. A.

[3] *vel tela mittere*] om. B.

[4] *amovendis*] ammovendis, B.

[5] *et*] om. A.

[6] *auctore*] protectore, A.

[7] *subsedit*] et, ins.

A.D. 1191. July 3. The French mount the breach.

clinans, nec prorsus ad terram decidens. Eo versus accurrerunt[1] plurimi Christianorum, ut intrarent, et Turcorum,[2] ut repellerent. O quot ibi videres banerias, et tot signa multiformia, tantam Turcorum improbitatem, ignem Græcum in nostros jaculantium. Hinc allatis scalis contendebant Franci murum non omnino prostratum transcendere, illinc[3] Turci e converso scalas applicantes interruptionem muri defendere.

[CAPITULUM X.]

Albericus Clementis, cum murum per scalam jam[4] ascendisset, a Turcis occiditur.

Heroic attack of Alberic Clements.

Ibi[5] contigit factum memorabile nequaquam silentio prætereundum. Erat vir famosus prædicandæ virtutis et præstantiæ, nomine Albericus Clementis. Hic perpendens Francos laboriosa desudantes instantia minus proficere, in spiritu vehementi vires exercens[6] ait: "Aut hodie moriar, aut in Achon, Deo volente ingrediar." Hæc dicens scalam audacter scandit, et muri nactus summitatem, irruentes undique Turcos quamplures peremit.[7] Ipsum Franci per scalam secuturi, præ nimia multitudine corruerunt in terram; quia scala tot ferre nequibat. Quorum quidam ad mortem contriti sunt, quidam læsi plurimum extracti sunt. Ad quorum casum exclamantes Turci tanto gratiori applaudebant invicem lætitia, quanto Franci[8] graviori confundebantur infortunio. Albericum Clementis solum in summitate muri relictum, Turci vallantes oppresserunt, telis undique confodientes innumeris, cujus

He is left alone in the breach. (See *Bohadin*, 174.)

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[1] *accurrerunt*] accurrunt, B.

[2] *Turcorum*] aciem, ins. A.

[3] *illinc*] illum, B.

[4] *jam*] om. A.

[5] *Ibi*] Igitur, C.

[6] *vires exercens*] viros exserens, B.

[7] *peremit*] occidit, A.

[8] *Franci*] om.

A.D. 1191. July 3. He dies a martyr.

est sic veritate confirmata sententia, qui sicut prædixerat, eadem die martyr occubuit, dum Achon auxilio destitutus intrare nequivit. Pro cujus occasu totus desolatus exercitus, prætermisso assultu, lamentationi super ejus mortem vacavit et planctibus. Maximæ quippe fuit vir auctoritatis et nominis et eximiæ virtutis.

[CAPITULUM XI.]

Turris Maledicta exterius a Francis, et interius a Turcis, e contra fodientibus suffoditur.

Christian and Turkish miners meet in a mine, and agree to separate.

Nec multo post, fossores Francorum fodiendi studio Turrim Maledictam meatu subterraneo diruerant, et lignorum truncis suppositis suspenderant. Turci autem ex adverso sub terra fodientes, ad eundem fundamenti locum pervenerant, et percusso fœdere pacis inter utrosque ita convenitur,[1] ut Turci abirent illæsi, et Christianorum quidam captivi quos tenuerant in vinculis, similiter ipsis consentientibus evaserunt soluti. Quod Turci comperientes, vehementer contristati, cuniculos quibus exierant obturaverunt.

[CAPITULUM XII.]

Rex Ricardus, licet valetudinarius, cum suis urbem impugnat, balista propria manu plures occidit, fossoribus et petrariis turrim quandam dejicit.

July 6. (*Hoveden*, 395.) Richard, not quite convalescent, renews the attack.

Rex Ricardus nondum plene de infirmitate convaluerat. Verum tamen gerendorum sollicitus, magnopere vacabat urbi capiendæ. Procurabat igitur civitatem a suis oppugnari, si forte gratia divina pro voto[2] proficeret. Fecit itaque fieri craticulam, multiplicatis nexibus consolidatam, vulgo dictam cercleiam, studiosissimo compactam apparatu, quam in fossatum extra murum civitatis statuit producendam. Subtus erant sui balistarii peritissimi; seque illuc fecit deportari[1] in culcitra serica, ut Saracenos sua oneraret præsentia, et suos animaret ad pugnandum.[2] Inde sua utebatur balista, cujus erat peritus, et plures jaculis peremit[3] emissis et pilis. Sui quoque fossores meatu subterraneo turris illius, ad quam petrariæ suæ jaculabantur, fundamenta quæritabant, in[4] quorum dehiscentem diruptionem[5] cum lignorum materiem intrusam igne succenderent, crebris etiam petrariarum ictibus, subito corruit fragore.

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[1] *convenitur*] convenit, A. B.

[2] *gratia divina pro voto*] tr. A.

A.D. 1191. July 6.

He is carried, on a silken bed, to awe the Saracens: and his miners make a breach in the wall.

[Capitulum XIII.]

Homines regis Ricardi urbem viriliter impugnantes, Turci viriliter repellunt; sed armatum armis Alberici Clementis balista regis Ricardi occidit.

Perpendens itaque rex processus rerum difficiles, et adversarios bellicosissimos, et quod in negotiorum articulis opus est virtute,[6] commodius ratus est juvenum animos propensius propositis præmiis[7] allicere, quam angariis præceptorum urgere; quem enim non trahat odor lucri? Præconem igitur statuit clamare, ut quisquis unam petram a muro juxta prædictam turrim extraheret, duos a Rege aureos[8] perciperet. Post promisit tres aureos, demum quatuor, ut pro singulis, quot quisque[9] extraheret a muro, lapidibus, quatuor pro mercede reciperet aureos. Tunc videres juvenes

Richard offers a reward of two gold pieces for every stone extracted from the wall: and afterwards increases it to four.

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[1] *deportari*] deferri, A.

[2] *pugnandum*] pugnam, B.

[3] *jaculis peremit*] tr. A.

[4] *in*] de, A.

[5] *dehiscentem diruptionem*] dehiscente diruptione, A.

[6] *virtute*] et, ins. B.

[7] *propositis præmiis*] tr. A.

[8] *a rege aureos*] tr. A. B.

[9] *quisque*] *quis*, B.

A.D. 1191. July.

The soldiers work at this, without much effect.

prosilire, et magnæ virtutis satellites in murum irruere, et lapidibus extrahendis, tam laudis avidi quam mercedis, certatim insistere. Qui inter tela quoque adversariorum, audacter elaborant murum diruendo proficere, quorum autem vulnerati plurimi defecerunt inutiles, alii metu mortis cessere periculo, nonnullos Turci viriliter repulerunt a muro deorsum, quosdam nec clypei valuerunt protegere vel arma. Nimia quidem erat muri celsitudo, et crassitudo non modica. Verumtamen viri animositate virtutis [1] superantes periculum, quam plurimos lapidum extraxerunt a muri soliditate. In quos Turci catervatim irruentes, a muris contendunt ipsos dejicere, et dum elaborant [2] adversarios repellere, armorum immemores exhibent improvide se telis expositos [3] pene inermes.

One of the Turks in Alberic Clements' armour is shot by Richard himself.

Unus Turcorum supermemorati [4] armatura Alberici Clementis, qua se munierat, male glorians, dum in eminentiori muri loco, in nostrorum invidiam jactanter promineret, rex Ricardus vulnere lethali jaculo balistæ pectoris ampla transfixit. Super cujus occasu cæteri Turci condolentes indifferenter accurrunt, ut videlicet ipsum ulciscerentur, et propter eorum instantiam minus dolere [5] crederentur. Se [6] nimis audaces exhibent, tanquam jacula non formidantes vel missilia; feriunt, impellunt, nostrisque ut furentes insistunt, quibus nunquam erant cujuscunque credulitatis viri præstantiores, ad defensionem aptiores ; ipsorum gesta dum recolit, obstupescit memoria. In illius congressionis articulo, quantumcunque tenax armatura, vel lorica duplex, sive perpunctum,[7] pilis balistarum tanta jactis violentia resistere non valebant. Turci nihilominus fodiebant interius, ut et nostros oporteret retrocedere;[1] tunc Turci cœperunt exclamare[2] vehementer tanquam obtinentes propositum.

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[1] *animositate virtutis*] tr. A. B.

[2] *elaborant*] laborant, A.

[3] *expositos*] expeditos, A.

[4] *supermemorati*] sub memorati, C.

[5] *dolere*] delere, C.

[6] *se*] sed, C.

[7] *perpunctum*] parpunctum, A. B.

A.D. 1191. July. Our men retreat.

[CAPITULUM XIV.]

Armigeri nostri et Pisani prædictam turrim conquassatam viriliter ascendunt, ut in urbem irrumpant, quos Turci, tam armis, quam igne Græco, cum animositate repellunt.

July 11. (*Hoveden*, 396.) The English and Pisan Crusaders attack the wall whilst the rest of the army was at dinner.

Denique crebris petrariarum nostrarum jactibus, et lapidum avulsionibus, turri prædicta prostrata, cum jam a fodiendo[3] homines regis Ricardi quiescerent, et assultus conquievisset, tunc se armaverunt armigeri nostri, avidi laudis et victoriæ, bellis apti et expediti. Ibi erat baneria comitis Leicestriæ, et baneria Andreæ de Chavegni;[4] et Hugonis Bruni. Eo quoque venit decentissime instructus episcopus Salesberiensis, necnon et alii quamplurimi.[5] Hora erat quasi tertia, hora scilicet prandii, qua se applicuerunt viri virtutis, et[6] præstantes armigeri. Turrim prædictam oppugnaturi accesserunt; quam et statim audacter ascenderunt. Quos videntes Turcorum speculatores exclamare cœperunt, et ecce! commota civitate, raptim arma sumentes, accurrunt Turci densissime, et[7] armigeris agillime se agentibus se ingerunt. Contendunt armigeri in civitatem intrare, Turci repellere. Conglobatim congrediuntur utrique, cominus pugnatur, conseruntur dextræ dextris, colliduntur gladiis gladii, hi se mutuo comprehendunt, hi propellunt, hi feriunt, illi cadunt. Armigerorum pauci erant; Turcorum multitudo jugiter crescebat, ignem Græcum etiam jaculantium in ipsos: cujus incendium tandem non

The Turks have the advantage in number.

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[1] *retrocedere*] introducere, C.
[2] *exclamare*] clamare, A.
[3] *fodiendo*] fodientibus, B.
[4] *Chavegni*] Cavegni, B.
[5] *alii quamplurimi*] tr. A.
[6] *et*] om. B.
[7] *et*] om. B.

A.D. 1191. July 11.

Our men retire from the assault.

ferentes armigeros retrocedere coegit, et a turri descendere, quorum etiam nonnulli armis cæsi sunt, et incendio perniciosissimo combusti. Denique Pisani, laudis avidi vel ultionis, potentissime turrim ipsam ascendunt: sed et in ipsos irruentes Turci, velut furentes, ita[1] debacchati sunt vehementer, ut quamvis Pisani præstantissime se gererent, tamen eosdem Turcos effrænatos demum sustinere non valentes, oporteret retrocedere, turrimque relinquere. Nunquam enim illi genti Turcorum similis visa est, in rebus bellicis adeo efficax. Ea vero die, capta civitate, consummaretur negotium, si totius exercitus communicata virtute, prudenti consilio pugnatum fuisset: exercitus enim[2] pars multo major eadem hora prandebat, et operis illius negotium præsumptive fiebat, unde non datum est proficere.

[Capitulum XV.]

Commendatio Turcorum oppidanorum,[3] qui tamen ex desperatione mittunt Mestoc et Caracois ad reges nostros, pro dilatione habenda, quousque Saladinum conveniant, sed frustrati redeunt.

Our author celebrates the valour and patience of the besieged.

Quid de gente illa incredula dicendum, quæ ita tuebatur civitatem? Miranda quidem erat et virtutum meritis bellicarum,[4] et totius genere probitatis, quæ si recta fide fuisset insignita, melior ea, secundum hominem dico, non esset. Attamen, formidabant nostrorum animositatem, nec immerito, cum vidissent de totius Christianitatis amplitudine electos eis imminere destruendis; muros etiam, partim dirutos, partim conquassatos, gentem suam parte magna[5] mutilatam, occisam,

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[1] *ita*] om. A.

[2] *enim*] vero, A.

[3] *Turcorum oppidanorum*] tr. A.

[4] *meritis bellicarum*] tr. A.

[5] *magna*] om. B.

A.D. 1191. July.

There were still within the city 6000 Turks under Saifeddin Meschtoub, and Bohaeddin Karakoush.

vel vulneribus debilitatam. Verumtamen infra civitatem supererant adhuc sex millia Turcorum, et Mestoc,[1] et Caracois, eorum majores, qui tamen[2] de venturo desperabant auxilio. Perpendebant Christianorum exercitum plurimum desolatum, super morte Alberici Clementis, et super morte filiorum et consanguineorum, qui ceciderant in bello, et quod parati essent, ut aut fortiter morerentur, aut Turcos obtinerent, nihil medium arbitrantes honestum. Sane communi consilio et assensu petierunt inducias obsessi, ut statum suum Salahadino nunciarent, quatenus juxta gentilitiæ ritum superstitionis olim eis præstitam securitatem, vel eis citum transmitteret auxilium, vel honorifice exeundi impetraret licentiam. Sub hujus petitionis obtinendæ[3] gratia, illi[4] duo Saracenorum nobiliores, et totius paganismi nominatissimi, Mestoc[5] et Caracois accesserunt ad reges nostros, spondentes, nisi citum Salahadinus eis destinaret adjutorium, reddendam civitatem, ea conditione, ut libere exirent omnes Turci, qui inerant[6] infra civitatem obsessi, cum armis suis et omnibus quæ eorum erant, quo vellent ituri. Hujus colloquii conditioni, cum rex Franciæ, et universi pene Franci præberent assensum, rex Ricardus prorsus renuit, et contradixit concedendum, ut videlicet, post tanti temporis tam laboriosam civitatis obsessionem, omnibus bonis vacuam intraret civitatem. Sicque regis Ricardi intellecta voluntate, Caracois et Mestoc infecto negotio reversi[7] sunt in urbem: et Salahadinus interim, legatis obsessorum auditis, mandavit, ut perseveranter durarent, et civitatem, ut cœperant, viriliter defenderent, proculdubio scituri sufficientissimum eis in brevi venturum auxilium. Asserebat enim, sibi notificantibus legatis, pro certo constare, maximam militum manum

Meschtoub and Karakoush come to the camp to propose a surrender. (July 4. *Hoveden*, 395; *Bohadin*, 175.)

Richard refuses it allow it.

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[1] *Mestoc*] Mestocus, B.
[2] *tamen*] om. C.
[3] *obtinendæ*] om. A.
[4] *illi*] om. A.
[5] *Mestoc*] Mestocus, A.
[6] *inerant*] erant, A. B.
[7] *reversi*] ingressi, C.

A.D. 1191. July 4. Saladin promises further succour.

a Babylonia in proximo venturam in navibus et galeis, quas eo venire prius citaverat, et quod significaverat Muleinæ, quatenus, omni occasione remota, infra octo dies ad eos veniret. Quod si forte hi prædicti ex condicto non venirent, jurejurando promisit eis, ut[1] quam posset honestiorem versus Christianos pacem procuraret, et exeundi libertatem. His auditis, redeunt ad urbem legati, et ab eis Salahadini recitatis promissionibus ad resistendum adhuc persuadentibus, in[2] venturum anxii Turci suspenduntur adjutorium.

[CAPITULUM XVI.]

Nostris urbem viriliter[3] impugnantibus, multi ex Turcis, ex desperatione, ab urbe aufugiunt.

July 4-11. The assaults continue during the negotiations.

* Psalm, xlviii. 5.

Interea nocte et[4] die Christianorum non cessabant petrariæ muros jugiter conquassantes. Quod videntes obsessi admirati sunt, conturbati sunt, commoti sunt,[5] tremor apprehendit eos;* quorum quidam timori cedentes, exterriti a muris de nocte se dederunt præcipites,[6] ut evaderent, non expectato quod promissum est auxilio. Eorum quoque quam plurimi Christianitatis et baptismi petierunt suppliciter sibi contradendum sacramentum. Super quorum summa meritorum non immerito ambigendum, cum videatur præsumendum, quod potius ab instantis timoris angustia, quam inspirante gratia divina, id sibi fieri postulaverunt; sed multis gradibus fit recursus ad salutem. Intercurrentibus assidue nunciis, satis innotuit Salahadino, quod periculosa nimis erat ulterior perseverantia in civitate Turcis, quam a facie Christianorum tueri non possent.

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[1] *ut*] quod, A. B.

[2] *in*] ut, A.

[3] *urbem viriliter*] tr. A. B.

[4] *et*] ac, B.

[5] *conturbati sunt, commoti sunt*] om. B.

[6] *præcipites*] et, ins. A.

[CAPITULUM XVII.]

Qualem pacem inierunt obsessi consilio Salahadini cum Christianis.

A.D. 1191.

Saladin is persuaded by his nobles to allow the surrender of Acre. (July 12. *Bohadin,* 179.)

Salahadinus perpendens moram trahere periculum, petitionibus obsessorum tandem decrevit annuendum: præsertim hoc eidem persuadentibus admiraliis suis et satrapis, et amicis potentibus, quorum erant parentes, et cognati, et amici obsessi: allegantibus etiam Salahadino quod eisdem teneretur obsessis, præstita secundum legis Mahumeticæ cultorum ritum securitate, quod honorabilem eisdem in articulo necessitatis procuraret liberationem; ne forte jure belli incomprehensi haberentur exterminio, et probrosæ mortis ludibrio; unde lex Mahumetica ab antecessoribus diligenter observata, quantum in eo esset, cassaretur, et suæ nihilominus dignitatis et nominis excellentiæ plurimum derogaretur, dum a Christianis obtinerentur veneratores Mahumetici. Rogabant etiam Salahadinum, ut moveretur super eo, quod Turcorum genus electum, ipsius obediens persuasionibus, in ipsa tamdiu coangustabantur obsidione, et civitatem tanto tempore pro ipso defenderant.[1] Reminisceretur etiam ipsorum, qui obsidebantur, uxorum; et miserandæ familiæ, quas jam transactis tribus annis inchoatæ obsidionis non viderant: sed et potius civitatem reddendam quam tantæ gentem probitatis perdendam esse dicebant. Hæc et his similia persuadentibus Salahadino principibus suis, ne pejora fierent posteriora prioribus,* annuit pacem, quam commodiorem facere potuissent faciendam. Ibidem itaque provisum est et prolocutum,[2] quam censerent aptiorem formam pacis contrahendæ. Renunciantibus denique nunciis Salahadini sententiam et satraparum, gavisi sunt obsessi gaudio magno. Et ecce! egressi sunt majores eorum

* S. Matthew, xii. 45.

Joy of the besieged.

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[1] *defenderant*] defendarent, altered into defensarent, A.

[2] *prolocutum*] est, ins. B.

A.D. 1191. July 12. The besieged offer to surrender Acre, the Holy Cross, and 200,000 talents for ransom.

ad reges nostros, et per interpretem obtulerunt Achon civitatem reddendam liberam, et sanctam Crucem resignandam, et ducentos nobiliorum Christianorum quos tenuerant captivos, et quinquaginta reddendos. Sed cum hoc[1] nostris perpendissent ingratum, obtulerunt duo millia nobiliorum Christianorum, et quingentos captivorum inferiorum, quos Salahadinus quærere faceret, per totam terram suam, ita quod a civitate exeuntes Turci nihil secum præter camisias asportarent singuli, relictis armis suis, et rebus omnibus cum victualibus. Et præterea pro redemptione capitum suorum darent duobus regibus ducenta talentorum Saracenicorum millia. Super his fideliter observandis, traderent obsides Turcorum nobiliores et excellentiores, qui reperirentur in civitate.[2] Cumque super his reges nostri, utrum forent concedenda tractantes, cum suorum sapientioribus conferrent ad invicem: in eo tandem universorum[3] conquievit sententia, quod oblata reciperent, et conditionibus acquiescerent,[4] ut de securitate præstitis juramentis et confectis scripturis, datis obsidibus vacui recederent a civitate.

The terms accepted.

[Capitulum XVIII.]

Datis obsidibus de Cruce et pecunia et captivis infra mensem reddendis, Turci urbem exeunt, et Christiani intrant. Reges quoque[5] omnia inter se æqua sorte dividunt.

July 12. Surrender of Acre.

Igitur die Veneris proxima post Translationem Beati Benedicti, dati sunt obsides et accepti, admiralii ditiores et nobiliores; et de sancta Cruce reddenda, et de captivis requirendis præfixus est unius mensis terminus.[6]

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[1] *hoc*] om. A.

[2] *in civitate*] om. B.

[3] *universorum*] om. B.

[4] *acquiescerent*] conquiescerent, A

[5] *quoque*] que, B.

[6] According to Hoveden, 396, the term was forty days; Bohadin however, p. 182, speaks of three monthly instalments. Our author speaks at c. xxi., and lib. IV. c. ii., as if he

A.D. 1191. July 12.

Mixed feelings of the conquerors.

They admire the conquered for their bravery and resignation.

The Christians enter Acre.

Hujus facti notitia, divulgante fama, cum ad universos pervenisset, civitatem redditam, iracundia commotum est vulgus insipiens; sapientiores vero non immerito lætati sunt uberius, quod expedite et sine periculo obtinuissent, quod tanto tempore prius obtinere non possent. Tunc voce præconis clamatum est et prohibitum, ne quis forte præsumeret dictis aut factis, quocunque modo quenquam[1] Turcorum opprobriis dehonestare, vel lacessire conviciis, nec ulterius jacularentur vel missilia muris dissipandis, vel Turcis in summitate propugnaculorum forte visis. In illius articulo diei, cum gens illa Turcorum, probitatis admirandæ, virtutis eximiæ, bellicis exercitiis viri strenuissimi, magnificentia insignes, in murorum altitudine jam egressuri oberrarent, curiosissimis eos oculis[2] intuentur Christiani, tanquam bellatores præcipuos admirantes, et recolendæ memoriæ. Egredientium nihilominus a civitate pene vacuorum vultus obstupescunt elegantiam, et habitudinem adversitatibus invictam, et quos modo extrema pene[3] necessitas ad supplicandum vix edomuerat, jam vincendos egredientes nec mordax sollicitudo confregerat, nec rerum amissio dejecerat: sed nec vultus perierat constantia, immo animositatis habitudine simulabant victoriam. Harum autem potentias virium depravavit ritus prævaricationis superstitiosæ, corrupitque miserandus error idololatriæ.[4] Omnibus denique Turcis egressis, Christiani, quos duo reges jusserant,[5] reseratis janius libere civitatem ingressi sunt, cum tripudio, et lætitia, et summa vocum exaltatione, Dominum[6] glorificantes, et gratias agentes, quia magnificavit Deus misericordiam Suam cum ipsis,* et visitavit, et fecit redemptionem plebis Suæ.† Regum

* S. Luke, i. 58.

† S. Luke, i. 68.

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thought that the Cross, &c., were to be surrendered before the end of July. The matter is obscure.

[1] *quenquam*] quemcunque, B.

[2] *eos oculis*] tr. A.

[3] *extrema pene*] pene extremitatis, A.

[4] *idololatriæ*] ydolatriæ, MSS.

[5] *jusserant*] jusserunt, A.

[6] *Dominum*] Deum, A. B.

A.D. 1191. July 13. The kings divide the prisoners. (*Hoveden*, 396.)

itaque in altitudine murorum et turrium præfiguntur baneriæ, et vexilla multiformia; et fit civitatis æqua distributio duobus regibus, qui etiam armorum et victualium repertorum proportionaliter æqualem sortiuntur divisionem. Captivorum nihilominus summam prætaxatam sorte mediante partiti sunt. In partem regis Franciæ cessit vir ille nobilis Caracois, et cæterorum plurima multitudo; regis vero Ricardi portioni Mestoc accessit cum reliquis pluribus. Præterea rex Franciæ pro parte sua habuit Templariorum nobile palatium cum omnibus pertinentiis, et rex Ricardus palatium regale, in quod misit reginas suas cum puellis et ancillis earum, sicque suam uterque pacifice partem obtinuit. Exercitus autem per civitatis amplitudinem hospitabatur; et post tantos diuturnæ obsidionis protractos agones, jam genio vacantes satis optata quiete refrigerantur. Eadem nocte sequente proxima post ingressionem nostram, a timore nostrorum secessit Salahadinus cum suo exercitu,[1] ab illo, quo consederat loco, et montem occupavit ulteriorem.

The royal palace falls to Richard, the Templars' to Philip.

Saladin retires (from Tel-Ajadia to Shefa' Amar. *Bohadin*, 180).

[CAPITULUM XIX.]

Quam viliter[2] *et ignominiose Turci,*[3] *dum urbem possederunt, sancta nostra tractaverunt.*

Four years had now elapsed since Acre was taken by Saladin. (July 9, 1187. *Bohadin*, 71.)

Ab eo die, quo sic est reddita civitas, quatuor anni jam effluxerant, ex quo eam occupaverant Saraceni. Reddita est igitur, sicut prædictum est, in crastino Translationis Sancti Benedicti. Ecclesiarum autem status infra civitatem non sine horrore tunc visebantur, nec etiam sine mœrore nunc rememorantur in ipsis visa inconvenientia. Quis enim fidelis siccis oculis intueretur venerandarum vultus imaginum Ipsius Filii Dei crucifixi, sive etiam quorumlibet Sanctorum, deturpatos,

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[1] *suo exercitu*] tr. A.

[2] *viliter*] viriliter, A.

[3] *Turci*] om. B.

A.D. 1191. July, 12.

The impiety of the Turks.

sive quocunque modo dehonestatos? Quis non horrifica contremuisset repræsentatione, quam contumeliose gens illa Turcorum nefanda diruisset altaria, et cruces sanctas dejecisset in terram, et contemptibiliter verberasset; et Mahumerias suas in locis sanctificatis exhibuisset, et eliminatis omnibus humanæ redemptionis et Christianæ relligionis indiciis, omnes superstitionis Mahumeticæ spurcitias instituisset?

[Capitulum XX.]

De discordia duorum regum, pro Marchiso et rege Guidone, et pacificatione eorundem.

Philip and Richard begin to quarrel.

Richard suppports Guy, Philip , Conrad.

(July 27, *Hoveden*, 396.) They agree on terms: Guy to retain the kingdom, Geoffrey of Lusignan to have Joppa,

Processu temporis inter duos reges maxima est orta discordia, occasione illius supramemorati Marchisi, cui rex Franciæ favebat, et[1] omnem acquisitionis suæ factæ, vel faciendæ in Terra Sancta, quæ eum contingeret, disposuerat concedere portionem. Cui concessioni rex Ricardus, compatiens afflictioni regis Guidonis, noluit præbere assensum, quia regi Guidoni potius videbatur competere. Super hoc igitur articulo dissentientibus aliquamdiu regibus, denique mediantibus principibus et populi majoribus, interveniente tali conditione, pacificati sunt; ut Marchiso, qui regni videbatur in matrimonio sortitus[2] hæredem, etiam in recompensationem præstiti adjutorii exercitui in obsidione, cederet in possessionem hæreditariam comitatus Tyri, videlicet, Tyri et Sidonis et Baruth: Gaufrido vero de Lisiniaco, fratri regis Guidonis, in laboris sui et operæ remunerationem, cederet comitatus Joppensis,[3] scilicet Joppa et Ascalon. Quod si forte regem Guidonem contingeret prius clausisse diem extremum, tunc Marchisus ille, qui regni hæredem, licet

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[1] *et*] om. A.

[2] *in matrimonio sortitus*] tr. A.

[3] *Joppensis*] Jupensis, B.

A.D. 1191. July 27. Conrad to keep Tyre and to succeed to the kingdom on Guy's death.

nefarie, sicut supradictum est, sub spe regnandi rapuerat in conjugem, insignitus diademate regali, regi Guidoni succederet in regnum: regem autem Guidonem et Marchisum simul cum conjuge, si contingeret eximi[1] rebus humanis, dum rex Ricardus in illis ageret partibus, tunc regis Ricardi relinqueretur arbitrio ut pro voluntate disponeret de regno. Hujus fine conditionis universorum conquievit contentio.

[CAPITULUM XXI.]

Urbe reddita, rex Franciæ, omnibus admirantibus, dissuadentibus, maledicentibus, ad repatriandum se præparavit.

July 22. Philip begins to talk about going home. (*Hoveden*, 396.)

Sic se rebus habentibus, exeunte jam mense Julii post redditum civitatem, infra quem Crux sancta promittebatur a Turcis, pro liberandis obsidibus, reddenda; ecce! rumor per exercitum increbruit, regem Franciæ, in quo pendebat spes populi, velle repatriare, et iter suum magnopere præparare. O quam probrosum, quamve contumeliosum, adhuc imminente tanto et pendente negotio, ipsum velle abire, cujus intererat tantam populi multitudinem regere, et in opus tam pium populo Christiano tam necessarium instigare, et negotii tam ardui procurare processum! O quid tantopere viam longissimam eam[2] avida pene inutiliter pervenerat intentione, præpropere[3] rediturus! O quam egregie votum absolutum, terram scilicet tantum intrasse, et tam brevibus in Turcos decertasse triumphis! Sed quid? Rex Franciæ morbum allegavit suæ causam esse peregrinationis, et in quantum dabatur, jam votum persolutum; sed[4] maxime quia sanus et incolumis exstitit, quando crucem cum rege Henrico inter Triam[1] et Gisortium suscepit,[2] huic ejus assertioni non comparuit, qui testimonium perhiberet. Verumtamen non est quidem inficiandum[3] ipsum regem Franciæ, in eadem terra, civitati expugnandæ plurimam operam impendisse, simul et impensam, et quod quampluribus opem præbuerit, et auxilium, et auctoritate præsentiæ suæ demandaverit executioni festinantius expediendæ, operis tanti consummationem, circa obtinendam civitatem, tanquam videlicet regum Christianorum potentissimus et excellentissimæ dignitatis merito acquisivisse;[4] unde quanto virtute potentior et excellentia præstantior, tanto recuperandæ terræ desolatæ et auxilio destitutæ, in quam gentes venerunt polluendam, teneretur obnoxior; et secundum Gregorium[5] *" cum augentur " dona, rationes crescunt donorum," et cui plus committitur, plus ab eo exigitur. Verum cum jam regis Franciæ regrediendi cunctis innotuisset inflexibilis voluntas, ut nec suorum acquiesceret gemitibus,[6] vel lacrymosis supplicationibus, ejus, si fieri possit, Franci renunciarent ditionis subjectionem, et abominarentur dominium: et jam recessuro imprecabantur quicquid adversitatis vel infortunii potuerit in hac vita miseranda cuiquam mortalium ingruere. Rex nihilominus iter suum, quam potuit properantius expediebat, et in loco suo reliquit in terra illa ducem Burgundiæ cum gente plurima. Fecit etiam[7] rogari regem Ricardum duas sibi præstare[8] galeas; cui rex Ricardus gratanter duas ex melioribus contradi præcepit. Sed hujus obsequii satis in posterum apparuit ingratitudo.

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[1] *eximi*] exui, A.

[2] *viam longissimam eam*] via longissima eo, A. B.

[3] *præpropere*] propere, A.

[4] *sed*] om. A.

A.D. 1191. July 22.

His false excuses.

His services.

* S. Gregor. Mag. *Liber* xl., *Homil. in Evangelia*, *Hom.* ix., *in init.*

Indignation of the French.

Philip leaves the duke of Burgundy in command. (July 29. *Hoveden*, 397).

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[1] *Triam*] crucem, ins. A.
[2] *suscepit*] sed, ins. A.
[3] *inficiandum*] inficiendum, A. B.
[4] *merito acquisivisse*] om. A. B.
[5] *Gregorium*] GG., A. B.
[6] *gemitibus*] gentibus, B.
[7] *etiam*] et, B.
[8] *præstare*] præstari, A. B.

[CAPITULUM XXII.]

A.D. 1191. *Rex Franciæ juravit regi Ricardo, se servaturum pacem hominibus[1] et terris suis, donec ipse repatriaret.*

Treaty between Richard and Philip, (July 29, *Hoveden*, 397.)

Regem Franciæ rex Ricardus censuit conveniendum de mutua conservanda fidelitate securitatis. Ipsi etenim, sicut et patres eorum, sese tenera simultate reverebantur, et palliata caritate, quæ nec in posteris unquam creditur foras missura timorem. Hujus itaque titillationis urtica rex Ricardus sollicitatus,[2] exegit a rege Franciæ juramentum de fidelitate servanda; quod nec in suos, nec[3] in terram suam sciens et prudens delinqueret, dum rex Ricardus in peregrinatione perseveraret. Quod si qua occasione in tantum incorrigibiliter reprehensibilis videretur esse rex Ricardus, postquam in terram suam redisset, quadraginta diebus conveniretur a Francis de corrigendis, si qui forte fuissent excessibus, antequam rex Franciæ de expetenda ab eo moneretur[4] ultione. Hæc omnia præstito sacramento se fideliter observaturum juravit rex Franciæ[5] regi Ricardo, et obsides contradidit, ducem Burgundiæ et comitem Henricum, et alios quinque vel plures, nomina quorum[6] . exciderunt.

How ill Philip kept his promise.

Quam fideliter vero huic steterit conventioni et juramento, satis innotuit universis. Statim enim ut in patriam rediit, commovit terram et conturbavit Normanniam. Quid plura? accepta licentia rex Franciæ ab exercitu Achonensi recessit, cunctis ei pro benedictionibus adversa optantibus et maledictiones.

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[1] *hominibus*] suis, ins. A.

[2] *sollicitatus*] sollicitus, A.

[3] *nec*] vel, B. C.

[4] *moneretur*] moveretur, B.

[5] *se .... Franciæ.*] The order of this sentence is reversed in A.

[6] *nomina quorum*] tr. A.

[CAPITULUM XXIII.]

Recedente rege Franciæ cum obsidibus suis et Marchiso in Tyrum, remanent[1] *dux Burgundiæ et multi Franci cum rege Ricardo.*

A.D. 1191. August 1.

Philip sails to Tyre, and takes the Marquis with him.

Die Sancti Petri ad vincula, navem ascensus rex Franciæ versus Tyrum navigavit: sed exercitus partem majorem cum rege Ricardo reliquit. Cum quo etiam tunc ille nefandus Marchisus Tyrum rediit, et secum adduxerunt memoratum Caracois, et quot regem Franciæ contigerant in sorte obsidum Saracenorum, pro quorum redemptione rex Franciæ æstimabat se recepturum centum millia vel plures aureos ad exhibendam gentem suam in illa terra usque Pascha. Verum exeunte termino præfixo, reddendæ redemptione nihil curare videbantur, quorum intererat de obsidum absolutione. Quorum quidem major pars periit, pro quibus nec obolum tunc constat fuisse solutum, nec ovum, sed nec eorum occasione quidquam omnino conquisitum, nec medietas victualium in occupata civitate repertorum. Unde Franci frequentius rememorati sunt, quod aliam non acceperint[2] a rege Franciæ remunerationem. Inde quoque non modicum cóntentionum et murmuris inter eos ortum est seminarium, quousque rex Ricardus rogatu Ducis Burgundiæ accommodavit eidem duci, super obsides suos, quinque millia marcas[3] argenti, ad exhibendam gentem suam.

The French get no pay, until Richard advances 5000 marks.

[*Explicit Liber Tertius.*]

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[1] *remanent*] remansit, A.

[2] *acceperint*] acceperunt, A.

[3] *marcas*] marcarum, A..

INCIPIT LIBER QUARTUS.

[CAPITULUM I.]

Rex Ricardus[1] *militibus largitur munera, muros Achon reparat.*

A.D. 1191. August. Richard repairs the walls of Acre.

Videns igitur rex Ricardus summam totius negotii, et rei processum, et impensas, et operas, ipsum prima fronte respicere, hilariter et copiosissime distribuit aurum et argentum Francis, et alienigenis cujuscunque nationis, unde se reficerent abundanter, et vadimonia redimerent. Rege Franciæ, sicut prædictum est, præpropere repatriante, rex Ricardus muris civitatis operam dabat reparandis in altius et perfectius quam priusquam[2] diruerentur. Ipsemet etiam obambulabat[3] jugiter, operarios exhortans, et instruens cementarios; tota siquidem intentione satagebat hæreditati Dei conquirendæ infatigabiliter insistere.

[CAPITULUM II.]

Salahadinus pactioni non stat de Cruce Dominica et pecunia reddenda, obsidesque suos negligit.

August 12. The term for the payment of the ransom expires.

Expectabat igitur terminum conventionis[4] initæ inter ipsum[5] et Turcos, sicut prædictum est. Interim petrariis operam dabat et mangunellis in sarcinas colligere ad transportandum. Postquam enim[6] exivit terminus præfixus a Saracenis, de Sancta[7] Cruce reddenda et obsidibus liberandis, ea qua dictum est conditione;

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[1] *Ricardus*] om. A.

[2] *priusquam*] prius, A.

[3] *obambulabat*] ambulabat, A.

[4] *conventionis*] compactionis, A.

[5] *ipsum*] eum, C.

[6] *enim*] om. B.

[7] *Sancta*] om. C.

A.D. 1191.
August 12.
The time for the restoration of the Cross and the payment of the ransom is now past: Saladin temporizes.

cum jam post terminum per tres septimanas expectasset, si Salahadinus factæ staret fidelitati vel pactioni pactor adjiceret[1] fieri transgressionem: quia Salahadinus videbatur inde nihil curare, forte Deo ita dispensante ut aliquid commodius fieret; verumtamen dilationem complendæ promissionis et Crucis quæritandæ[2] exigebant Saraceni; frequenter audires Christianos

"quærere rumores quando Crux Sancta veniret."

Deus autem eam tunc noluit reddi in absolutionem eorum, pro quibus promittebatur reddenda, sed ut potius perirent. Unus aliquis dixit, "Jam Crux venit;" alter aliquis, "Visa est in exercitu Saracenorum;" sed eorum uterque sic dicentium fallebatur. Non enim procurabat Salahadinus Crucem reddi; immo obsides neglexit obligatos; sperabat enim, mediante Sancta[3] Cruce, multo majoris negotii procurare processum. Interea Salahadinus sæpius regem xeniis[4] frequentabat et nunciis, verborum fallaciis tempus redimens et astutiis; de sponsionis autem effectu nihil complens, sed multiplicatis argutiis et verborum ambagibus, in longa tempora regis animum studebat suspendere.

[Capitulum III.]

Rex Angliæ bis misit Tyrum, antequam recipere posset exercitus noster a Marchiso obsides Salahadini. Ipsemet redire contempsit.

(August 5. *Hoveden*, 397.)
Richard sends to

Interea, missis Tyrum legatis, ex parte nostra denunciatum est Marchiso, ut in[5] exercitum rediret,

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[1] *pactor adjiceret*] pactorum convertit, A. According to the Chronicles of Benedict of Peterborough and Bromton, the first "dies peremptorius" for the performance of the stipulations was August 9; and upon the non-appearance of the hostages who had gone to Tyre, a second day was appointed, eleven days after, viz., the 20th. The mention of three weeks in the text, looks as if our author thought that the "term" meant the month of July.

[2] *quæritandæ*] quærendæ, B.

[3] *Sancta*] om. A.

[4] *xeniis*] Space for this word is left blank in C.

[5] *in*] om. C.

A.D. 1191. August 5. Tyre for Conrad and the Saracen hostages: but the Marquis refuses to obey.

adducens secum obsides regis Franciæ quos tenebat commendatos, recepturus portionem redemptionis, quæ regem Franciæ contingeret, scilicet[1] medietatem solutionis. In illa legatione missi sunt episcopus Saresberiensis,[2] comes Robertus, et Petrus de Pratellis miles peroptimus. His tribus legatis indignanter respondit Marchisus, quod nullatenus veniret, prætendens occasionem quod formidaret regis Ricardi præsentiam. Præterea jactitabat Veræ Crucis, si quando receptæ, se recepturum medietatem vice regis Franciæ, nec se prius obsides resignaturum, quam hoc compleretur. Intellecta tanta Marchisi pertinacia, blanditiis eum tentaverunt mitigare legati, offerentes unum eorum obsidem remansurum, quo securior ad regem Ricardum salvus iret et rediret. Nequaquam consensit, immo jurejurando se non venturum affirmabat. Legati revertuntur inacti et vacui, et rem, ut erat, regi notificant inde plurimum indignanti. Regis tamen rogatu, in eadem transmissi sunt legatione Tyrum iterum dux Burgundiæ, et Drogo de Amiens, et Robertus de Quenci,[3] prædictum rogaturi Marchisum, ut veniret cum eis. Ejus quippe præsentia negotiorum profectibus videbatur necessaria, præcipue cum ad obtinendum regnum aspiraret, quod refugiebat[4] acquirere; et præterea ut meandi facultas daretur navigantibus per Tyrum victualia allaturis, quorum adventum idem Marchisus more suo præpedierat. Prædictis nunciis Tyrum venientibus, et legationem exponentibus, et obnixius vice regis Ricardi rogantibus, ut Marchisus in eorum veniret adjutorium in Syriam, cujus se sperabat obtenturum dominium, proterve respondit et arroganter, se contestans nullo modo venturum, immo civitatis suæ curam habiturum. Diutius itaque singulis contraria

Richard sends the duke of Burgundy and others on a like errand.

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[1] *scilicet*] om. B.

[2] *Saresberiensis*] Salesberiensis, A.

[3] *Quenci*] Quinci, B.

[4] *refugiebat*] fugiebat, A.

pro partis suæ assertione facientia allegantibus, eo usque tandem vix summa negotii deducta est, ut tres illi legati secum obsides Saracenorum ad regem Ricardum reducerent. Marchisum autem nulla ratione vel persuasione prævaluerant a sua deflectere pertinaci nequitia.

A.D. 1191. August. After much persuasion Conrad gives up the hostages; but will not come himself.

[Capitulum IV.]

Occiduntur a nostris obsides Salahadini.

August 16. Richard, with the advice of his nobles, determines to execute the hostages.

Postquam revera constitit[1] regi Ricardo, transacto[2] jam termino et ultra, quod obdurato corde Salahadinus nihil ultra curaret de redimendis obsidibus; coacto consilio majorum in populo, decretum est nihil ulterius frustra expectandum, sed ut obsides decollarentur, reservatis aliquot tantum de[3] majoribus et nobilioribus, si forte vel ipsi redimerentur, sive pro quibuscunque aliis Christianorum captivis commutandis. Rex Ricardus in opprimendis Turcis funditus semper aspirans, ad conterendam ipsorum protervam arrogantiam, et legem Mahumeticam confundendam, Christianitatem vindicandam; die Veneris proxima post Assumptionem Beatæ Mariæ,[4] a civitate jussit educi Turcorum obsidum vinctos duo millia et septingentos ad decollandum. Nec mora, prosiliunt satellites, alacriter jussa complentes, et animo gratanti, ut videlicet, in ultione redderent talionem, annuente gratia divina, super morte Christianorum, quos ipsi[5] peremerant arcuum missilibus vel balistarum.

They are executed. (August 20. *Hoveden*, 397; *Bohadin*, 183.)

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[1] *constitit*] consistit, A.

[2] *transacto*] translato, C.

[3] *de*] om, A. C.

[4] This must have been the day on which the execution was agreed on, not that on which it took place. That was clearly Tuesday, the 20th of August, as appears from Hoveden and Bohadin, as well as from the sequence of events in the following chapters.

[5] *ipsi*] om. C.

[CAPITULUM V.]

Itinere tam marino quam terrestri, prœordinat rex Ricardus exercitum movere versus Ascalonem.[1]

A.D. 1191. August 20. Richard gives orders for the army to march the next day.

Advesperascente jam die, voce præconis denunciatum est, movendum exercitum in proximo, et flumen Achonense[2] transmeandum, in nomine Domini omnium bonorum largitoris,[3] ut ad Ascalon procederent ad perquirenda maritima. Igitur ex præcepto, victualia quæ decem diebus sufficerent, navibus imposuerunt exercitui apportanda, panem, scilicet, biscoctum et farinam, carnes et vina, et quæ viderentur esui necessaria. Nautis igitur firmiter injunctum est,[4] ut semper navigarent e regione procedentis[5] per terram exercitus, cum bargis onerariis et neckis, quæ victualia veherent et homines armatos. Sic igitur procuratum est, ut bipertito progrederentur exercitu, parte media, marino, parte altera, itinere terreno; non enim aliter fuit possibile terram acquirere sic a Turcis occupatam.

The fleet is to sail alongside.

[CAPITULUM VI.]

Quot ex majoribus nostris decesserunt per annum et dimidium in obsidione Achon.

The great losses we endured in the siege of Acre.

Sciendum, quod in illo exercitu, qui jam ad expugnandam Achonensem civitatem moram fecerat per duas hyemes et unam æstatem, maximis dispendiis et impensis, usque ad medium autumnum, in[6] quo, sicut prædictum est, decollati sunt Turci, sicut satis meruerant,[1] apud Deum et homines, propter ecclesiarum destructionem[2] et hominum occisionem; defuncti sunt Christianorum innumeri. Fidem quidem videretur excedere universorum multitudo recitata, qui in exercitu tanto tempore decesserunt. Summa vero tantummodo majorum, sicut quidam scribit, omissa numerositate, quam se dicit nullatenus posse expedire, sic colligitur. In exercitu mortui sunt sex archiepiscopi et patriarcha, duodecim episcopi; et præter hos defuncti sunt quadraginta comites, et quingenti proceres potentes, presbyteri quoque et clerici et populi multitudo, cujus numerus comprehendi non potuit.

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[1] *Ascalonem*] Aschalonem, A.

[2] *Achonense*] Achonensem, C.

[3] *bonorum largitoris*] tr. A. B.

[4] *injunctum est*] tr. A. B.

[5] *procedentis*] procedentes, A. B.

[6] *in*] a, B.

A.D. 1191.
Six archbishops, a patriarch, twelve bishops, forty counts, five hundred nobles, priests and laymen without number.

[CAPITULUM VII.]

Rex Ricardus Francos ab Achon exire coegit, et tentoria sua extra urbem fixit.

August 20.
Richard having encamped outside of Acre, tries to prevail on the Crusaders to quit the city.

Post illam Turcorum decollationem, rex Ricardus, recuperata pristina sanitate, a civitate Achon egressus, cum omni sua sequela, tentoria sua in planitiis extra civitatem figi constituit,[3] et omnes suos etiam nolentes a civitate exire coegit; et sic in præfatis planitiis, extra fossata nostra, commoratus est exercitus, ut ad iter aggrediendum expediretur.[4] Francorum autem nonnullos allexit blanditiis, quosdam[5] prece, alios pretio, nonnullos violenter compulit exire. Fecit itaque rex multitudinem satellitum peditum circa papiliones suos in tentoriis suis et umbraculis commorari, ad præsidii firmamentum, propter frequentes Turcorum incursiones, qui tota die repente appropiantes ipsos exclamabant improvidos. Fuit autem[6] regiæ consuetudinis semper, ut primus exiret

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[1] *meruerant*] meruerunt, B.
[2] *destructionem*] destructiones, B.
[3] *constituit*] in planitia Acon., B., in margin.
[4] *expediretur*] expedirentur, C.
[5] *quosdam*] quos, A.
[6] *autem*] om. C.

A.D. 1191. August 20.

armatus ad Turcos invadendos, et prout divinitus daretur, afficiendos.

[CAPITULUM VIII.]

Comes Hungriæ,[1] et marescallus regis, fugantes Turcos, qui in nostros irruerunt, ab eis capti sunt.

One day the Turks attacked our camp. (August 18. *Hoveden*, 397.)

Forte die quadam, Turcis de more in nostros subito irruentibus, et turbam facientibus, commota sunt castra nostra. Nostris itaque ad arma currentibus, rex ocius armatus processit eques, et cum eo comes quidam[2] armatus de Hungaria,[3] et Hungri quam plurimi contra Turcos exierunt, quos sine mora fugientes persecuti sunt, sed longius quam oporteret. Quidam enim nostrorum, licet præstantissime se gessissent,[4] ibi comprehensi sunt et probrose contrectati. Comes ille Hungrensis, vir magnæ probitatis et famæ, comprehensus est, et abductus a Turcis, et quidam miles Pictavensis, Hugo nomine, regis Ricardi marescallus. Ibi rex se[5] gerens indifferenter, sui negligens, equo vehementius admisso, totis viribus conabatur Hugonem marescallum suum, si posset, eripere: verum tamen fuga velociori avulsus est et abductus. O quam ambigua fata bellorum!

Hugh, the marshall, taken prisoner.

"Ordine perverso nunc victores vincuntur,[6]
"Nunc qui victus erat, vincere sæpe solet:"

prædictis militibus bene fugasse perire fuit, quoniam a fugatis comprehensi sunt fugantes, et quod jure debuerat ascribi gloriæ, addictum est insipientiæ,

"Sic virtutis opus fuit ipsis causa pericli."

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[1] *Hungriæ*] Hungariæ, A.
[2] *comes quidam*] tr. A.
[3] *Hungaria*] Hungria, A. B.
[4] *gessissent*] egissent, A.
[5] *rex se*] tr. A.
[6] *vincuntur*] vinciuntur, B. C.

A.D. 1191. August. Comparison of the Turks with the Crusaders.

Turci denique non, ut nostri, armaturis sunt onerati, sed incedentes expeditiores nostros multo majori sæpius perturbant[1] gravamine. Turci fere sunt inermes, arcum tantum gerentes, et clavam præacutis dentibus hirsutam, et gladium, arundineum etiam hastile cuspide ferrata, et cultellum leviter appensum: et quando forte vehementius procul effugantur, equis avolant rapidissimis, quibus in mundo non sunt agiliores, volatibus hirundinum cursu comparandi velocissimo. Turcorum etiam moris est, ut quando persenserint se fugantes a persequendo cessare, tunc et ipsi fugere cessabunt, more muscæ fastidiosæ, quam si abegeris avolabit, cum cessaveris redibit, quamdiu fugaveris fugiet, cum desieris[2] præsto est. Non secus est de Turcis: cum persequi[3] desistens reverteris, tunc Turcus[4] insequitur, si fugaveris fugiet; ita scilicet rege fugante pertinaciter fugiebant, cum redire disponeret, et ipsi imminebant a tergo, quandoque non impune, sed et nostros quandoque[5] plurimum debilitantes.

Tactics of the Turks.

[Capitulum IX.]

Exercitus noster deliciis deditus, urbem vix compulsus exire, flumen transit Achonense, Turcis undique infestantibus.

Richard is kept waiting for the army. (August 20-22. *Hoveden*, 397.)

Rex Ricardus in papilionibus degebat, expectans exercitum exeuntem a civitate: segniter autem exibant[6] et morose, tanquam minus voluntarie, et parum augebatur exercitus. Civitas autem fuit plurima repleta multitudine. Exercitus quidem totus, cum iis qui adhuc a civitate non exierant, æstimabatur trecenta

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[1] *perturbant*] perturbabant, A.
[2] *desieris*] defeceris, C.
[3] *persequi*] prosequi, C.
[4] *tunc Turcus*] tr. A.
[5] *nostros quandoque*] tr. A. B.
[6] *exibant*] exhibent, C.

A.D. 1191. August 22.

The people are reluctant to quit the city.

millia. Populus nimiæ deditus desidiæ, et luxui, tenuiter egrediebatur ab urbe, quæ nimis erat deliciis abundans, videlicet, vino peroptimo, et puellis pulcherrimis. Mulieres igitur frequentantes et vina, nimis dissolute se gerebant quam plurimi, ut civitas pollueretur a luxuria insipientium et gula inhabitantium in ea, a quorum impudentia facies sapientiorum contrahebat ruborem. Ad auferendam autem hujus maculæ rubiginosam spurcitiam, procuratum est de consilio, ne qua mulier exiret a civitate cum exercitu, sed remanerent in civitate, nisi tantum pedites lotrices, quæ non forent oneri, nec occasio peccati. Die tandem prænominato, mane armatur exercitus, et ordine decenti disponitur. Rex erat in extremo agmine, ne forte Turcis incursantibus, qui in proximo imminebant,[1] turbaretur exercitus. Ea dieta modica erat. Ex quo gens illa nefanda motum nostrum vidit exercitum, more torrentium undarum, impluebant catervatim a montanis, agminibus dispersis; hic quasi viginti, ibi triginta, et sic per cætera; sicque multifarie dispersi diligenter captabant, qua perniciosius nostrum urgerent exercitum. Vehementer enim condoluerant super morte parentum suorum, quorum videbant, sicut prædictum est, trucidata cadavera, et ideo protervius nostrum angebant exercitum jugiter persequentes, et qua poterant gravantes. Sed opitulante gratia divina, Turcis pro voto nihil obtinentibus, flumen Achonense indemnis noster transivit exercitus, et ultra flumen non longe denuo fixere tentoria, donec universus congregaretur exercitus, die Veneris, qua fuit vigilia Sancti Bartholomæi. Die Lunæ sequenti computabantur[2] duo anni transacti, ex quo civitas Achonensis primo fuit obsessa a Christianis.

Women forbidden to follow the army.

The army marches from Acre to the river Belus. (Aug. 22.)

The army crosses the Belus, August 23.

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[1] *imminebant*] eminebant, B.

[2] *computabantur*] om. B.

[CAPITULUM X.]

Exercitus noster, ordinate dispositis[1] *ordinibus procedit, et Turcos viriliter irruentes fortiter repellunt. Hic Standardus describitur.*

A.D. 1191. August 25. The army marches from the river Belus towards the coast, Richard leading the van.

Igitur in crastino[2] Sancti Bartholomæi, hoc est Dominica, in nomine Domini mane disponitur per acies exercitus, per maritima processurus. O quam decenter accuratam ibi videres militiam; juventutem eximiam, cui similis reperiretur difficile;[3] ibi gentem videres electam, satellites multæ probitatis et audaciæ, decentissimas armaturas, tot penuncellos cum signis micantibus et multiformibus[4] baneriis, tot hastilia albicanti cuspide, loricas lucentes et galeas, exercitum hostibus terribilem, et castrorum acies ordinatas. Rex Ricardus primo præfuit agmini et primariam gerebat custodiam. Normanni vallabant Standardum, quod ut plenius innotescat, non ab re duximus describendum. Est igitur trabes longissima, velut malus navis, super quatuor rotas solidissimis composita laquearibus, et compaginata juncturis, ferro vestita, quæ nec gladiis vel securibus videretur cessura, vel igni. In cujus eminentiori cacumine regium vexillum ventilabat affixum, quod vulgo dicunt baneriam. Huic instrumento conservando, electorum militum manus solet, præsertim in prælio campestri, deputari, ne videlicet hostili incursione dissipetur vel quacunque dejiciatur injuria; quia si forte quocunque casu dejiciatur, tunc dissipatur exercitus et confunditur, quia quo[5] confugiat non comparet, sed et belli ducem tunc pavido corde existimant jam superatum, cujus signum non considerant porrectum.

Description of the Standard.

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[1] *dispositis*] dispositus, A.
[2] *crastino*] crastinum, B.
[3] *reperiretur difficile*] tr. A. B.
[4] *multiformibus*] multiformiis, A.
[5] *quia quo*] tr. A.

A.D. 1191.
August 25.
Use of the Standard.

* Isaiah xi. 10.

The duke of Burgundy and the French bring up the rear.

The Saracens attack the baggage train in a narrow place.

Nec ad resistendum adversariis facile populus ulterius convalescit, cujus principem incurrisse discrimen sui vexilli dejectione pertimescit.[1] Verum, dum signum istud perseverat erectum, habet populus certum quo recurrat refugium. Huc infirmi curandi, huc conferuntur vulnerati, vel etiam in prælio forte perempti, qui fuerunt viri famosi vel illustres; unde quia stat fortissime compaginatum in signum populorum,* a stando standardum vocitatur. Super rotas quoque non incongrue collocatur, quatenus secundum prælii statum, vel producatur cedentibus hostibus, vel retrahatur eisdem ingruentibus. Huic igitur Standardo Normanni assistebant et Angli. Dux Burgundiæ cum Francis extremam aciem agebant, qui minus expedite sequentes, interveniente mora, fere maximum incurrerunt dispendium. Exercitus itinerabat juxta mare quod eis erat a dextris, et gens Turcorum a sinistris omnes gestus nostros a montanis prospiciebat. Ingruente subito nebula periculosa, turbabatur aer. Venerat exercitus ad quasdam viarum angustias, qua transitus erat bigarum victualia[2] portantium. Ibi propter angiportum, confusis acierum ordinibus, sparsim attenuati procedebant et indisciplinate; quod attendentes Saraceni repente irruunt in veredarios et bigas onustas, et homines improvidos sine mora peremerunt et equos, et plurimum sarcinarum diripuerunt, et sibi resistentes pertinaciter pertransibant, et dispergebant, et usque in oram maris cædentes profugabant.[3] Ibi fit acerrimus conflictus, viriliter utrisque pro capitibus certantibus. Ibi cum a Turco quodam amputaretur manus dextra cum gladio quem strictum[4] tenebat, cuidam Everardo homini episcopi Saresberiensis, ipse vultu constanti et in nullo mutato, gladium arripuit sinistra, et adversus Turcos imminentes concludens, et in diversa gladium

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[1] *pertimescit*] pertumescit, B.

[2] *victualia*] victualium, A.

[3] *profugabant*] profligabant, A.

[4] *strictum*] structum, C.

A.D. 1191. August 25. They fly before king Richard.

Richard is reconciled with William des Barres.

The army encamps on the river Kishon.

vibrans,[1] ab omnibus animosius se defendit. Hinc conturbato vehementer exercitus agmine extremo,[2] et ob infortunium nimis obstupescente, Johanne filio Lucæ, equo velocius admisso, regi Ricardo adhuc ignoranti rem quæ acciderat indicavit. Qui statim rapido cursu, suorum vallatus agmine in extremorum rediit adjutorium, et gladio fulminante ferebatur in Turcos a dextris prosternens et a sinistris. Nec mora, velut olim Philistiim a facie Machabæi, ita nunc Turci dissipati diffugerunt[3] a facie regis Ricardi, et montana occupaverunt, quorum tamen quidam, amissis capitibus, nostris remanserunt. Illo quidem in congressu, quidam Francorum, nomine Willelmus de Barris,[4] quem olim orta simultas regi Ricardo reddiderat discordem, probitate magnifica mediante, in pristinam meruit reconciliari familiaritatem et gratiam. Salahadinus non procul inde fuit cum omni virtute exercitus sui. Verum a prædicta repulsione, Turci proficere[5] desperantes, ab impetendo nostros ulterius se cohibuerunt, nos a longe speculantes. Noster igitur restauratus ordinate procedebat exercitus, usque ad flumen quod forte repererunt, et cisternas quas probaverunt. Ibi fixerunt tentoria, et resederunt in planitie speciosa,[6] in qua viderant Salahadinum prius commorasse, ibi fixis tentoriis, et per ambitum loci triti et[7] amplitudinem, perpendebant exercitum Turcorum esse permaximum. Prima quidem die, sic noster afficiebatur exercitus, id procurante Deo, ut cautius se gereret,[8] quatenus semel expertum, in quantum daretur iterato præmuniti, præcaverent dispendium.

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[1] *vibrans*] vibravit, B.

[2] *extremo*] extrema, B.

[3] *diffugerunt*] diffugiunt, C.

[4] *de Barris*] de Bartis, A. The history of the quarrel of Richard with William des Barres, at Messina, is given by Hoveden, f. 391. Bromton, 1192.

[5] *proficere*] profiscere, A.

[6] *speciosa*] spaciosa, A.

[7] *et*] om, B.

[8] *gereret*] gererent, A.

[CAPITULUM XI.]

Castra nostra a flumine Achon ad Cayphas perveniunt.

A.D. 1191. August 26. The army moves from the river Kishon towards Haipha, and halts two days between Haipha and the sea.

Salahadinus cum Turcis semper in insidiis, nostrum procurans detrimentum, occupabat viarum angustias, inter prærupta montium, qua noster transiturus erat[1] exercitus. Præmeditabantur enim ut vel nostros attenuatos in exitibus occiderent, aut comprehenderent, vel certe afficiendo dissiparent. Gens vero nostra, a prædicto flumine promota, caute procedebat et ordinate. Moderata dieta pervenientes juxta Cayphas, ibi fixerunt tentoria, ut vulgus sequens expectaret. Inter mare et oppidum Cayphas, utrinque noster residens exercitus, biduo ibi morabatur; perscrutans et revolvens sarcinas, partem abjiciebat qua se arbitrabatur posse carere, partem retinens necessariam; vulgus etenim pedes incedens, maximo sarcinarum victualium onere gravabatur, et armis maxime, ut etiam in prælio præfato plurimos labor afficeret, et sitis extingueret.

[CAPITULUM XII.]

Castra nostra a Cayphas, per maritima, ubi a spinis vulnerantur, et feras inveniunt, et per Capharnaum,[2] ad Casam Angustarum Viarum perveniunt.

August 27. The army marches from Haipha,

Die quadam Martis, id est, die tertia post factam sub Cayphas moram, per acies ordinatus progrediebatur[3] exercitus. Ea die primariam aciem deducebant Templarii et ultimam Hospitalarii, quorum utrique se strenue agentes, magnarum virtutum prætendebant imaginem. Ea die se solito cautius agebat exercitus, et magna conficienda[1] restabat via, quam quidem[2] plurimum præpeditam spinetis et herbarum luxuriantium copia repererunt, vultus suos jugiter flagellantibus,[3] et maxime facies peditum conterentibus. Maxima etiam, illis in locis maritimis, copia sylvestrium reperiebatur animalium, intra pedes frequenter prosilientium, a locis herbosis et frutectis densissimis, unde non quæsitas sed[4] forte oblatas sufficienter capiebant feras. Cum venisset rex obiter ad oppidum Capharnaum,[5] quod solo tenus Saraceni diruerant, descendit ab equo et comedit. Interim expectante exercitu, gustabant etiam qui volebant. Et statim post carpebant iter inchoatum, usque ad Casam dictam Angustarum Viarum: ibi quippe coangustatur meatus. Ibi fixis quieverunt tentoriis. Moris erat in exercitu, ut singulis noctibus, antequam dormituri cubarent, quidam ad hoc deputatus voce magna clamaret[6] fortiter in medio exercitu, dicens, juxta quod vulgo dicitur, "SANCTUM SE-"PULCRUM ADJUVA." Ad hanc vocem conclamabant universi, eadem verba repetentes, et manus suas cum lacrymis uberrimis tendentes in cœlum, Dei misericordiam postulantes et adjutorium. Tunc et ipse præco secundo repetebat[7] exclamans eadem quæ prius, "Sanc-"tum Sepulcrum adjuva," singulis hoc idem repetentibus; similiter et tertio clamantem, eadem iterantes imitabantur universi cum maxima cordis compunctione et lacrymarum effusione. Quis enim hoc in tali non faceret articulo? cum etiam hoc commemorasse tunc

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[1] *transiturus erat*] tr. A. B.

[2] *Capharnaum*] Chafarnahum, A. This Capernaum, which of course is not to be confounded with the Capernaum in Galilee, is frequently mentioned by the crusading historians; see Jac. de Vitri, in the "Gesta Dei," p. 1071. Benjamin of Tudela identifies it with the Maon of Nabal (1 Sam. xxv.), but he confounds the two Carmels. Maon was in the south of Judah. The Capharnaum of the text is now probably Bir-el-Keneisch, half way between Haipha and Athlit.

[3] *progrediebatur*] procedebat, A.; egrediebatur, C.

A.D. 1191. August 27. the Templars in the van, the Hospitallers in the rear.

The king halts at Capharnaum.

The army encamps at the Casal of the Narrow ways (probably Athlit).

The evening prayer of the army.

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[1] *conficienda*] confidentia, C.
[2] *quidem*] quidam, A.
[3] *flagellantibus*] flagentibus, C.
[4] *sed*] et, A.
[5] *Capharnaum*] Capharneum, C.
[6] *clamaret*] clamavit, B.
[7] *repetebat*] repetebant, A.

A.D. 1191. August 27.

factum potuerit ab audientibus pias lacrymas elicere. Hujusmodi siquidem clamore non minimum sibi videbatur exercitus recreari.

[Capitulum XIII.]

De Tarrentis,[1] *qui pungendo veneno suo populum affligebant.*

The army sadly plagued with Tarantulas.

Instantibus singulis noctibus imminebant quidam vermiculi, vulgo dicti Tarentes,[2] solo repentes, atrocissimis ferventes puncturis. De die non nocebant; superveniente vero[3] nocte ingruebant, molestissimis armati aculeis, quibus quos pungerent statim grassato veneno inflabantur percussi, et vehementissimis angustiabantur doloribus. Viri vero nobiles et ditiores tumores eorum statim data mitigabant[4] Tyriaca,[5] et dolores efficaci sedabant antidoto.[6] Prudentiores denique advertentes vermes pestiferos sonitu vehementiori fugari, appropiantibus Tarentis, instituebant fieri strepitum maximum et fragorem, tundentibus singulis et[7] flagellantibus clypeos et galeas, sellas et asseres, dolia,[8] flascones, pelves,[9] patellas et caldarias, et quodcunque ad manum erat instrumentum, aut supellex, ad faciendum[10] sonitum idonea; quoniam auditus fragor abigebat vermes illos. Ad Casellam prænominatam biduo morabatur exercitus; amplus enim erat locus et satis accommodus, donec eo venerunt naves quas expectaverant venturas; bargæ, scilicet, et galeæ victualibus onustæ, quibus opus habebant, quæ videlicet naves lateratim itinerantibus per terram velificabant, portantes cibaria.

They stay at the Casal of the Narrow ways two days; 28 and 29 August.

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[1] *Tarrentis*] Torrentis, A.

[2] *Tarentes*] Tarrentes, A.

[3] *vero*] om. B.

[4] *mitigabant*] inungebant, A.

[5] *Tyriaca*] i. e. Theriaca.

[6] *antidoto*] anthidoto, A.

[7] *et*] om. B.

[8] *dolia*] et, ins. A.

[9] *pelves*] et, ins. A.

[10] *faciendum*] emittendum, B.

[CAPITULUM XIV.]

Castra nostra a Casa Angustarum Viarum ad Merlam, et ab inde Cæsaream, et ab inde ad Flumen Mortuum perveniunt, Turcis nostros impugnantibus, et nostris triumphantibus.[1]

A.D. 1191. August 30. The army marches to Merla (Mallaha, *Bohadin,* 187), the king in the van, the Templars in the rear.

Præmunitus adversus Turcos semper a latere prominentes, procedebat exercitus usque ad oppidum Merlam dictum, ubi rex pernoctaverat una prædictarum noctium. Ibi rex præordinaverat, quod die sequenti primam aciem ipse deduceret propter contingentes importunitates,[2] et quod Templarii extremi agminis agerent custodiam. Turci namque jugiter imminebant a latere propiantes. Ea die rex calcaribus subditis equo ferebatur admisso in Turcos, merito laudem obtenturus et facti gloriam, nisi interveniente quorundam desidia, quæ denigraret negotii processum. Rege namque longius[3] Turcos abigente, quidam suorum[4] restiterunt a persequendo cessantes, unde vespere non immerito reprehendebantur. Regem si legitime comitantes persecuti fuissent Turcos fugientes, opus egregium magnifice consummassent. Verumtamen Turcos omnes a facie sua rex effugavit. Exercitui fuit iter in littore maris molestissimum, propter nimium fervorem. Æstus quippe erat, et dietam conficiebant permaximam. Plurimi quidem æstuantes, longæ etiam viæ fame[5] fatigati et[6] labore extinguebantur, quos ubicunque defecerunt sepeliebant: plurimos vero fatigatos itinere vel languore aut quocunque affectos incommodo, fecit rex eis compatiens in galeis transportari, et navibus, usque ad destinatas dietas. Con-

The sufferings of the army from heat.

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[1] Rubric omitted in B.

[2] *importunitates*] inopportunitates, A.

[3] *longius*] longe, B.

[4] *suorum*] eorum, A.

[5] *fame*] om. A. B.

[6] *et*] om. A. B.

A.D. 1191. August 30. The army approaches Cæsarea, and encamps on the river of Crocodiles, Nahr Zerka.

The fleet and army at Cæsarea. (Aug. 31.)

The army and fleet proceed. (Sept. 1. *Bohadin*, 189.)

Death of a great Emir.

summato maximo cum labore diei illius itinere, pervenit exercitus usque Cæsaream. Ibi prius fuerat gens Turcorum, et muros et turres ex parte diruerant, et villam quam maxime destruxerant: sed nostris appropiantibus aufugerant. Fixis ibidem tentoriis, pernoctabat gens nostra juxta fluvium civitati proximum, qui vocatur fluvius Cocodrillorum, eo quod cocodrilli duos milites devoraverant olim ibi balneantes. Civitatis Cæsareæ maximus ambitus et operosa ædificia mirandæ structuræ. Locum illum cum discipulis frequentans Christus olim divinis illustrabat virtutibus. Illuc mandavit rex naves suas ad exercitum venire. Interea quoque[1] fecit edictum in civitate Achonensi, jussu regio clamante præcone, ut gens adhuc ibi desidiosa commorans, ascensis navibus quas eo miserat, pro Dei amore veniret ad exercitum, et pro fidei Christianitatis exaltanda relligione, et voto peregrinationis plenius absolvendo. Ad regis mandatum quamplures venerunt Cæsaream cum classe regia, victualium copia sufficienter onerata, quam et disponebat processuram e regione progredientis exercitus. Coadunata[2] navium plurima multitudine, et armato exercitu, et ordinate per turmas disposito, quadam die circa horam tertiam, a Cæsarea processerunt gressu moderato, propter imminentes jugiter Turcos, qui singulis diebus, quando a stationibus promovebatur exercitus, irruebant quam propius audebant, quam poterant inferentes molestiam et gravamen. Ea itaque die, solito vehementius infestabant exercitum, sed adjuvante Deo exieramus indemnes, et ipsi unum eorum capite truncato nostris reliquerunt Admiralium, maximæ virum audaciæ, et probitatis eximiæ, et nominis famosi, qui tantarum prædicabatur virium fuisse, quod eum nunquam quisquam ab equo prævaleret dejicere, vel auderet ipsum saltem invadere: lanceam enim gestabat duabus nostris

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[1] *quoque*] om. B.

[2] *Coadunata*] Eo adunata,

A.D. 1191. Sept. 1. Lamentation over him.

The Crusaders advance to the Dead River (Nahr Akhdar), where they stay two nights.

grossiorem: cujus erat nomen Aias Estoy.[1] Super cujus ruina, tanto Turci afficiebantur mœrore et lamentatione, quod equorum suorum caudas amputabant, et illius Admiralii libenter, si licuisset, asportassent[2] cadaver. Verum nostri inde processerunt usque ad fluvium, quem vocabant Flumen Mortuum, quod et Saraceni ante nostrum adventum[3] cooperuerant, ne videretur, quatenus ex improviso nostri incidentes periclitarentur. Sed et ibi conservavit nos Deus, et ex eodem fluvio discooperto nostri biberunt, et duabus ibi noctibus commorati[4] sunt.

[CAPITULUM XV.]

Castra nostra a Flumine Mortuo, antequam perveniant[5] ad Flumen Salsum, a Turcis nimis affliguntur, perimentibus equos et homines nostros.

Sept. 3. The Crusaders advance from the Dead River to the Salt River (Nahr Abu Zabûra).

A Flumine Mortuo, tertia die, progrediebatur paulatim exercitus per terram devastatam, et omnibus bonis vacuam.[6] Ea die de necessitate per montana procedebat exercitus, quia per maritima graminibus obsita, propter luxuriantium herbarum copiam, viam carpere nequibat. Per turmas etiam solito densiores se cohibebat itinerans exercitus. Deducendæ extremæ legioni præfuerant Templarii, qui tot equos ea die, Turcis irruentibus a tergo, amiserunt quod fere desperati sunt. Comes nihilominus de Sancto Paulo quam

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[1] *Aias Estoy*] This hero is mentioned in the list of Saladin's chieftains, lib. I. c. v., as "dux Ayas de "Stoi." Bohadin (p. 191), who records his martyrdom, calls him "Yjaz tawil," Yjaz the tall, one of the sultan's Mamelukes, and adds that the fame of his heroism had filled both armies. Bohadin records also his burial, which would seem to show that the Turks recovered or ransomed the body.

[2] *asportassent*] asportarent, A.

[3] *nostrum adventum*] tr. B.

[4] *commorati*] morati, A. B.

[5] *perveniant*] perveniunt, A.

[6] *vacuam*] vacuatam, A. B.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 3. The Turks harass them on the march, and they lose many horses.

plurimos ibi perdidit equos: ipse vero tantæ fuit virtutis ut Turcis continue imminentibus se audacter opponeret,[1] et infatigabiliter vicissim incursantibus occurreret, quatenus ipso laborante,[2] cæteri tuti procederent. Inde nimiam ea die promeruit totius populi gratiam et laudis favorem. Rex Ricardus ea die pilo vulneratus est in latere, dum cædendo Turcos abigeret: verumtamen levi tactus[3] vulnere, potius incitabatur ad hostem aggrediendum, dum ex dolore[4] vulneris appeteret avidius talionem ultionis: unde tota die vehementius incessanter dimicans, Turcos repellebat potenter, jugiter incursantes. Turci quippe improbitate pertinaci grassantes, et[5] exercitui nostro progredienti collaterantes, quanta poterant nos afficere moliebantur injuria, pila mittentes, et sagittas imbrium more densissime volantes. Heu! quot ibi pilis equi transfixi defecerunt! quot graviter vulnerati non multo post mortui sunt: pilorum etiam[6] et sagittarum tantam ibi videres pluviam, ut nec ad[7] quatuor pedum spatium terram pilis jacentibus reperires vacuam, qua transibat exercitus. Tota die talis eis imminebat fastidiosa tempestas, quousque nocte superveniente Turci se retraherent ad tentoria et habitacula sua.

They arrive at the Salt River on the Tuesday after St. Giles's day, and stay two days, Sept. 3 and 4.

Gens quoque nostra juxta quandam aquam Fluvium Salsum dictam tentoria fixerunt, et pernoctabant. Proxima die Martis post festum Sancti Ægidii, eo venerunt, et biduo ibi morati sunt. Ibi facta est pressura non modica, super cadaveribus mortuorum equorum pinguium, qui vulneribus perierant: super quorum carnium emptione non facilis pretii plebs avida contendebat turbata,[8] usque ad percussiones. Quo rex audito, clamante præcone promulgandum proposuit, se cuilibet vivum equum daturum, qui suum mortuum distribueret probissimis servientibus, qui egebant. Sicque carnem comedebant equinam, quasi ferinam, quam, fame vice salsamentorum condiente, reputabant dulcissimam.

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[1] *opponeret*] apponeret, A.
[2] *laborante*] et, ins. A.
[3] *tactus*] ictus, B.
[4] *dolore*] labore, A.
[5] *et*] om. B.
[6] *etiam*] enim. A. B.
[7] *ad*] om. A.
[8] *turbata*] turba, A.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 3, 4. The army eat the dead horses.

[CAPITULUM XVI.]

Castra nostra a Flumine Salso per forestam de Arsur,[1] illæsa ad flumen Rochetailie[2] perveniunt.

Sept. 5. The Crusaders proceed from the Salt River, through the forest of Arsûf, to the river Rochetailie (Nahr Falaik), where they stay on the morrow, Sept. 6.

Die tertia, circa horam tertiam, a Flumine Salso per acies ordinatus procedebat exercitus; fama namque fuit Turcos eis[3] in insidiis sedere in foresta de Arsur,[4] qui sylvam ipsam dicebantur, igne supposito, succensuri ne transiret exercitus. Verum nostri seriatim procedentes per ipsam forestam, insidiarum dictarum loca transierunt indemnes. Quibus exeuntibus a sylva transmissa, grata occurrit planities, in qua fixis tentoriis pernoctabant, juxta flumen vulgo dictum Rochetailie.[5] Inde missi speculatores ad considerandum, renunciaverunt Turcorum exercitum, cujus non erat numerus, non procul inde adventum ipsorum expectare, qui[6] æstimabantur trecenta millia, qui operuerant circumquaque faciem universæ terræ: numerus vero Christianorum non[7] excedebat centum millia. Die Jovis ante Nativitatem Beatæ Mariæ, Christianorum exercitus ad flumen Rochetailie pervenit, et ibidem morabatur etiam[8] in crastino.

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[1] *Arsur*] Assur, A.

[2] *Rochetailie*] Rochetaillee, A.; om. B. It is not clear why our author gives this name to the river. The *Petra Incisa* of the Crusaders was north of this, at Districtum, or Athlit, between Haipha and Cæsarea. See William of Tyre (Bongars, i. 791). Oliverius Scholasticus (Eccard, ii. 1393), however, seems to call this river *flumen Districti.*

[3] *eis*] eos, C.

[4] *Arsur*] Assur, B.

[5] *Rochetailie*] Tailie Roche, A.; Rochetailleie, B.

[6] *qui*] quo, B.

[7] *non*] om. C.

[8] *etiam*] et, A.

[CAPITULUM XVII.]

Castra nostra a flumine Rochetailie[1] *versus Arsur,*[2] *prodeuntia, ordinant se ad bellandum versus Turcos, quos noverant se eadem die tota virtute impugnaturos.*

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

On the Eve of the Nativity of the Virgin, the Crusaders proceed in five divisions, from Rochetailie towards Arsûf.

Sabbato, scilicet Vigilia Nativitatis[3] Beatæ[4] Mariæ, summo diluculo armis suis attentius muniebantur universi, tanquam Turcos statim excepturi, quos jam cognoverant eorum transitum præoccupasse, nec sine prælio gravissimo Turcorum posse declinare proterviam; qui jam acies suas contra gentem nostram disponebant, semper paulatim appropiantes. Ideoque sollicite sibi providebant nostrorum universi, prudentissime dispositis totius exercitus ordinibus. Rex nimirum Ricardus, rerum bellicarum peritissimus, acies per turmas præordinavit,[5] quis primo, vel quis extremo præficeretur aptius agmini deducendo. Duodecim itaque constituit turmas, divisis proportionaliter ordinibus per acies quinque, coaptatis disciplina militari distinctionibus virorum quidem bellicosissimorum, quibus in præliorum negotiis nusquam sub cœlo invenirentur efficaciores, si tamen corda eorum firmissime fuissent in Deo confidentia, quod universorum quidem est provectio bonorum. Eo die exercitus ordini primo regendo præfuerunt Templarii: post ipsos seriatim ordine suo progrediebantur Britones et Andegavenses: post hos ordine tertio rex Guido cum Pictavensibus, ordine quarto Normanni et Angli regio vexillo deputati portando: extremi procedunt ordinati Hospitalarii. Ipsa quidem acies extrema ex electa fuit constituta militia,

The Templars in the van, the Bretons and Angevins next, then the Poictevins, then the Normans and English, the Hospitallers in the rear.

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[1] *Rochetailie*] Rochetaillee, A.; Rochetaille, B.

[2] *Arsur*] Asur, B

[3] *Nativitatis*] om. B.

[4] *Beatæ*] Sanctæ, B.

[5] *præordinavit*] ordinavit,

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

Our army reaches from the Saracen army to the sea shore.

distincta per turmas ordinate partita, densissimis ita[1] sibi cohærens agminibus, quod pomum projectum in terram non caderet, nisi contingens homines vel equos;[2] et ab exercitu Saracenorum protendebatur exercitus noster usque ad littora maris. Ibi videres distinctiones aptissimas, diversi schematis vexilla, et signa multiformia, gentem quoque robustissimam,[3] vegetam, animosam, bellis aptissimam. Ibi fuit comes Legecestriæ, Hugo de Gurnay, Willelmus de Borriz, Walkelinus de Ferrariis, Rogerus de Tony,[4] Jacobus de Avennis, comes Robertus de Druellis,[5] et episcopus Belvacensis frater ejus, Willelmus de Barris, Willelmus de Garlanda, Drogo de Merlo et consanguinei ejus plurimi.

Count Henry of Champagne with the light infantry and archers on the exposed flank: the baggage between the army and the shore.

Comes Henricus Campaniæ custodias agebat a parte montana,[6] semper observans a latere: satellites quoque pedites; omnium extremi sagittarii et balistarii ordinabantur, extremitatem exercitus concludentes: veredarii et bigæ, cum sarcinis victualia portantes, et alias res,[7] inter exercitum et mare itinerabant, ne forte invaderentur ab hostibus. Ita se agebat exercitus sensim progrediens et paulatim, ne forte disgregarentur; quia minus cohærentes acies ordinatæ, minus ad resistendum valerent. Rex Ricardus et dux Burgundiæ cum sequela militum electa, hinc inde oberrantes, undique observabant a dextris et a[8] sinistris, sollicitius Turcorum perpendentes habitudinem et statum, ut juxta quod viderent[9] expedire producendum castigarent[10] exercitum. Ipsorum quippe pernecessaria fuit diligentia.

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[1] *ita*] itaque, A.

[2] *equos*] equum, A.

[3] *robustissimam*] robustam, B.

[4] *Tony*] Toony, A.; Tooni, B.

[5] *Druellis*] Droellis, C.

[6] *a parte montana*] om. C.

[7] *alias res*] tr. A. B.

[8] *a*] om. A.

[9] *viderent*] viderentur, C.

[10] *castigarent*] congregarent, B.

[CAPITULUM XVIII.]

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

Nostri tanta perpessi sunt mala a Turcis, in eos undique et maxime a tergo continue irruentibus, vulnerantibus, prosternentibus, ut pondere belli et desperatione defecissent, nisi simul et retrogradi processissent, et gratia Dei affuisset.

The Turkish army approaches about nine o'clock: first ten thousand light armed, then Negroes, then Bedouins.

Instante jam hora diei quasi tertia, ecce, Turcorum nimia multitudo, quasi decem millia, impetu rapido ingruentes in nostros, certatim pila jaciebant, et mittebant sagittas, confusis vocibus horrendum perstrepentes. Post hos accurrebat gens larvalis, colore nigerrimo, qui[1] etiam non inconvenienter ex re nomen habent, quia sicut sunt nigri, vocantur Nigreduli. Saraceni quoque commanentes in solitudine, vulgo dicti Bedewini, horridi, fuligine obscuriores, pedites improbissimi, arcus gestantes cum pharetris, et ancylia rotunda; gens quidem acerrima et expedita. Hi inflexibiliter nostro jugiter imminebant exercitui. Extra memoratos per campestria videres accedentium Turcorum competentius[2] procuratas phalangas, tot signa lanceis connexa,[3] tot vexilla, tot banerias particulatim variatas, tot acies per turmas aptissime distinctas, per catervas turmis dispositis, qui ad æstimationem excedere videbantur viginti millia Turcorum armatorum, seriatim accedentium. Qui impetu indeclinabili,[4] velocioribus aquilis equis, more fulminum adactis, in nostros irruebant; a quorum cursu rapidissimo turbato vehementius pulvere, aer tenebrosa obducebatur caligine. Ante faciem Admiralium[5] quidam ad hoc deputati præibant, tubis clangentes et lituis;[6] alii tenebant buccinas, alii

Description of the Turkish onset.

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[1] *qui*] quæ, A. B.
[2] *competentius*] competentium, C.
[3] *connexa*] connixa, B.
[4] *indeclinabili*] declinabili, B.
[5] *Admiralium*] Admiralii, A.
[6] *lituis*] buccinis, B.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7. The Turks attack with great clamour.

tibias,[1] tympana, sistra vel cymbala, alii alia ad clangendum instrumenta, qui huic tantum deputabantur exercitio, ad ciendos[2] clamores et ululatus horrisonos. A quorum vocibus asperrimis et frementibus[3] clangoribus, echo[4] resonat undique terra, ut nec audirentur tonitruorum fragores a tumultuantium vehementia tubarum, et clangentium buccinarum; nam id fieri instituerant[5] ad excitandam animositatem et audaciam; quanto enim clangor fuerit vehementior, tanto fit ad certamen animus fortior. Sicque[6] undique et a parte maris et terræ solidioris, Turci nefandi nostro ingruebant exercitui, ut nec a duobus circumquaque milliariis quicquam spatii, vel quantum pugno comprehenderetur, visui pateret nisi gens inimica Turcorum. O quam pertinaciter ingruebant, et obstinatos continuabant insultus, ut gravissimis nostros afficerent dispendiis, transfodiendo pilis et sagittis equos nostros, quorum permaxima facta est ruina. O quam necessarii fuerunt ea die validissimi balistarii, et sagittarii, satellites rigidissimi, qui concludentes extremitatem exercitus, continuis pilorum jactibus, in quantum dabatur, Turcorum retundebant pertinaciam. In quos non multo post, more aquarum inundantium, tanta fortitudine irruentes imminebant adversarii, ictus exaggerantes, immani debacchabantur feritate, ut pondus calamitatis et miseriæ sustinere non valentes, plurimi balistariorum nostrorum, abjectis arcubus et balistis, ne forte excluderentur infra densitatem exercitus se ingerebant, metu quippe mortis intolerabilibus cedebant injuriis. Audaciores vero et virtute præstantiores, quos vel verecundia cedere vetuit, vel mens conscia coronæ roboravit,[7] in agone perseverantes tanta dimicaverunt

They cover two miles of ground, closely packed.

The archers and arbalisters try to repel the attack of the Turks, but some are put to flight.

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[1] *tibias*] et, ins. A.
[2] *ciendos*] ejiciendos, B.
[3] *frementibus*] ferventibus, B.
[4] *echo*] ecce, A.; ecco, B. C.
[5] *instituerant*] instituerent, C.
[6] *Sicque*] Sic, B.
[7] *roboravit*] ut, ins. A.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

They march backwards, with their faces towards the enemy.

constantia, et infatigabili contendebant virtute, ut versa facie in[1] imminentes a tergo Turcos obtundendos,[2] tanquam cedentes ambularent retrogradi in tergum, ne forte minus provide sibi præcaverent aversi. Tota quidem illa die, quia Turci imminebant a tergo, apud eos versa facie itinere præpostero potius viam carpendo quam eundo, proficiebant. O quantæ diei illius angustiæ! quam amara tribulatio! ubi etiam in constantiores[3] irruerunt[4] timores solliciti, ubi non erat tantæ quisquam confidentiæ vel magnanimitatis eximiæ, cujus non fuerit,[5] illius temporis articulo, in optione potius, consummata peregrinatione, in patriam redisse, quam in illius ambigui prælii casibus corde pavitanti perstitisse. Tanta nimirum gens modica obsidebatur undique Saracenorum multitudine, quod nusquam, etiamsi tentaretur, fuga pateret, nec tot resistere virtus suppeditare videretur: immo, tanquam intra fauces luporum grex ovium dissipandus, ita conclusi, circa se nihil præter cœlum conspicerent, et inimicos ex omni parte improbissimos. Domine Deus![6] quæ mens tunc fuerit gregi Christi pusillo, tanta angustiato perplexitate, quem tanquam cribrandum tam pertinaciter oppresserunt hostes, tanta urgentes ingruentia? Quis[7] tam immanes unquam[8] sustinuit exactores? Quis consimili contritus est penuria? Ibi videres milites nostros, equis dextrariis amissis, cum peditibus pedites ambulare, et vel balistis missilia, vel arcubus emittere sagittas in hostes, et prout facultas suppetebat et virtus, vicem reddere pro vice. Turci siquidem, quorum est studium se jugiter arte sagittaria exercere, et balistis, sine cessatione insistunt: tela pluunt, volant[9] sagittæ, stridet aer;

In how great straits the rear guard was.

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[1] *in*] om. A.

[2] *obtundendos*] obtundentes, A.

[3] *constantiores*] inconstantiores, A.

[4] *irruerunt*] irruerant, A.

[5] *fuerit*] fiunt, B.

[6] *Deus*] Jesu, B.

[7] *Quis . . . . exactores*] om. A.

[8] *unquam*] nunquam, B.

[9] *volant*] volantes, B.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

The Turks had nearly crushed the division of the Hospitallers, who propose to Richard that they should charge them on horseback. Richard forbids it.

solis fulgor tanquam tempore brumali grandinum densitate vel nivium, ita missilium nigrescit multitudine: transfodiuntur equi mucrone pilorum et sagittarum, quarum copia cooperiebatur circumquaque terræ superficies, ut si quis vellet colligere, numerum ad minus viginti unico raptu compleret. Turci tam fortiter imminebant, quod propemodum turmas ordinum Hospitalariorum[1] contriverant; unde significaverunt regi Ricardo se non posse ulterius impetum vehementem inimicorum sustinere, nisi milites equis admissis ipsos invaderent.

At rex id fieri dissuadet, adhuc patienter
Agmine densato se cohibere monet.

Perdurant igitur, sed vix in tanti mole periculi, et miserandam tolerantes angustiam; jugiter suspirant, quibus non licuit respirare. Verumtamen sic carpendo viam proficiebant. Cæterum, illa die fuerat permaximus æstus, unde duplici laborabant molestia, temporis fervore et hostium infestatione. Sudant igitur in agone jam probati Christi martyres; quos qui perpenderet in arcto positos, sic indurantes pondus diei et æstus * et pressuram gentium perniciosissime imminentium, et pertinaciter grassantium, et sese cohortantium in exitium Christianorum, non immerito posset animo vacillare, et ex desperatione et ambigua trepidatione, augurare sinistra de paucula gente nostra, a tanta sic conclusa multitudine. Quinimmo, malleatorum supra dorsa procedentium fabricaverunt † prævaricatores, ut non jam sagittis eminus uterentur et pilis, verum etiam propius accedentes lanceis perpungerent, et clavis gravissimis contunderent, et gladiis cominus strictis impeterent, et super armorum duritiam resultu, tanquam super incudem, innumera re-

* S. Matt. xx. 12.

† Psalm cxxix. 3.

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[1] *Hospitalariorum*] Hospitalarium, B.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

The Hospitallers forbidden to charge the Turks, are driven in upon the division before them.

sonant flagella Turcorum contundentium. Æstuant angariati quibus non dabatur requies. Ingravatum est prælium in extremam aciem[1] Hospitalariorum, eo gravius quo repugnare non licuit, injuriati patienter procedunt, clavis contriti silent, flagellati non repercutiunt, cedunt loco non valentes tanti molem sufferre discriminis, et ex imminentis metu mortis ordine confuso incedentium,[2] furori[3] cedentes[4] in anteriorem se cuneum ingerunt; fugiunt imminentes[5] a tergo Turcos effrænato crudescentes furore. Quis nimirum assiduum, immo continuum sustineret, non repercutiens, assultum talium etiam et tantorum imminentium inimicorum? Totius virtus paganismi concurrerat a Damasco et Perside; a mari mediterraneo usque ad orientem, non resederat vel in extremis terrarum recessibus vir famosus vel præpotens, populus virtutis, gens audax bellicis exercitiis probata, vel cujuscunque strenuitatis, quam Salahadinus non exciverit in auxilium prece vel pretio, vel ditionis subjectione ad conterendam gentem Christianorum, quam tunc funditus de super terram delere speraverat, sed frustra; non enim, opitulante Deo, ad effectum sufficiebant votum deducere. Flos enim juventutis egregiæ Christianitatis, et militia probata eo confluxerat, et tanquam granorum simila ab aristis exserta,[6] ab extremis finibus terræ, tunc temporis ibi fuit coadunata, quam si quis ad internecionem conterendo dissipasset, proculdubio non superesset in mundo qui de cætero usquequaque[7] resisteret.

The flower of Christendom and Paganism present in the two armies.

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[1] *aciem*] autem, B.

[2] *incedentium*] cedentium, A. B.

[3] *furori*] furor, B.

[4] *cedentes*] incedentes, A. B.; corrected to *cedentes* in A.

[5] *fugiunt imminentes*] om. B.

[6] *exserta*] exercta, A.

[7] *usquequaque*] usquam, A.

[Capitulum XIX.]

Item de eadem pugna, et de mirabili Christianorum victoria.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

Battle of Arsûf.

Obducto nubilo pulveris aere, æstuabant itinerantes, et insuper fervore temporis: quibus, ut dictum est, imminebat a tergo gens ferocissima, fastu insolens, instigante dæmone pervicax: populus nihilominus Christianus probissimus, et constanti libertate securus, semper paulatim progrediendo proficiens; quos incessanter fustigando minabant a tergo; verumtamen resiliebant ictus ab armorum munimine. Hinc se Turci ingemiscunt parum circa[1] votum proficere, et suos impetus frustrari invidioso immurmurant susurro:[2] hinc et perniciosiori furentes[3] immanitate, gentem nostram appellant ferream, nulli cessuram injuriæ. Tandem turbatim irrunt subito Turcorum plus quam viginti millia; cominus clavis malleantes, et gladiis: in Hospitalarios congeminant ictus, contundunt, affligunt, et variis urgent conatibus: cum, ecce! propemodum pene victus immanitate, unus eorum, frater Garnerius de Napes[4] nomine, exclamavit voce magna dicens, "Sancte Georgi, miles egregie, numquid nos sic confun-"dendos relinquis?[5] Nunc perit[6] Christianitas, quia "contra hanc gentem nefandam non repugnat." Ad hæc Magister Hospitalis, regem adiens, ait illi; "Do-"mine rex, vehementer infestamur, infamia perpetua "denotandi, quasi repercutere non audentes: quisque "nostrum suam gratis amittit vecturam, et quid ulte-"rius sustinebimus?" Cui rex, "Bone magister," ait, "sustinendum quidem est,[7] esse nemo[8] potest ubique."

Intolerable pressure of the Turks on the ranks of the Hospitallers.

The Master of the Hospital entreats the king to let them charge.

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[1] *circa*] extra, A.; citra, B.

[2] *susurro*] susurrio, A.

[3] *furentes*] furantes, C.

[4] *Napes*] Rapes, B. See note on Lib. v., c. 51.

[5] *relinquis*] relinquas, A.

[6] *perit*] petit, B.

[7] *quidem est*] tr. B.

[8] *esse nemo*] tr. B.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

Murmurs of the knights.

Redeunte Magistro, instant Turci ferocissime cædentes a tergo, ubi non erat princeps, vel comes, qui maximo non erubesceret pudore, dicentes ad invicem, "Utquid equos non laxamus ad cursum? Heu! Heu![1] "in perpetuum merito timidæ redarguemur inertiæ; "quibus unquam simile contigit? Nunquam per incredulos tanto exercitui tanta denotandum infamia contigit opprobrium; nisi citius nos defendentes irruamus in ipsos, scandalum sempiternum erit nobis, "tanto quidem magis, quanto longior intervenerit "dilatio concertandi." O quam cæca sors humana! quam lubricis vacillans articulis! Heu! quam ambiguis volvitur rotis, et ancipiti cursus humanos explicat successu. Inæstimabilis quidem Turcorum multitudo periisset, si juxta quod fuerat communiter prælocutum,[2] observato ordine rei negotium processisset. Verum peccatis, ut creditur,[3] exigentibus, currente rota,* amphora quæ instituebatur, interveniente errore confusionis, exibat urceolus. Nam dum nostri tractarent ad invicem, et in unam denique convenissent sententiam de committenda in hostes incursione, per duos milites moræ impatientes, confusa sunt omnia. Fuit quippe communi procuratum decreto, ut sex tubæ sonarent in exercitu, tribus in locis, quando versus Turcos congrederentur, videlicet, duæ tubæ ante exercitum et duæ post exercitum, duæ quoque in medio exercitu, ad distinguendam notitiam Christianorum a Saracenis, et certificandam utrorumque in congressu distantiam. Quod si ita fuisset observatum, universi illi Turci fuissent intercepti et confusi; prædictorum vero militum nimia properatio,[4] universitatis non observato decreto, cedebat in detrimentum successui communis negotii. Ipsi nimirum primi proruperunt ab ordine, equis admissis Turcos invadentes, quorum singuli singulos prostra-

* Horace, *de Arte Poetica*, 21.

The impatience of two knights renders useless the plan of the king, by which a total defeat of the Turks would have been secured.

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[1] *Heu! Heu!*] Heheu, B.

[2] *prælocutum*] prolocutum, C.

[3] *ut creditur*] om. B.

[4] *properatio*] præparatio,

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

The Marshall of the Hospital and Baldwin de Carro charge the Turks, and are followed by the rest of the knights.

The rear guard having begun the charge, the order of march is reversed in battle.

The leaders of the van hasten to the rear.

verunt Turcos lanceis transfossos. Unus eorum erat miles quidem Marescallus Hospitalis; alter autem erat Baldewinus de Carro[1] nomine, miles peroptimus et ut leo confidens, sodalis regis Ricardi, quem a terra sua eo usque comitem adduxerat. Hos duos prædictos audacter in Turcos irruentes, cæteri Christianorum, cum attendissent clara[2] voce Sancti Georgii auxilium invocantes, regyratis equis in nomine Salvatoris Christi, illos duos sequentes, impetum fecerunt unanimiter in hostes se pertinaciter impetentes. Nec mora, spatio correpto, Hospitalarii, qui ea die equitaverant seriatim, plurimum gravati cum cuneis suis, prædictos duos sequentes, viriliter irruerunt in hostes. Sicque singulæ turmæ secundum ordines constitutos, retroactis equis, ferebantur in hostes, videlicet ut qui fuerant primi in exercitu in itinere carpendo, moverentur[3] extremi juxta situm dispositionis hostes impetendo: unde primi congressi sunt Hospitalarii, qui fuerant ordinati in exercitu extremi. Prorupit quoque comes Campaniæ cum turma sua electa, Jacobus etiam de Avennis cum consanguineis suis, Robertus etiam comes Druensis, et episcopus Belvacensis frater ejus, comes quoque Legecestriæ cursu ferebatur ferventiori versus maritima a parte sinistra. Quid singuli nominentur? Impetuose simul omnes progressi sunt, qui fuerant in extrema primum acie ordinati. Post prædictos itaque proruerunt citissimi Pictavenses simul et Britones et Andegavenses, et alii similiter universi cum turmis suis, quorum singuli tantæ fuerant virtutis et audaciæ, ut Turcorum singulos obviantes fortiter exciperent et ab equis lanceis transfixos dejicerent.[4] In illa mutuæ congressionis conturbatione, excitato pulvere nigrescebat aer. Universi Turci, qui de industria ab equis descenderant, ut pila et sagittas expeditius in nostros

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[1] *Carro*] Carreo, A.

[2] *clara*] data, B.

[3] *moverentur*] moventur, A.

[4] *dejicerent*] ducerent,

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

A general battle now takes place; Richard hastens to the help of the Hospitallers.

dirigerent, in illo congressu militantium sine mora decapitati sunt: ipsos enim a militibus prostratos decollaverunt pedites nostri. Rex Ricardus, ut conturbatum vidit exercitum, et cum Turcis congressum, equo calcaribus acto, ocius advolat, nec prius a cursu temperavit, quam pertransisset Hospitalarios primitus congressos, quibus opem cum sequela sua laturus, se fulminans a dextris perniciter ingessit in Turcorum peditum turbam improbissimam, ob ejus ictus et suorum vehementer obstupescentium, quos cogebantur experiri. Cadebant enim ab eo a dextris et a sinistris. O quot ibi subito viderentur,[1] passim equis sessoribus evacuatis, globatim prosterni, hi gemebundi[2] casus asperos conqueri, illi extremum trahentes spiritum in proprio cruore volutari, quamplurimi quoque truncati exanimes a prætereuntibus sine respectu conculcari. O quam multum distans, et dissimilis quorumcunque[3] contemplatio claustralium juxta columnas meditantium, horrendo illi exercitio militantium![4] Ibi rex Ricardus,[5] singularis, ferus, Turcos insectatur, invadit, passim prosternit; cujus gladium non fuit qui ab eo tactus effugeret. Ipse enim, quacunque se[6] ageret, viam undique late patentem vibrans gladium effecit. Qui cum infatigabiliter progrediendo continuatis gladii percussionibus nefandam gentem, velut quis falce messem metendo, contereret, cæteri morientium exemplo turbati, viam cedebant ampliorem: dimidii quidem[7] spatium milliarii Turcorum undique occupaverant occisorum cadavera super faciem terræ jacentia. Turci denique prosternuntur; a sessoribus sellæ evacuantur; et[8] concertantium commixtione

Prowess of Richard.

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[1] *subito viderentur*] tr. B.

[2] *hi gemebundi*] his gemebundis; A. B.

[3] *quorumcunque*] quæcunque, A.

[4] *militantium*] meditantium, C.

[5] *Ricardus*] rex, A.

[6] *se*] gereret vel, ins. A.

[7] *quidem*] quippe, A. B.

[8] *et*] a, B.

pulvis evolat, nostris plurimum perniciosus. Nam cum ab occisione fatigati, tanquam auram captaturi,[1] a turbæ densitate forte secederent, non se poterant recognoscere, præ tanti pulveris nubilo super capita imminentis; verum tunc percutiebant indifferenter a dextris et a sinistris, ut, qui suorum visu mediante non habebant notitiam, universos trucidarent ut inimicos, quos præpediente pulvere ignorabant amicos. Constanter cædendo gladiis malleant Christiani, expavescentes contabescunt Turci, diutius ambigua pugna conseritur: mutuos dant ictus, vincere contendunt utrique, hi cruentati retrocedunt, illi cæsi in mortem corruunt. O quot ibi videres in terram decidere banerias, et vexilla multiformia, penuncellos et signa innumera, tot probatos gladios sparsim jacentes, tot lanceas ex canna ferrata cuspide, tot arcus Turkenses,[2] tot clavas præacutis dentibus horrentes: tot possent per agros colligi quarelli pilaque, et cum sagittis missilia, ad conficiendas viginti vel eo amplius bigarum sarcinas: tot ibi viderentur detruncati jacere Turci barbati, quorum quidam aliquamdiu ex desperatione animosiores contendebant resistere, donec nostris invalescentibus, alii equis discussi inter frutecta se occuluerunt, alii arbores subierunt, a quibus sagittati horrisono gemitu moribundi corruerunt, alii gratis equos deserentes, lubricis amfractibus fugituri versus mare elabuntur, et sese dederunt præcipites in profundum a maris promontoriis,[3] quasi quinque perticas habentibus[4] altitudinis. Eximie quidem repellebatur illa gens inimica, ita quod infra duo milliaria non videretur nisi gens tantum fugitiva, quæ prius exstiterat tam pertinax, et fastu tumida, et ferocissima: sed auxiliante Deo, sic periit eorum arrogantia, qui

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7.

The clouds of dust confound friends and foes.

Terrible rout and slaughter of the Turks.

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[1] *captaturi*] capturi, B.
[2] *Turkenses*] Turchenses, B.
[3] *promontoriis*] promunctoriis, MSS.
[4] *habentibus*] habentis, B.

A.D. 1191. Sept. 7. nec etiam cessaverunt fugere, nostris etiam a persequendo cessantibus: fugientium quidem,

Virgil, *Æneid*, viii. 24.

> "pedibus timor addidit alas." *

Quin immo totus noster exercitus distinctus per ordines in Turcos irruerat. Normanni quoque et Angli, ad observandum standardum præelecti,[1] moderatis[2] passibus paulatim appropiaverunt exercitui cum Turcis congredienti, non procul a certamine subsistentes, ut ad eos certum omnes haberent confugium: difficillime quippe virtus eorum dissiparetur. Peracta cæde, nostri substiterunt, fugientibus Turcis. Nostros igitur regredientes cum attendissent Turci, vires resumentes,[3] sine mora plusquam viginti millia insequentes, irruunt in eos, qui regrediuntur extremi, gestantes clavas gravissimas in manibus, ut quos nostri prostraverant, liberarent a manibus eorum. O quam dirissime videres ibi nostros flagellatos, in quos etiam recedentes pila mittebant et sagittas! Equitum nostrorum clavis conquassabant capita, brachia, cæteraque[4] membra, ut gravibus cedentes tunsionibus, super sellarum inclinarent antellas[5] stupidi; sed ocius recuperato spiritu, et viribus resumptis, tanto acrius, velut leæna raptis[6] catulis, sitientes ultionem, ferebantur in hostes,[7] et eosdem velut retia disrumpentes pertransibant. Ibi videres sellas retorqueri, Turcos prius fugientes reverti, quorum instantia gens nostra adeo vehementer premebatur, ut nec per unius jactum sagittæ itinerando proficeret indemnis, nisi firmius cohærens perstitisset immobilis. Turcorum illi multitudini præerat Admiralius, nomine Tekedinus,[8] consanguineus Salahadini, habens baneriam insignitam miro genere distinctionis, scilicet incisarum schemate braccarum: hæc pro vexillo

When our men return to the order of march, the Turks recover their spirits and renew the attack.

The Banner of Takieddin.

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[1] *standardum præelecti*] tr. B.
[2] *moderatis*] moderatibus, A.
[3] *vires resumentes*] om. B.
[4] *cæteraque*] cætera, A.
[5] *antellas*] antellis, A.
[6] *raptis*] capitis, C.
[7] *hostes*] hostem, C.
[8] *Tekedinus*] Takedinus, B.

A.D. 1191. September 7. Battle of Arsûf.

gerebatur suis notissimo. Ipse idem Tekedinus[1] Christicolas odio pertinaci sævissime semper persequebatur: hic addictos sibi de familiaribus ipsius Salahadini secum habebat[2] plusquam septingentos[3] Turcos electos et robustissimos, quorum singulæ turmæ croceam in ordine suo præferebant baneriam, cum penuncello[4] alterius tincturæ. Hi magno impetu advenientes, cum fremitu[5] et fastu nimio gentem nostram ab eis versus standardum divertentem invaserunt cædentes, et hastilibus arundineis perpungentes, et atrociter in tantum affligentes, ut nostratum[6] etiam præcipuorum, ab ingruentium mole, vacillaret constantia. Nostri perstant immoti; necessario[7] vim vi repellentes: confligunt acerrime; congeminant ictus, fervet bellum: hi conterere, illi elaborant repellere: vires exserunt; pari certant studio vincendi, et licet nostri numero paucissimi se multo majorem adversariorum affecerunt multitudinem, nec tamen[8] illa nostri pars exercitus, quæ sic illo desudabat in certamine, poterat de facili ad nostrum standardum reverti, propter tantam hostium multitudinem graviter opprimentium; a quorum immanitate nostrates jam vacillabant conclusi, quorum pauci quidem in hostes ausi sunt reverti. Turci nimirum furore debacchantes vehementi,[9] inæstimabili nostros affecerunt instantia, contundentes clavis et gladiis galeatos,[10] ubertim sanguine fluido a conquassatione stillante. Quos demum attendens jam titubantes, jam deficientes, Willelmus de Barris, miles egregius, agmine disrupto, præceps cum suis ferebatur in hostes, quos tanta statim affecit instantia, quod quibusdam in ore gladii ejus corruentibus, cæteri trepidi fugerent a facie ejus. Rex

The struggle is renewed.

Our men being distressed and surrounded are rescued by William des Barres.

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[1] *Tekedinus*] Tekadinus, B.

[2] *habebat*] agebat, A. B.

[3] *septingentos*] septies centum, B.

[4] *penuncello*] penuncellis, A.

[5] *fremitu*] impetu et, ins. B.

[6] *nostratum*] nostrarum, B.

[7] *necessario*] necessaria, A.

[8] *tamen*] tam, B.

[9] *debacchantes vehementi*] tr. A. B.

[10] *galeatos*] galeatis, B.

A.D. 1191. September 7.

King Richard, with a chosen band, attacks the Turks on the side of the hills.

nihilominus, equo favello Cyprio[1] sedens, cujus non erat similis, versus montana prosiluit cum electo agmine suo, et quoscunque Turcorum dissipavit obvios; et undique cadebant ab eo, tinnientibus galeis, et prodeuntibus a ferri collisione scintillis. Tanta quidem ea die vehementia concitabatur in Turcos, lethales multiplicans ictus, ut ab ejus importabili congressu in brevi hostes universi diverterent, et exercitui nostro progressum cederent. Sic et[2] in parte nostri lacerati ad standardum denique perveniunt, et iterum per acies ordinati, processerunt seriatim usque ad Arsur, et extra oppidum fixere tentoria. Quibus dum intenderent figendis,[3] ecce! Turcorum cuneus maximus invasit extremitatem exercitus nostri. Audiens autem rex Ricardus vociferationem congredientium,[4] suam gentem exhortans ad pugnam, reflexis loris rapido cursu cum quindecim tantum sociis, audacter hostes aggrediens, exclamavit voce magna, dicens, "Adjuva nos, Deus et "Sanctum Sepulcrum;" et sic exclamavit secundo et tertio. Cujus vocem cum cæteri suorum audissent, festinanter secuti sunt eum, et Turcos invaserunt, et statim dispersos et diffugientes usque ad sylvam[5] Arsuri, ex qua prius exierant, jugiter cædendo et prosternendo fugaverunt. Ibi etiam Turcorum quam plurimi corruerant. Reversus est[6] denique rex cum suis ad castra a cæde fugientium Turcorum. Post tantam vexationem fatigati illa nocte quieverunt.[7] Quisquis avidus lucri prædas hostium voluisset colligere, rediit in locum certaminis, et sufficienter onustus pro voluntate sibi placentia diripuit.[8] Referebant etiam qui postea eo redierant,[9] se numerasse Turcorum Admiralios

Our men now regain the standard and encamp outside Arsûf. The Turks attack them while encamping, but are repulsed by Richard.

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[1] *Cyprio*] Cypri, A.

[2] *et*] om. A. B.

[3] *figendis*] fingendis, C.

[4] *congredientium*] congrediendum, B.

[5] *sylvam*] om. A.

[6] *est*] om. A. B.

[7] *quieverunt*] quieverant, A.

[8] *diripuit*] disrupit, C.; disripu B.

[9] *redierant*] redierunt, B.

repertos occisos ea die triginta duos, quos fuisse perpendebant viros maximæ auctoritatis atque potentiæ, ex armatura nobiliori, et apparatu[1] pretiosiori; quos et Turci postea quæsierunt asportandos, quia reputabantur digniores. Præter quos etiam secundum æstimationem, septem millia Turcorum lacerata cadavera cæsa retulerunt, exceptis vulneratis, qui divertentes a certamine sparsim, postquam defecerant, jacuere per arva defuncti. Nostrorum autem, Deo protegente, non ceciderant[2] in bello Turcorum comparatione saltem pars decima, vel etiam decima decimæ. O gravis illa dies! O militia probata! quia multæ sunt tribulationes justorum.* O funesta calamitas, et amara miseria! quantam putabimus peccatorum rubiginem, hujus igne tribulationis ad purum excoqui! Si tamen pia longanimitate, abdicato murmure mentis, instantem necessitatem certassent evincere, afflictorum altior est sensus.

A.D. 1191. September 7. Thirty-two emirs found among the slain, and seven thousand Turks.

* Psalm xxxiv. 19.

[CAPITULUM XX.]

In prædicta pugna occiditur Jacobus de Avennis, miles mirabilis.[3]

Heroic death of James of Avesnes.

Sed[4] Jacobo de Avennis plurimum quidem est[5] dolendum, quem Turcorum illa prædicta multitudo oppresserat: cujus equus casu acerbissimo, dum in ipso funesto congressu fortissime dimicaret, corruit in terram et ipsum sessorem solo tenus prostravit: quem Turci globatim circumdantes,[6] post multos sudores oppresserunt. Ipse vero, referentibus iis qui corpus ejus quæsitum missi reportaverunt,[7] antequam prorsus

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[1] *apparatu*] armatura, B.

[2] *ceciderant*] occiderunt, A.

[3] *mirabilis*] admirandus, A.

[4] *Sed*] et, ins. B.

[5] *est*] om. A. B.

[6] *circumdantes*] contundentes, B.

[7] *reportaverunt*] quod, ins. A. B.

A.D. 1191. September 7. deficeret, ferme quindecim Turcos detruncaverat,[1] qui circa ipsum reperti sunt[2] jacentes occisi. Tres cum eo consanguinei ejus reperti sunt occisi, quibus[3] quidam ex nostris ibi præsentes debitum non præstiterant auxilium, qui ipsos,[4] proh nefas! in agone deseruerant reluctantes[5] contra Turcos irruentes.[6] Unde super hoc non immerito detestandæ notam infamiæ comes Druensis, cum iis qui cum eo ibi[7] fuerant, postmodum incurrit. O quam varii belli casus! quanti gemitus et suspiria ea nocte fuerunt[8] in exercitu, pro absentia illius Jacobi de Avennis, Jacobi militis præstantissimi, bellatoris inclyti, quem quia non respiciunt cum cæteris præsentem, præsagiunt occisum. Ipse enim cum familiaribus suis non comparuit, unde totus conturbatur exercitus, et super incompensabili[9] obstupescit infortunio. Sabbato proximo ante Nativitatem Beatæ Mariæ fuerat illa prædicta pugna commissa, et Dominica sequenti, hoc est ipsa die Nativitatis Beatæ Virginis, decretum est corpus prædicti nobilissimi quæritandum, ut sepeliretur. Armantur igitur Hospitalarii et militia Templi, quamplures secum ducentes Turcopolos validissimos: cum quibus nihilominus alii plurimi perrexerunt. Qui, cum in locum certaminis pervenissent, sollicite quæsitum, corpus ultimo repererunt, concreto sanguine oblita[10] facie, quod vix nisi prius aqua lotum cognoverunt, quia sanguine cruentatum et ex vulneribus tumidum erat, et viventi dissimile plurimum. Corpus igitur decenter involutum detulerunt secum ad Arsur redeuntes. Ibi videre fuit maximam militum multitudinem, contra corpus prosequendum procedentium. Super morte tanti viri

Three of his kinsmen are found slain by his side.

Lamentation for the hero.

September 8.

Search is made for the body, which is found covered with wounds.

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[1] *detruncaverat*] detruncaverit, B.

[2] *sunt*] om. C.

[3] *Tres . . . quibus*] om. B., which for *quibus* reads *cui*.

[4] *ipsos . . . reluctantes*] ipsum . . . reluctantem, B.

[5] *reluctantes*] et, ins. B.

[6] *irruentes*] irruentem, B.

[7] *ibi*] om. B.

[8] *fuerunt*] fiunt, B.

[9] *incompensabili*] incomparabili, A.

[10] *oblita*] oblata, C.

A.D. 1191. September 8. He is buried at Arsûf, in S. Mary's Church, on the feast of her Nativity.

lamentabantur universi, rememorantes ejus probitatem et largitatem, et eundem ornatum plurimarum dote virtutum. Rex Ricardus et rex Guido ejus astiterunt sepulturæ: pro cujus anima Missa solemniter celebrata cum oblatione non modica in ecclesia[1] ipsius Reginæ cœli, Dominæ nostræ, cujus dies nativitatis tunc erat. Post missam exsequiis rite celebratis, corpus viri nobiles suscipientes in ulnis deposuerunt in fossa, humo diligenter intumulandum, ubi cuncti ululantes et flentes lamentabantur propter ipsum. Expleta sepultura, clerus instantis diei solemnitatem *Beatæ* Mariæ diligenter debitis exsequebatur obsequiis.

[CAPITULUM XXI.]

Confusio Turcorum prius typho[2] turgentium, nunc autem fugientium et omnia sua post se in prædam nostris per campos relinquentium.

Disappointment and confusion of the Turks.

Sane Saracenorum Admiralii et nobiliores,[3] quibus Salahadinus terras donaverat et divitias multas, ipsius Salahadini auribus prurientes, magniloqua lingua verbis ampullosis ipsum spe refecerant inani, dicentes proculdubio, adjuvante Mahumeto ea die belli[4] Christianos a terra funditus exstirpandos, sed eos omnino Mahumeticum fefellit augurium, et ipsorum insolens reprimebatur jactantia. Turcorum enim fugientium per montana in die belli, referentibus iis qui viderant, legeres vestigia per[5] prædam abjectam, et camelos et equos passim jacentes mortuos, qui ceciderant per viam, millenos et centenos sarcinis onustos gravissimis. Turci enim intendentes, et mittentes arcum a facie

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[1] *ecclesia*] in, ins. C.

[2] *typho*] typo, A. B.

[3] *nobiliores*] majores, B.

[4] *belli*] velli, A. : *velli* (possibly) from *volo*, "were fated."

[5] *per*] præ,

A.D. 1191. September. * Psalm lxxviii. 10. nostrorum conversi sunt in die belli,* et abierunt retro cum omnibus quæ sibi relicta fuerant. Qui quanto sollicitius fugere properabant, tanto ocius extincti defecerunt, et incredibilem supellectilium abjecerant multitudinem. Tanto nimirum irruerant impetu[1] in Turcos nostri in ultimo congressu, ut si aliquanto pertinacius institissent, et paulo longius ipsos fugassent, nunquam de cætero illi Turci rebellarent, immo terra illa Turcis evacuata Christianis relinqueretur inhabitanda.

Losses of the Turks.

[CAPITULUM XXII.]

Salahadinus victos suos exprobrat et subsannat, sed illi regem Ricardum et exercitum ejus laudant et omni militiæ præferunt.

Saladin reproaches his defeated emirs.

Audiens Soldanus gentem suam electam in qua plurimum fuerat confisus, a nostris ita dissipatam et superatam; iracundia plenus et confusione, convocatis Admiraliis suis, dixit ad eos, "Eja![2] quam magnifica "sunt gesta familiarium meorum! quam egregie proficiunt, qui tanta prius vigebant jactantia et "arrogantia intolerabili, cui tanta toties contuli "donaria: ecce Christianitas pro libera voluntate "terram Syriæ perambulat, nullo resistente vel repugnante. Ubi nunc sunt tantæ jactantiæ, et præclara "opera militantium meorum? Ubi nunc minæ et "lancearum percussiones egregiæ? et gladiorum ictus "tanta promissi jactantia faciendi? ubi sunt[3] illa "præclara[4] initia maximorum bellorum, et inenarrabilium exercituum pugnantium contra Christianos, "quos se[5] consummaturos jactitabant? Ecce, bellum

He reminds them of their former boasts.

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[1] *irruerant impetu*] tr. A. B.
[2] *Eja*] Eya, A.
[3] *sunt*] nunc, ins. A.
[4] *præclara*] om. B.
[5] *se*] om. C.

"jam præsto est quod quærebant, sed ubi victoria de "qua jactitabant? O quam degeneres moderni illis "nobilissimis antecessoribus nostris, qui tanta bella "præclara contra Christianos conficiebant merito "memoranda, quorum memoria tota die nobis recitata "perseverabit in æternum? Inconvenienter res agitur "et probrose, cum gens nostra, proh pudor! omnium "mundi gentium fuerit effecta peripsema[1] in rebus "bellicis, et antecessorum nostrorum respectu jam nihili "sumus, nec ovum valemus." Ad hæc et his similia Salahadini improperia, demissis in terram vultibus, silentibus Admiraliis, unus eorum, Sanscunsus nomine de Halapia, sic ei respondit; "Sacratissime Soldane, "salva gratia majestatis tuæ, injuste nos culpæ red- "arguis, cum Francos omni nisu impetierimus et "sollicita invasione ipsis intenderimus[2] conterendis, "sed et eorum gravissimas sustinuerimus repercus- "siones. Nihil autem eis obesse potest, nihil afficere vel "confundere: ipsi enim non sicut nos sed inæstimabili "muniuntur armatura, impenetrabili, nulli generi pilorum "vel telorum vel gladiis cessura, unde nostros omnino "conatus in ipsis tanquam in silicibus inefficaciter "expendimus. Est præterea quid maxime mirandum "de quodam ex numero eorum. Ipse gentem nostram "confundit et destruit. Nunquam talem vidimus, vel "ei similem experti sumus. Ipse semper alios præ- "cedit: in omni negotio primus invenitur et præci- "puus, tanquam miles electus et probatissimus. Ipse "est qui nostram mutilat gentem. Ipsi nemo potest "resistere, nec quemquam quem apprehenderit[3] a "manibus ejus eruere. Ipsum appellant suo idiomate "Melech Ricardum. Tali quidem regi merito terra "regenda debetur, qui tanta præditus virtute potenter

A.D. 1191. September.

They are degenerate sons of noble ancestors.

Answer of a certain emir of Aleppo.

He accounts for the defeat, by the irresistible might of Melech Richard.

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[1] *peripsema*] peritissima, A.; peripsima, B. C.

[2] *intenderimus*] intendimus, B.

[3] *apprehenderit*] apprehenderat, C.

A.D. 1191. September.

“ terras sibi subjicit. Et quid amplius super tam “ forti viro, tam invincibili, restat agendum?”

[CAPITULUM XXIII.]

Salahadinus dirui facit omnia castella præter Jerusalem, et Crec et Darun.

Saladin orders the demolition of Ascalon, Gaza, Galatia (Kuratiyeh), Blancheguard, (Tel-es-safieh), Joppa, the Casals of Plains and Maen, Lydda, Ramlah, Toron (Tibnin), Castel Arnald (Beit-Nûba), Beauverie (Kaukab), and Mirabel.

Salahadinus in illius iracundiæ fervore,[1] advocato[2] fratri suo Saffadino, inquit; “Jam nunc,” inquit, “ meæ scias esse[3] voluntatis experiri quantam merito “ debuero habere confidentiam in gente mea in hujus “ articulo negotii. Egredere sine mora, et muros et “ turres[4] Ascalonis solo tenus dirui facito: civitatem “ etiam de Guadres: Darum autem conservandum “ committe custodiæ, qua gens mea transeat. Dirui “ vero facito Galatiam et Blanchewardam, Joppen et “ Casellum[5] de Planis, et Casellum Maen,[6] et Sanctum Georgium et Ramulam, et Bellum Montem,[7] “ Toronem, castrum Ernaldi, Beauverium[8] et Mirabellum. Præterea omnia frange castra montana, “ non parcet oculus tuus omni civitati vel castello “ sive casello. Omnia dirue, omnia prosterne, præter “ Crac et Jerusalem.” Egressus itaque Saphadinus omnia quæ præceperat Salahadinus incunctanter peregit.

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[1] *fervore*] om. C.

[2] *advocato*] vocato, C.

[3] *esse*] om. B.

[4] *et turres*] turresque, A. B.

[5] *Casellum*] Casellam, B.

[6] *Casellum Maen*] om. B.

[7] *Bellum Montem.*] Possibly this is a mistake either for Belfort, Shakif-al-Arnun, or for Montfort, Kurein.

[8] *Beauverium*] Beauverum, C.

[CAPITULUM XXIV.]

Turci cum quindecim millibus armatorum nostros per flumen Arsuri invadunt, sed minime proficiunt.

A.D. 1191. September 9. Saladin sends thirty emirs with fifteen thousand men to watch the river of Arsûf, the Nahr-el-Aujeh.

Richard leaves Arsûf on Monday, September 9, the Templars in the rear; they cross the river without hindrance.

Interea quidam Saracenorum nominatissimus et potens, Caysac nomine, respondens, persuadere cœpit Salahadinum ut mitteret speculatores in planitiem Ramulæ, ad cognoscendum quo Franci diverterent. "Spero enim," inquit, "si probatos habuero comites, "Francos, si forte illac[1] transire proposuerint, ex parte "majore delere, et viam eis arctissimam cedere, ut ab "angiportu et a manibus nostris eorum extorqueant "pauciores." Ipsius itaque instinctu misit Salahadinus, ad flumen Arsuri occupandum, triginta Admiralios famosos et potentes, quorum quilibet habuit secum quingentos ferme[2] Turcos bellatores robustissimos. Observabant igitur flumen, ne quando Franci illac pertransirent[3] indemnes. Tertia die post prædictum bellum, hoc est die Lunæ, in crastino Nativitatis Beatæ Mariæ, Rex Ricardus cum exercitu profectus est ab Arsuro.[4] Ea die ordinati in exercitu Templarii procedebant[5] extremi, et seriatim profecti sunt et caute propter hostium repentinas incursiones. Sed postquam ad prædictum flumen de Arsuro[6] pervenissent, offendiculi nihil invenerunt. Turci vero, qui consederant in insidiis, sperantes opprimere Francos venientes, eis[7] obviam procedentes oppugnare tentabant, pila jacientes et sagittas. Verumtamen parum aut nihil

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[1] *illac*] illic, B.

[2] *quingentos ferme*] tr. A. B.

[3] *pertransirent*] transirent, A.

[4] *ab Arsuro*] ad Arsurum, A.; ab Arsur, B.

[5] *procedebant*] protendebant, B.

[6] *Arsuro*] Arsur, B.

[7] *eis*] om. C.

A.D. 1191. September 9. The Crusaders encamp by the Nahr-el-Aujeh and on the 10th of September reach Joppa.

proficientes, anterioris belli non immemores recesserunt ab eis, et gens nostra super flumen Aisuri fixis tentoriis ea nocte resederunt. Inde vero mane plebs cum peditibus nostris, qui vix ad itineris laborem[1] perseveraverant, et cum eis hospitiorum procuratores antecedebant exercitum usque Joppen, jam a Saracenis funditus dirutam, ita ut in ea non posset exercitus hospitari, sed in ejus parte sinistra. Fixis igitur tentoriis in oliveto pulcherrimo manebat eo veniens exercitus. Et quid plura? Jam transierant tres septimanæ ex quo primo recessit exercitus ab Achone.

[Capitulum XXV.]

Naves nostræ victualia nobis ab Achon usque ad Joppen deferunt.

The army and fleet meet again at Joppa, and the Crusaders are refreshed after their hardships.

Sedens igitur exercitus extra Joppen in aprico, diversorum fructuum refocillabatur abundantia. Erat enim in loco copia racemorum et ficuum, pomorumque granatorum, et amygdalorum grandium nimis, quibus arborum rami ad plenum circumquaque fuerunt onusti. Et ecce classis regis Ricardi, naves etiam aliorum eo veniunt, sequentes exercitum; libera quoque navigatione ibant naves et redibant a Joppe usque ad Achon, et e converso, portantes victualia et cætera quæ videbantur necessaria; plurimum[2] Turcis inde[3] dolentibus quoniam navigationem præpedire non poterant.

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[1] *vix ad itineris laborem*] tr. A.

[2] *plurimum*] quidem, ins. A.

[3] *Turcis inde*] tr. A. B.

[CAPITULUM XXVI.]

Rex Ricardus consulit Ascalonem[1] *a diruentibus eruere, et eam reparare: sed prævalescente Francorum pejore consilio, Joppen reparant, ubi et vitiis et luxuriæ intendunt.*

A.D. 1191. September.

Saladin having begun to demolish Ascalon (Sept. 13, *Bohadin*, 200).

Richard sends an expedition to reconnoitre that city from the sea.

He proposes to the chiefs a choice between an expedition to Jerusalem and one to Ascalon.

Salahadinus[2] interim dirui fecerat muros et turres Ascalonis, quod quidam plebeii inde noctu fugientes exercitui nostro venerant nunciare, quod jam turribus diruendis insisterent magnopere Saraceni. Minus tamen credendum hoc nostris videbatur, ut videlicet, Salahadinus ex desperatione hoc fieri jussisset, tanquam turres conservare non posset, vel non auderet, qui maximæ reputabatur virtutis et potentiæ. Ad hoc itaque certius inquirendum, de consilio magnatum misit rex Ricardus in una galea fortissima, Galfridum de Liziniaco, et Willelmum de Stagno, et cum ipsis alii quamplures navigaverunt usque ad Ascalonem, et ante civitatem subsistentes rei statum et veritatem consideraverunt. Quod cum certissime didicissent, veloci redeuntes remigio renunciaverunt verum esse quod prius audierant. Igitur convenientes in unum rex Ricardus, et principes et magistratus populi, communi consilio decreverunt tractandum utrum magis expediret omnibus aut proficisci Ascalonem ad disturbandos inde Turcos, ne penitus dirueretur, sive versus Jerusalem procedere; multis multa prout utile videbatur allegantibus, et plurimum diversa sentientibus; tandem rex Ricardus, præsente duce Burgundiæ, et majoribus in populo, ita suam proposuit sententiam, dicens; "Sicut "mihi videtur, inconvenienter sicut et inutiliter diversi

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[1] *Ascalonem*] Aschalonem, A. The two forms occur frequently in all the MSS., as also do the forms Ascalonia, æ, &c., and Ascalona, æ, which is the common form with William of Tyre.

[2] *Salahadinus*] etiam, ins. B.

A.D. 1191. September.

He himself wishes to go to Ascalon.

"sentimus diversa, quod quidem ad[1] non modicam "(quod Deus avertat) poterit nobis retorqueri perniciem. "Turci qui diruunt Ascalonem nobiscum bellare non "audent. Mei quidem sciatis quod animo concipio sani-"oris fore[2] consilii civitatem Ascalonem, fugatis Turcis, "conservare incolumem; quia[3] totius orbis peregrinis "eo pernecessarius non ignoratur esse transitus. Hoc "mihi videtur esse faciendum noveritis universi." His vero pertinaciter Franci contradixerunt, allegantes ipsam Joppen potius restaurandam, et labore commodiore reparandam, quippe quod ad breviorem peregrinationem[4] in Jerusalem commodius potuisset opus consummari. Quid multa? ad horum consilium consequendum[5] multitudinis invaluit acclamatio. O cæcum ignavorum consilium! O damnosa desidum pertinacia! qui quanto prudentius sibi prospexisse[6] videbantur, et labores[7] commodius evitasse et impensas, tanto magis[8] in posterum pœnitenda commiserunt. Nam si tunc Ascalonem a Turcis excussissent, omnis prorsus terra evacuaretur ab ipsis.[9] Verum populi convalescente vociferatione, statutum est faciendam collectam ad ipsam Joppen reædificandam: insistebant sollicite et fossis faciendis et turribus reparandis. Sedet ibi diutius exercitus,[10] otiis vacans et jocis: de die in diem augebatur peccatum multiplex in exercitu, crapula scilicet et luxuria. Redibant enim in exercitum mulieres ab Achon, fomes delictorum, incrementum facinoris, unde plurimum contaminatur populus, et peregrinationis confunditur diligentia, debitaque negligitur devotio.

The French insist on repairing Joppa.

A collection is made for the repairs of Joppa.

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[1] *ad*] in, A.

[2] *fore*] esse, A.

[3] *quia*] qui, B.

[4] *peregrinationem*] nunc, ins. B.

[5] *consequendum*] consequentium, C.

[6] *prospexisse*] perspexisse, B.

[7] *labores*] laboris, B.

[8] *magis*] om. A.

[9] *ipsis*] eis, B.

[10] *diutius exercitus*] tr. A.

[CAPITULUM XXVII.]

Rex Ricardus populum in Achon regressum, et ibi in tabernis morantem, in Joppen reducit, ubi et exercitus septem septimanis commoratur.

A.D. 1191.
Cir. September 29.
The Crusaders issue from Joppa and encamp near Casal St. Habakkuk.

Exeunte jam mense Septembri, et reparata in parte civitate Joppe,[1] ecce, exercitus a pomœriis exivit, et circa casellum Sancti[2] Abacuc tentoria tetendit. Nimium[3] autem erat[4] minoratus exercitus, quia pars non modica navigio jam recesserat ad[5] Achon et morabatur

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[1] *Joppe*] Joppen, C.

[2] *Sancti*] om. A. The site of the casal of St. Habakkuk has not, so far as I am aware, ever been identified. William of Tyre (Bongars, i. 926), mentions a Premonstratensian Abbey, "in loco qui dicitur Sancti "Abacuc, sive Sancti Joseph qui "cognominatus est ab Arimathia." In the Assizes of Jerusalem (ed. Beugnot, i. 417), "L'evesque de "Saint Jorge de Lidde a cinq suf- "fraganz, l'abbé de Saint Joseph "d'Abarimatie, qui est orres apelés "Rantis ; l'abbé de Saint Abaccu "de Cansie, le prior de S. Johan "l'Evangeliste, le prior de S. Ka- "terine de Mongisart, l'abacce de "Treis Ombres." It appears then, that the abbeys of S. Habakkuk and S. Joseph of Arimathea were not identical, as William of Tyre supposed, but situated in two villages near Lydda. In Van de Velde's map will be found, about three miles north of Lydda, a place called El-Keneiseh, "the church," probably the Cansie of the Assizes ; and four miles north of it, Rentieh, the Rantis of the Assizes, where was the Monastery of S. Joseph of Arimathea, which gave it its name, and the name of which has so puzzled modern travellers. See, E. Robinson's *Later Biblical Researches in Palestine*, London, 1852, p. 141. If the distance of El-Keneiseh from Joppa seems further than the army would be likely to have advanced, with an enemy so near, it is to be remembered that while Richard's adventure in this neighbourhood, related in the next chapter, took place on the 29th of September, Saladin had ordered the dismantling of Lydda and Ramlah on the 25th, (Cf. Bohadin, pp. 202, 203) ; and that the Crusaders might consider themselves secure from attack on the north. But the events in the text, as well as the attack on Richard, described in lib. vi. c. xxi., which Ralph of Coggeshall places "in "quadam planitie apud S. Abacuc," may have taken place not close to the monastery, but in the plain on that side of Joppa, or in the eastern suburb of Joppa itself. The other places connected with Habakkuk, Tekoa, which William of Tyre (Bongars, i. 875) calls the city of Amos and Habakkuk, and Keilah, where, according, to Eusebius, the tomb of Habakkuk was, are much too far from the seat of action.

[3] *Nimium*] Nimis, A.

[4] *erat*] jam, ins. B.

[5] *ad*] om.

A.D. 1191. September. Richard having in vain sent King Guy to bring the deserters from Acre, goes thither himself. (October 7-12. *Bohadin*, 204, 206.)

in tabernis. Rex Ricardus attendens[1] ignaviam populi et peregrinorum nimiam dissolutionem, mandavit per regem Guidonem, quem misit legatum usque ad Achon in exhortationem peregrinorum, ut redirent Joppen in expeditionem. Sed cum nec sic nisi rarissimi venissent, ipse rex Ricardus usque Achon navigavit, et multa instantia et sollicitudine exhortans, et efficacissime verbum faciens ad populum[2] de fide et spe quæ in Deum est, et peccatorum remissione, dummodo peregrini fuerint non ficti,[3] quamplures ab Achon ratione sermonis excitatos, usque Joppen secum reduxit. Reginas etiam cum puellis suis usque Joppen venire fecit, ubi ferme septem septimanis opportunum æstimabant exercitum commorari ad coadunandam gentem, quæ jam ex parte fuerat dispersa. Gens itaque nostra undeunde[4] collecta, cum denique convenissent in unum, multo major quam prius effectus est exercitus,

We stayed about seven weeks at Joppa. (September 10 to October 30.)

[CAPITULUM XXVIII.]

Rex Ricardus indiscrete cum paucis egressus, a Turcis comprehenderetur,[5] nisi Willelmus de Pratellis se regem fingens pro eo se[6] eis dedidisset.[7]

Richard having gone out hawking, is nearly taken by the Turks. (September 29, *Bohadin*, 203).

Accidit eo tempore, ut rex Ricardus cum paucissimis familiaribus nimis solitarius quadam die egressus, cum falconibus suis spatiatum, et ut Turcorum[8] si quos videret statum consideraret, et improvidos comprehenderet,[9] ex itinere fatigatus et laboris[10] pertæsus forte obdormiret. Et ecce, repente Turci hoc comperientes cum impetu magno ferebantur[11] ad ipsum comprehendendum. Rex autem ex advenientium fremitu ex-

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[1] *attendens*] om. B.

[2] *faciens ad populum*] tr. A.

[3] *fuerint non ficti*] tr. A.

[4] *undeunde*] undecunque, A. B.

[5] *comprehenderetur*] apprehenderetur, A.

[6] *se*] om. B.

[7] *dedidisset*] dedisset, A.

[8] *Turcorum*] etiam si quos Turcorum, A.

[9] *comprehenderet*] apprehenderet, A.

[10] *laboris*] labore, A. ; labori, C.

[11] *ferebantur*] furebantur, B.

A.D. 1191. September 29.

He defends himself, but is nearly overpowered by numbers.

pergefactus, vix equum suum favellum Cyprium ascendisse potuit, cum comitibus suis simul suos ascendentibus, cum irruerent Turci et ipsum apprehendere conati sunt. In quos rex extracto gladio insurgens, ipsos sine mora fugam simulantes insecutus est usque ad locum insidiarum ipsorum, unde subito erumpentes [1] Turcorum plurimi, regem cum paucissimis sociis statim circumdederunt comprehendendum. Ipse vero gladium vibrans fortiter se defendit ab irruentibus, et ad ipsum comprehendendum [2] singulis manum protendentibus; sed cito eas [3] retrahebant ictus gladii ejus timentes. Quem forte tunc humano destitutum auxilio comprehendissent, si Turci tunc ipsum cognovissent.

William des Préaux cries out that he is the king, and Richard escapes.

Sed ecce, confuso certamine contendentibus,[4] exclamavit unus sociorum regis nomine Willelmus de Pratellis,[5] idiomate Saracenico vociferans se esse Melech, quod Latine dicitur *rex*, quod Turci credentes confestim ipsum Willelmum comprehensum ad exercitum suum deduxerunt captivum. In ipso congressu [6] occisus est de sociis regis Reignerius de Marun, miles egregius sed fere inermis, et ejusdem nepos [7] Walterus nomine, et præter hos etiam Alanus et Lucas de Stabulo ibidem occisi sunt.

Alarm in the army.

Fama facti divulgata, totus noster conturbatus est exercitus, et festinanter [8] assumptis armis, subditis equis calcaribus, regem quæsituri procedunt quousque occurrerent [9] revertenti. Super cujus salute eximie lætati, cum eodem regrediente procedunt, et Turcos jam longius abeuntes insectati sunt præpete cursu, sed frustra laborantes,

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[1] *erumpentes*] irrumpentes, A.

[2] *Ipse . . comprehendendum*] om. C.

[3] *eas*] eos, B.

[4] *contendentibus*] contundentibus, B.

[5] *Pratellis*] So all the MSS. read, as well as Trivet, and Walsingham, (*Ypodigma Neustriæ*, ed. Camden, p. 454), who copy from our author; so also Hoveden. Bromton's chronicle (p. 1240), which here forsakes Benedict and begins to copy or abstract from the present work, reads *Purcellis*. Modern French Historians, Marin, Michaud, &c., call the hero *des Porcellets*.

[6] *ipso congressu*] tr. A.

[7] *nepos*] om. C.

[8] *festinanter*] festinant, B.

[9] *occurrerent*] recurrerent, A.; concurrerent, B.

A.D. 1191. September 29.

The Turks think they have taken the king.

Praises of William des Préaux.

Richard's friends remonstrate with him for his rashness.

He will not take advice, but is generally victorious.

ipsos assequi non potuerunt, quia perniciter cum prædicto Willelmo captivo aufugerant,[1] congaudentes uberius quia se regem comprehendisse[2] speraverant. Rex vero,[3] Deo procurante, reservatus est ad majora necessarius prosequenda negotia. Turcis denique ocius abeuntibus, gens nostra rediit ad exercitum, super eo quod regem salvum receperant[4] et incolumem, gaudens et exultans in Domino eo uberius, quo periculosius oberrans pene perierat. Willelmo vero de Pratellis plurimum condoluerant, qui tam fideli liberalitate se dedens hostibus gratis corpore proprio dominum suum regem redemit. O prædicanda fides! O rara devotio! ut quis spontaneo se[5] subjiciat periculo, ut parcatur alieno. Regem igitur, super frequentioribus præsumptionibus, quidam ejus familiarium, dilectionis servata gravitate, castigantes monuerunt, rogantes ne de cætero sic oberraret tam solitarius, ne forte quandoque incideret in hostiles insidias: quoniam in ipsius salute, ut aiunt, pendebat universorum integritas, et suis omnibus pensaret animam suam merito pretiosiorem, quam præ cæteris Turci venabantur: "Sed quoties," inquiunt, "cordi est hujusmodi machinari digressiones, "assumendi[6] videntur fortes auxiliarii, bellatores ro"busti; non enim est singulorum multos semper con"cludere." Hæc et his similia dicentibus, ut regem arguerent,[7] ausu familiaritatis ejusdem dilectis, ipse[7] nihilominus (quis enim vel furca poterit funditus abdicare naturam?) in omnibus congressionibus primus esse gaudebat in aggrediendo, et ultimus in regrediendo post consummationem. Cui quidem aut merito virtutis aut certe gratia divina semper fere succedebat ad votum, ut vel Turcorum quamplures reduceret secum captivos, vel resistentes contereret detruncatos.

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[1] *captivo aufugerant*] tr. A.

[2] *comprehendisse*] comprehensisse, A.

[3] *vero*] om. A.

[4] *receperant*] reciperent, B.

[5] *spontaneo se*] tr. A. B.

[6] *assumendi*] potius, ins. B.

[7] *arguerent*] arguunt, B.

[8] *ipse*] enim, ins. C.

[CAPITULUM XXIX.]

Rex Ricardus et exercitus ejus casella de Planis et de Maen[1] reœdificant, et Turcos irruentes sæpe trucidant.

A.D. 1191. October. Richard with the army sets out to rebuild the Casal of the Plains: leaving the Bishop of Evreux and others to defend Joppa.

Post quietis recreationem, cum exercitus pristinum jam videretur recuperasse vigorem, ecce! regium proponitur edictum, ut ad expeditionem in nomine Domini instruantur[2] universi, ad proficiscendum ad casellum[3] de Planis restaurandum.[4] Hoc enim reputabatur maxime necessarium, propter transitum peregrinorum illac itinerantium. Constituit igitur rex qui Joppen observarent, et consummarent muros ejus, et portus strictissime custodirent, ne quis abiret[5] a populo, præter mercatores apportantes victualia. Ad hæc igitur observanda deputati sunt episcopus Ebruicensis[6] et comes Chalonensis et Hugo Ribole cum quibusdam aliis qui residerent[7] in Joppe. Die Mercurii ante festum Omnium Sanctorum, cum rex oberraret in planitiis Ramulæ, quosdam Saracenorum speculatores, quos forte prospexit,[8] audacter invasit, et velut aper effulminans omnes statim dissipavit, et quosdam eorum[9] trucidavit, inter quos unum[10] nobilissimum Admiralium, truncato capite, neglexit acephalum.[11] Turci vero fugerunt.[12] In crastino autem,[13] scilicet, in vigilia Om-

October 30. Richard encounters some Saracen scouts and kills an emir.

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[1] *Maen*] Maey, A.

[2] *instruantur*] instituantur, C.

[3] *casellum*] casellam, B.

[4] *restaurandum*] restaurandam, B.

[5] *abiret*] obiret, C.

[6] *Ebruicensis*] Ebroicensis, A.

[7] *residerent*] resederunt, A. B.

[8] *prospexit*] perspexit, B.

[9] *eorum*] om. C.

[10] *unum*] om, A.

[11] *neglexit acephalum*] delevit, B.; delevit a terra, A.

[12] *fugerunt*] a terra, ins. B.

[13] *autem*] om. B. On this day, according to Bohadin, p. 212, the Crusaders encamped at Yazour, four miles south-east of Joppa, on the road to Lydda. No remains of the

A.D. 1191. October 31.

Richard encamps between the Casals of the Plains and Maen: (at Yazour, *Bohadin*, 212.) The Turks being at Ramlah; (head quarters at Netroun or Latroon, Oct. 5—Nov. 15, *Bohadin*, 204, 220.)

nium Sanctorum, rex cum exercitu profectus non procul inde,[1] itinere abbreviato, inter casellam[2] de Planis, et casellam[3] Maen, fixerunt ad manendum tentoria. Turcorum exercitus tunc erat apud Ramulam, unde sæpius nos infestabant, repentinas molientes incursiones. Quindecim[4] diebus, vel[5] eo amplius, resedit exercitus noster inter duas casellas prædictas.[6] Rex interim casellam Maen usque ad perfectum reparavit. Templarii nihilominus reædificaverunt casellam de Planis, Turcis jugiter imminentibus, et qua poterant infestantibus. Quorum cum equitibus ferme mille, cum una dierum maxima multitudo tanquam in nostrum exercitum irruitura immineret, rex cum suis festinanter equum ascendens processit eis obviam in pugnam. Conturbatur exercitus noster, et cum ad arma ruerent[7] universi, versi sunt Turci in fugam, quorum viginti et sex perempti sunt et sexdecim vivi retenti; alios autem in equis agillimis fugientes tunc non contigit comprehendi, quamvis plurima instantia eos fuisset rex[8] persecutus,[9] quousque perspicue considerasset Ramulam, ubi Turcorum sedit exercitus. Omnes igitur nostri inde ad exercitum sunt reversi.[10]

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villages of Maen and the Plains appear on the maps. Possibly they may be Beit-Dejan and Safiriyeh. See Van de Velde's Map. Wilken, *Gesch. der Kreuzzüge*, iv. 452, supposes that they are to be identified with Kajoun and Wahra (Bohadin, 221), and iv. 436, with the Casals of the Temple and of Jehoshaphat mentioned in Chap. XXXI. of this book. The second conjecture is probable: there is no evidence in favour of the former, nor is the situation of Kajoun and Wahra known. Schultens suspects that the text of Bohadin is corrupt in this place.

[1] *inde*] idem, C.

[2] *casellam*] casellum, A. B.

[3] *casellam*] de, ins. A. B.

[4] *Quindecim*] Quindenis, B.

[5] *vel*] et, B.

[6] *casellas prædictas*] tr. A. B.

[7] *ruerent*] irruerent, B.

[8] *rex*] om. B.

[9] *persecutus*] prosecutus, B.

[10] *sunt reversi*] tr. A. B.

[CAPITULUM XXX.]

De incredibili victoria regis Ricardi,[1] *et suorum, armigeros suos dum furrarent contra Turcos defendentium.*

A.D. 1191. November 6.

Post festum Omnium Sanctorum sexta die,[2] scilicet die[3] Sancti Leonardi, exierunt in regionem satellites et armigeri ad quæritandam herbam equis suis et pabulum jumentis. Templarii præerant ipsis conservandis armigeris, qui per valles oberraverunt dispersi, ut loca considerarent herbidiora. Sic enim de more solebant, herbæ causa quærendæ, vagari dispersi, quam quidem nonnunquam luebant sanguine fuso, quando minus provide se gerebant. Templariis, ut prædictum est, armigeros observantibus,[4] ecce! a parte Bombrac[5] exsilientium Turcorum quasi quatuor millia equitum, per quatuor turmas decenter ordinatas, in ipsos arroganter irruebant Templarios, et statim circumdatos concluserunt[6] et pertinacissime insistebant, ut vel contererent vel comprehenderent. Ex jugiter concurrentibus augebatur multitudo Turcorum. Templarii itaque sic ab imminentibus arctati, perpendentes de necessitate exercendam virtutem, expedite descenderunt ab equis suis, et dorsa singuli dorsis sociorum habentes hærentia, facie versa in hostes sese defendere viriliter cœperunt. Turci vero irruentes tres statim occiderunt Templarios. Ibi videre fuit pugnam acerrimam, ictus validissimos: tinniunt[7] galeæ, a percutientium collisione gladiorum igneæ exsiliunt scintillæ, crepitant arma,

A foraging party of our squires and of Templars attacked by four thousand Turkish cavalry.

They defend themselves: three Templars slain.

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[1] *victoria regis Ricardi*] tr. A.

[2] *die*] om. A. C.

[3] *die*] om. B.

[4] *observantibus*] servantibus, A.

[5] *Bombrac*] Bohadin, who (p. 215) gives an account of this skirmish under the name of the Battle of the Ambuscade, gives no clue to the situation of Bombrac. Possibly it was el Nimrak, two miles N.E. of Yazour. See Van de Velde's Map.

[6] *concluserunt*] incluserunt, A.

[7] *tinniunt*] tremunt, B.

A.D. 1191. November 6.

Struggle between the Turks and the Templars.

Andrew of Chavigny with fifteen knights comes to the rescue: and Richard sends the Earl of Leicester and the Count of St. Pol to help.

The king himself follows.

tumultuantium perstrepunt voces: Turci se viriliter ingerunt, Templarii constanter rejiciunt; hi imminent, illi retundunt; Turci probe invadunt, Templarii se[1] strenuissime defendunt. Ingruente denique Turcorum multitudine, singuli eorum tendunt manus ad apprehendendum fere oppressos Templarios, et multorum continuatione oppugnantium vexatos. Cum ecce! cognitis his quæ gerebantur, Andreas de Chavigni[2] præpete cursu eo versus ferebatur in auxilium ipsorum, cum quindecim militibus sociis, et Templarios in arcto positos liberavit a manibus inimicorum suorum. Præstantissime quidem se[3] ibi gerebat idem Andreas, sicut et socii ejus, in impetendo et effugando hostium turbam. Turcorum autem semper augmentabatur multitudo: nunc fugiunt, nunc instant, et a[4] congredientibus utrisque denuo pugna conseritur. Interea rex Ricardus operationi casellæ Maen reparandæ diligenter indulgens, tumultuantium comperta vociferatione congredientium, imperavit duobus comitibus de Sancto Paulo et de Leicestre, ad Templarios propere[5] equitare, ut opportunum ferrent auxilium; cum quibus et misit Willelmum de Cageu[6] et Othonem de Trasynges. Quibus jam progredientibus, auditus est clamor memoratorum armigerorum ad convocandum auxilium. Tunc rex comites exhortans properare, ipse quantocius[7] cucurrit ad arma, et cursu citissimo præfatos comites secutus est. Comitibus itaque festinanter equitantibus, ecce! ab insidiis repente de juxta quoddam flumen prosilientes, hostium quasi quatuor millia in duos[8] cuneos partiti sunt: quorum duo millia præfatos Templarios invaserunt, et duo millia in illos duos comites, et in eos qui cum eis erant, conversi sunt. Quod cum ipsi perspexissent, agminibus apte digestis, se ordinaverunt ad pugnam. Ibi comes de Sancto Paulo minus commendabilem proposuit conditionem[1] illi nobili comiti Legecestriæ,[2] ut videlicet, comes ipse de Sancto Paulo cum hostibus congrederetur, et comes interim Legecestriæ observaret exterius rerum eventus, opem laturus si necesse perpenderet: aut ut comes Legecestriæ dimicaret cum Turcis, et comes de Sancto Paulo interim observaret[3] a latere, et curam gereret pugnantis is qui forinsecus vacuus staret. Comes Legecestriæ conditionis partem[4] elegit ut in hostes irrueret, quia nimis ægre pugnam otiosus attenderet. Segregatus itaque cum gente sua, cum impetu valido ferebatur in turbam Turcorum quam conspexit[5] densiorem, et duos ex nostris milites[6] quos comprehenderant, a manibus inimicorum eisdem atrociter insistentium viriliter excussit. Tanta quidem virtute, tanta dimicavit instantia, hos dejiciens, illos detruncans, ut ab illa die et deinceps ob meritum virtutum plurimum favoris ejus famæ adderetur[7] et gloriæ. Jam utrinque crebrescebat conflictus ferventissimus commixtis indifferenter universis, cum rex Ricardus fremens advenit; cujus cum gens rarissima suos conatus æstimaret impares hostium tantæ multitudini, dixerunt nonnulli ad ipsum,[8] "Domine rex, inconveniens æstimamus "quid inchoare quod non poterit[9] facile consummari. "Non arbitramur ad præsens fore tutum congredi "cum paucis adversus tantam hostium multitudinem, "tam fortem. Quod si forte reputaveris præsumendum, "non poteris eos sustinere, nec ad optatum pervenies

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[1] *se*] om. C.

[2] *Chavigni*] Caveigni, B.

[3] *se*] om. C.

[4] *a*] om. B.

[5] *propere*] prope, C.

[6] *Cageu*] Cagcu, A.; Cagni, B. Probably Cayeu in Ponthieu.

[7] *quantocius*] quam citius, A.

[8] *duos*] quatuor, A.

A.D. 1191. November 6. The Count of St. Pol gives the Earl of Leicester the choice between fighting and acting as reserve.

The earl chooses to fight and gains great glory.

Richard arrives on the field and is advised by his friends not to run any risk.

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[1] *proposuit conditionem*] om. B.

[2] *Legecestriæ*] Leicestriæ, A., throughout the chapter.

[3] *observaret*] conservaret, C.

[4] *partem*] pariter, C.

[5] *conspexit*] perspexit, A.

[6] *milites*] om. C.

[7] *famæ adderetur*] fama adderetur, B.

[8] *ipsum*] eum, A.

[9] *poterit*] potuerit, C.

A.D. 1191. November 6.

"effectum, si his excutiendis succurrendum censueris, "quia ad tot virtus nostra non sufficit, immo minoris creditur detrimenti illos ab hostibus sic conclusos[1] tantum deperire, quam te quoque cum ipsis "Turci involvant, et Christianitatis de cætero spes "pereat, et concidat confidentia. Sanioris arbitramur "esse consilii, te esse salvum, dum licet declinare "periculum." Quibus ita persuadentibus rex, ex fervente sanguine mutato colore, sic respondit; "Quando "dilectos socios rogatos præmisi ad bellum, sub "sponsione subsecuturi auxilii, si non, ut prædixi, "quantum valuero, sic mihi credulis non fuero præsidio, sed me absente et vacante, mortem, quod absit, "incurrant, nunquam regis nomen ulterius usurpavero." Nec plura fatus calcaribus ursit equum, et inæstimabili fervore, ne dicatur furore, irruens in Turcos, impetu validissimo ordines cohærentes dissipavit, et fulminis more pertransiens solo plurimos prostravit impulsu. Et rediens in eosdem, gladium vibrans, dispersit sine mora universos, iens et rediens huc et illuc ferebatur, ad nullius, sicut nec leo,[2] pavescens occursum. Quocunque se divertit passim cadebant[3] ab eo, huic manus amputante, illi brachia vel caput. Inter cæteros quendam Admiralium validissimum et famosum, quem ipsi sors obtulit obvium, percussit,[4] interfecit, Aralchais[5] nomine. Quid singula? superatis omnibus, quibusdam fugatis,[6] aliis cæsis, sive captivis, dum fugientes aliquamdiu fuissent persecuti, cum plurimis captivis, ad suos reversi sunt. Sic ea die

Richard replies that he will not forsake his beloved comrades whom he has sent to fight.

He utterly routs the Turks and slays an emir.

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[1] *conclusos*] exclusos, A.

[2] *leo*] loco, B.

[3] *cadebant*] cadent, A.

[4] *percussit*] percussum, B.

[5] *Aralchais*] Amscais, B. Bohadin gives the names of two Turkish martyrs in this battle, Yjaz the Mehranite, and Shawel. *Vita Saladini*, p. 226. He mentions a hero named Ibech Alachrash, who fell on the 4th of July 1189, in a battle between king Guy and the Turks on the frontier of Tyre and Sidon. *Ibid.* p. 91.

[6] *fugatis*] fatigatis, B.

gestum est, in nullo Francis auxiliantibus. Eodem die tres forte metu mortis apostatæ Turcorum, contempta superstitiosa vanitate, ad Christianæ relligionis fidem conversi, regi Ricardo se subdiderunt.

A.D. 1191. November 6. Three Turks turn Christian.

[Capitulum XXXI.]

Salahadinus fallaciis et promissionibus defraudavit et aliquamdiu detinuit regem Ricardum, et a bello cessare fecit, sub spe reddendæ ei Terræ Sanctæ, ut interim castra quædam dirueret.

Reparatis jam ex parte duabus casellis prænominatis, cum rex Ricardus perpendisset exercitum suum Turcorum fastum abominari et perfecto odio detestari, et etiam eos minus vereri, quos in frequentibus congressibus expertos vel[1] dissipaverant, aut certe multo plures se,[2] Deo opitulante, contriverant; misit legatos viros nobiles et industrios ad Salahadinum et Saphadinum fratrem ejus, exigens regnum integrum Suliæ[3] cum omnibus pertinentiis, quæ rex leprosus ultimo tenuerat. Exigebat præterea et tributum a Babylone, sicut reges antecessores ejus quandoque habuerant.[4] Omnia enim a quocunque tempore regno terræ Jerosolimorum pertinentia, jure hæreditario sibi debita repetebat, ratione consanguinitatis prædecessorum, qui prædicta[5] acquisierant et tenuerant.[6] Officio legationis functi nuncii, cum Salahadino quæsito et invento summam regiæ exigentiæ enucleatius exposuissent, non acquievit Salahadinus. "Indebitam," inquit, "exigit rex quæsturam, cui salvo "honore Paganismi, assentire non possumus. Verum "tamen per fratrem meum Saphadinum regi vestro man-

Richard sends to Saladin and Saphadin to demand the kingdom of Palestine as Baldwin IV. his cousin had possessed it, and tribute from Egypt.

Saladin refuses, but will send Saphadin to treat.

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[1] *vel*] om. B.

[2] *se*] om. A.

[3] *Suliæ*] Suriæ, A.

[4] *habuerant*] habuerunt, A. B.

[5] *prædicta*] prædictam A.

[6] *tenuerant*] possederant, B.

A.D. 1191. November.

He will resign western Palestine if Ascalon may be permanently dismantled.

"dabo, quod terram totam Jerosolimitanam eidem "dimittemus liberam, videlicet a flumine Jordanis usque "ad mare occidentale, sine qualibet exactione vel impedimento, ea tamen conditione, ne unquam Ascalon "civitas reædificetur a Christianis nec a Saracenis." Cum hæc igitur Saphadinus regi Ricardo renunciare venisset,[1] rex ea die loqui cum eo[2] noluit, quia sanguine fuerat minutus, Stephanus autem de Turneham[3] eidem Saphadino, jussu regio ad prandium ministrabat multimodorum delicias cibariorum, qui comedebat eo die in plano inter casellum de Templo et casellum de Josaphat. In crastino misit Saphadinus regi Ricardo septem camelos pretiosos et tentorium optimum. Saphadinus itaque veniens ad regem, cum eidem mandata Salahadini indicasset,[4] pensans rex[5] res turbatas, et belli casus in ambiguo pendere, sustinendum arbitrabatur ad tempus, quatenus in sequens sibi cautius præcaveret; heu! minus in his prudens quod nondum eorum dolum præsensisset, quod ipsum eo intuitu ambagibus in redimendum tempus longius pertraxissent incautum, quatenus interim diruerentur civitates, et castra et terræ illius munitiones. Saphadinus denique tanta regem nimis credulum circumvenit astutia, et composita fefellit verbositate, ut tanquam mutuam viderentur contraxisse familiaritatem: nam Saphadini xenia rex acquievit suscipere, inter eos frequenter medii discurrunt nuncii a Saphadino regi Ricardo portantes munuscula, unde rex non modicum suis videbatur reprehensibilis, et cum Ethnicis contraxisse familiaritatem nefas esse dicebatur. Saphadinus autem se asserebat sollicitum super pace certa et firma concordia inter eos reformanda. Qua rex

Saphadin arrives (Nov. 7).

His interview with Richard (Nov. 8, *Bohadin*, 216).

Saphadin, to gain time, forms a sort of friendship with Richard, who incurs blame from the Crusaders for accepting presents.

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[1] *renunciare venisset*] nunciare venisset, A.; nunciaret, B.

[2] *loqui cum eo*] tr. A.

[3] *Turneham*] Torneham, A.

[4] *rex ea die . . . indicasset*] om. B.

[5] *rex*] om. B.

suspensus intentione, sano sibi videbatur[1] uti consilio, ut ad[2] ampliandam Christianitatem, et fines eorum dilatandos, pax honesta reformaretur; eo quoque quam plurimum, quod rex Franciæ jam recesserat, cujus inconstantiam reverebatur et dolum, quippe cujus amicitiam nonnunquam fuerat expertus teneram et simulatoriam. Nunciis, ut dictum est, mediantibus, regem Ricardum tanquam colere xeniis videbatur Saphadinus, qui cum demum eorum assertiones perpendisset esse verba, nec ad expectatum exitum prodire negotium, maxime propter Crac de Monte Regali, quod infra conditionem pacis componendæ rex petiit dirui, et ipsi non acquieverunt, tunc se prorsus alienavit ab eis. Postquam igitur erat notorium pacem et concordiam non prodire, ecce, Turcos a dextris et a sinistris frequentes videres moliri[3] incursiones, quibus rex Ricardus sæpius occurrebat ad pugnam,[4] et ad[5] abolendam impositæ sibi notam infamiæ, innumera hostium capita amputata detulit ostendenda, in argumentum sibi falso criminis imputati, et quod occasione xeniorum,[6] in hostem more non segnius incitaretur. Tales autem quidam ei[7] fuerant impedimento, et impositi criminis infamiæ causa, qui sæpius ipsius exhauriendæ inhiabant crumenæ, siquidem valde rarum constat, qui non imitetur bonum odorem lucri.

A.D. 1191. November. Richard's motives in seeking peace.

Negotiations fail on the point of the dismantling of Kerak and Shobek.

[CAPITULUM XXXII.]

Quæ incommoda ex pluviis et ab hostibus pertulerunt nostri dum morarentur inter Sanctum Georgium et Ramulam, vel in ipsa Ramula.

Reparatis duobus casellis, et custodibus deputatis, movit rex exercitum versus Ramulam seriatim ordina-

The army moves towards Ramlah.

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[1] *sibi videbatur*] tr. A.
[2] *ad*] om. C.
[3] *moliri*] molliri, C.
[4] *ad pugnam*] in pugnam, A. B.
[5] *ad*] ob, B.
[6] *xeniorum*] Christianorum, A.
[7] *ei*] om. B.

A.D. 1191. Nov. 15. Richard moves to Ramlah, and Saladin retreats before him. The army stays twenty-two days between Ramlah and Lydda (Nov. 15—Dec. 8), and then goes into winter quarters at Ramlah.

tum.[1] Quo audito Salahadinus, quia bellum inire non præsumpsit, villam funditus Ramulam jussit diruere, primus omnium inde discedens versus Darum, quia in montanis potius confidebat. Exercitus noster, fixis tentoriis inter Sanctum Georgium et Ramulam, sedit viginti et duobus diebus, ut gentem expectaret venturam et annonam. Ibi quoque infestissimas ab inimicis sustinuimus incursiones; præterea quædam ibidem[2] ingruentes pluviæ a sedibus nostris nos exturbabant, in tantum ut rex Jerosolimorum et gens nostra infra[3] Sanctum Georgium ad hospitandum se transferrent et[4] in Ramulam. Comes vero[5] de Sancto Paulo ad Casellum Balneorum. Apud Ramulam[6] quidem morati

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[1] Our author has, in Chap. XXIX., stated that the army was encamped between the Casals of the Plains and Maen, *i.e.* at Yazour, for at least fifteen days, from October 31. This would fix the march to Ramlah on the 15th of November. Accordingly we find Bohadin, p. 220, stating that on the 25th of Sjawal, which answers to the 15th of November, Saladin heard from his scouts that the Crusaders had quitted their camp: and in consequence of this the Sultan removed from Netroun to Tel-al-sjusour (the Hill of the Bridge), and thence to Jerusalem. Wilken, vol. iv. 455, supposes that this station was near Jerusalem. From our author, however, it might seem to have been in the direction of Ascalon. It was only half a day's march from Netroun, and not more than two miles from part of the crusading army. Cf. Bohadin. p. 220 and c. XXXIV. of this book, The command to dismantle Ramlah had been given as early as the 25th of September. Saladin removed from Ramlah to Netroun (Latroon) on the 5th of October. It is possible and very probable, that our author in this passage has confounded Darum and Netroun, (*le-darun* and *le-toron,*) the position among the mountains not answering well to the former place. It is of course impossible to be exact in these points, as, in the case of so large and encumbered armies as both the contending hosts were, there might be miles between the rear and the van.

[2] *ibidem*] nobis, ins. B.

[3] *infra*] inter, C.

[4] *et*] om. C.

[5] *vero*] om. A.

[6] *Ramulam*] ubi, add. B. The six weeks spent at Ramlah, must include either the twenty-two days spent between that place and Lydda, or the three weeks occupied by the march to Beit-Nûba, the return to Ramlah, and the stay there before the march to Ascalon on the 19th of January. It is to be observed on this passage, that our author does not state where Richard took up his Christmas quarters. King Guy apparently was in command of the English crusaders at Ramlah. From Hoveden (fol. 407) we learn that Richard spent Christmas day at Toron of the Knights, that is Lat-

A.D. 1191. November—December. Our whole stay at Ramlah was six weeks.

Dec. 20. Narrow escape of Richard from the Saracens, at Blancheguard.

Departure of King Guy to Acre, Dec. 20, and of Stephen of Turneham Dec. 22. The Templars and Hospitallers make a foray on the hills round Jerusalem Dec. 28.

sumus circiter sex septimanas, verum non in deliciis, sed dura principia dulci fine quandoque remunerantur. Igitur dum moram ibi faceremus frequentes Turcorum experti sumus incursiones: ipsi quippe quantamcunque[1] nostrorum invidentes quietem, ad irritandum[2] sæpius irruunt vel ad inquietandum jacula mittunt. Vigilia Beati Thomæ Apostoli, cum rex Ricardus, paucis comitatus, exiret a castris versus casellum dictum Alba Custodia, ut Saracenis tenderet insidias, præsagiente corde nonnihil imminere periculi, a proposito, ut creditur, divinitus aversus, ad castra reversus est. Et ecce eadem hora intimatum est ei a duobus Saracenis, qui ad ipsum tunc confugerant, quod Salahadinus paulo ante præmiserat ad Albam Custodiam, quo rex ire proposuerat, trecentos Turcos armatos electos. Eadem die profectus est rex Guido versus Achon, Stephanus quoque de Turneham tertia die sequenti versus Achon profectus est. Nocte Sanctorum Innocentium media, Hospitalarii et Templarii a castris egressi, diluculo reversi sunt ad Ramulam cum præda ducentorum boum, quam in unum coactam a montanis juxta Jerusalem abegerant.[3]

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roon, or Netroun, whither (Ibid. 406) he had come on the second day before. This place, the fortifications of which had been demolished by Saladin in October (Bohadin, 204), is close to Amwâs or Nicopolis. The count of S. Pol had taken up his winter quarters at the Casal of the Baths; a description very applicable to Amwâs (fountains) which was famous for its healing springs. See Reland's *Palæstina Illustrata*, 425, 758, and the paper on Emmaus, by Mr. George Williams, *Journal of Philology*, iv. 265. According to the oriental historians quoted by Wilken, iv. 455, who are generally better acquainted with the movements of the Crusaders than they with theirs, the army established itself at Ramlah on the 21st of November, there were skirmishes on November 25 and December 3, between Ramlah and Netroun, and on the 8th of December the army retired into Ramlah. The last date agrees with our author's date of going into winter quarters 22 days from the 15th of November. It appears from Richard's passing his Christmas at Latroon, that although his army was encamped in the rear, he himself was in the foremost camp.

[1] *quantamcunque*] quantumcunque, B.

[2] *irritandum*] irritandam, B.

[3] *Vigilia . . . abegerant*] om. B.

[CAPITULUM XXXIII.]

A.D. 1191. December.

De admirabili pugna et victoria Comitis Leicestriæ contra Turcos, nostris postmodum ad succursum venientibus.

Three knights in the Earl of Leicester's company taken prisoners by the Turks.

Accidit die quadam, ut nobilis comes Legecestriæ Turcorum plurimos cum fastu maximo appropiantes paucis comitatus invaderet ad[1] abigendum, quos perniciter fugientes insecuti sunt cæteris velociores tres milites socii comitis, quos, cum jam in Turcos feriendos sese imprudenter[2] ingessissent, Turci inter se comprehenderunt abducendos.[3] Quod comes comperiens, non ulterius ratus parcendum, in plures quam centum Turcos equo acto se præcipitavit, ut socios suos excuteret. Et ecce! dum Turcos illos ultra flumen quoddam insectaretur, Turcorum equites circiter quadringenti venerunt a latere, singuli tenentes lanceam arundineam[4] et arcum; cum impetu magno comitem cum paucis[5] sociis ab exercitu ne rediret excluserunt a tergo, sicque circumdatum sollicite satagebant comprehendere. Jam ab equo prostratum clavis ferratis crudeliter contundebant Garinum filium Geroldi. Ibi fit conflictus acerrimus; perstrepunt lanceæ, dum confringuntur; tinniunt ad galeas gladii, mutuo inflictu resonant ictus; et ecce, non multo post prostratus est ab equo Drogo de Fontenillo[6] Putrellis, nec non et Robertus Nigelli. Comitem ipsum obsedit tanta multitudo Turcorum et Persarum, in ipsum comprehendendum irruentium, ut postremo vix ab equo durius flagellatum dejicerent, et in ipso flumine propemodum in turba submergerent. Ipse vero gladium vibrans, ut

The earl himself is surrounded.

Warin Fitz Gerald unhorsed and beaten.

The earl nearly drowned.

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[1] *ad*] om. C.
[2] *imprudenter*] impudenter, A.
[3] *abducendos*] ad ducendos, B.
[4] *arundineam*] harundiam, B.
[5] *paucis*] paucissimis, B.
[6] *Fontenillo*] Funtenillo, B.

A.D. 1191. December.

Henry Fitz Nicolas and Robert of Newburgh rescue the earl.

sibi prospexit opus instare, Turcis sibi imminentibus impertiebat ictus a dextris et a sinistris. In illo[1] articulo comiti fuerunt auxilio Henricus filius Nicholai, et ille merito recolendæ memoriæ Robertus de Novo Burgo, cujus immortalis liberalitas eidem nomen acquisivit æternum. Videns enim[2] comitem crudeliter fustigatum æstuare, et inter tot hostium manus dubio laborare[3] certamine, equum suum a quo descendit, obtulit comiti scandendum, sua reputans pretiosiorem comitis salutem. Factum consimile vereor rarissimos parentare sequentes, immo, e contrario dives est omnis iniquitas societate plurima. Sic se vir nobilis Robertus ingenuo facto suo et se conservavit et comitem. Erant præter hos cum comite Radulphus de Sancta Maria, et Arnaldus de Bosco, Henricus de Mailoc,[4] Willelmus et Saulus de Bruil; sed quid hi inter tantos? Verumtamen diutius hi se præstantissime defendebant. Virtus vero paucorum non sufficiebat adversus innumeros. Tanta siquidem continuatione recentiores pro fatigatis, se Turci supponentes, comitem cum sociis suis paucissimis improbissima vexarant[5] instantia, et jugi flagellatione affecerant, ut pondus importabilis belli diutius sustinere non sufficerent, sed jam equorum suorum colla complectentes ad malleantium contusiones perferendas perdurarent immobiles, quos sic demum tanquam stupidos, nec ulterius repugnantes Turci versus Darum deduxerunt captivos. O quam bonum sperare in Domino !* quia non dormitat qui custodit Israelem,† nec quenquam sustinet tentari ultra quam potest.‡ Talibus gestis in exercitu nostro auditis, raptim[6] armati prodeunt milites, Turcos ferventius insequuntur, invadunt, dispergunt, lacerant.

Heroism of Robert of Newburgh.

The earl and his companions taken and led away.

* Psalm cxviii. 9.
† Psalm cxxi. 4.
‡ 1 Cor. x. 13

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[1] *illo*] ipso, A.
[2] *enim*] om. B.
[3] *laborare*] labore, C.
[4] *Mailoc*] Mainloc, B.
[5] *vexarant*] vexarunt, B. C.
[6] *raptim*] rapti, C.

A.D. 1191. December. Andrew of Chavigny, Henry de Gray, and Peter des Préaux go to the rescue.

Nostratum autem erant[1] hi Andreas de Chavyngny,[2] Henricus de Gray, Petrus de Pratellis, et alii quamplures viri virtutis nominatissimi. Singuli nostrorum perimunt singulos Turcorum in primo congressu factos obvios. Turcus quem Petrus de Pratellis obvium percusserat, tantæ fuerat virtutis[3] et potentiæ, ut nec ipse Petrus, sed nec quam plurimi ejusdem socii prævalerent ipsum Turcum salvum comprehendere vel vivum abducere: immo, vix superatum peremerunt. Admiralium quoque quem in ipso congressu fors obtulit obvium, Andreas de Chavigny[4] lancea transfodit medium, et lethaliter vulneratum equo dejecit non ulterius turbam facturum.[5] Idem vero Turcus Andreæ brachium hasta cannea contriverat perforatum. Ad casum Admiralii concurrunt Turci; atrociter dimicant ut Admiralium suum eruant; sed penes eum opus erat consummatum. Turci nihilominus nostros violenter[6] opprimunt, ictus iterant, cannis ferratis propellunt. Jam prævalere æstimarentur, nisi nostrorum numerus augeretur, et virtus jam fatigatorum primorum subsequentium corroboraretur adventu. Tunc pertinax pugna conseritur; comes impetit et impetitur, Turcos dejicit et contunditur,[7] plurium imminentium sibi cervices abradit, multorum plurimos[8] excipit ictus, singulis invergens unum solum ictum: nec opus est ulterius adjicere. Duo sub eo perempti sunt equi; de quo nimirum ferebatur nunquam ejus ætatis alterum tantilli corporis hominem tantorum fuisse præditum magnificentia gestorum. In cujus etiam auxilium tanta[9] militum electorum ab exercitu nostro multitudo

Their exploits. Andrew kills an emir.

Reinforcements arrive: the earl's prowess.

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[1] *erant*] om. A.

[2] *Chavyngny*] Chavgni, A.; Cavigny, B.

[3] *fuerat virtutis*] probitatis fuerat, A.

[4] *Chavigny*] Chavigni, A.; Cavigny, B.

[5] *facturum*] ducturum, A. B.

[6] *nostros violenter*] tr. A. B.

[7] *contunditur*] contenditur, C.

[8] *plurimos*] pluries, A.

[9] *tanta*] tantum, B.

A.D. 1191. December.

concurrerat, ut nullus eorum in tanta rerum turba ceciderit: immo Turcis dissipatis et in diversa dispersis, diutius persequerentur fugientes, donec affecti tædio reverterentur ad exercitum in pace.

[CAPITULUM XXXVI.]

Quæ incommoda per pluvias et tempestates et hostium irruptiones gens nostra per Betenoble transiens versus Jerusalem pertulerit.

Saladin retires into Jerusalem: and the Turks retire into the mountains.

Interea cum innotuisset Salahadino gentem nostram esse in procinctu adeundi sanctam civitatem Jerusalem, et jam ab exercitu suo duobus tantum[1] distare[2] milliariis; quia cum Christianis pugnare non reputabat fore tutum, jussit solo tenus Darum diruere turres et muros, et inde fugit ad[3] Jerusalem. Turci quoque de planitiis transeuntes occupaverunt montana. Quibus amotis, præconis vociferatione denunciatum est a nostris exercitum transmigrandum usque ad montis radicem. Rebus itaque[4] dispositis, et digesto per acies exercitu, profecti sunt seriatim usque ad casellum dictum Betenoble.[5] Tunc nobis ingruebant pluviæ gravissimæ, et aeris intemperies sævissima, unde jumentorum nostrorum periere quam plurima. Tanta quippe exorta est tempestas; pluviarum, grandinum,

Our army now proceeds from Ramlah to Beit-Nûba (cir. Dec. 31).

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[1] *tantum*] om. A.

[2] *distare*] distante, B.

[3] *ad*] in B.; om. C. Our author is again behindhand as to the movements of Saladin, who had gone to Jerusalem as soon as the rains began, soon after the removal of the Crusaders into Ramlah. See Bohadin, 220. No demolition of Darum is mentioned by Bohadin, so that it is possible that our author again means by Darum, Latroon, which was dismantled by Saladin before retreating to Tel-al-Sjusour.

[4] *itaque*] ita, B.

[5] *Betenoble*] Beit-Nûba. The distance between Latroon, where the advanced posts of the Crusaders were, and Beit-Nûba, is so small that one day would suffice for the march, which must have taken place between Innocents' day, Dec. 28, and Jan. 3.

A.D. 1191. Cir. Dec. 31.

Their sufferings from rain and weather.

ventorumque vehementium irruebant fragores, ut papilionum palos avellerent et longius dejicerent, et equi frigoris magnitudine, et nimietate aquarum perirent; et pars maxima victualium, panis biscoctus, distemperabatur in dissolutionem; et carnes suillæ, vulgariter bacones, computrescebant. Loricæ et arma quam plurima obducebantur rubigine, vix maxime rotando ad pristinum reducenda fulgorem: vestes resolvebantur, et ex externarum situ regionum, naturali suæ complexioni contrario, contabuerunt plurimi, et tantarum lue miseriarum elanguerunt. Hoc vero[1] solum eis supererat pro solatio, quod se[2] sperabant in proximo Dominicum visitaturos[3] sepulcrum: ultra modum quidem desiderabant videre civitatem Jerusalem, et peregrinationem consummare. Comportabant igitur singuli victualia ad obsidionem complendam. Tunc videres gentem undique confluere cum jocunditate in quamcunque expeditionem voluntariam. Ipsi quoque, qui apud Joppen decubuerant[4] infirmi, deferebantur in grabatis et lectulis ad exercitum, sub spe procedendi versus Jerusalem. Similiter et undecunque confluebat multitudo copiosa nimis, quatenus simul et cum exercitu Dominicum visitarent sepulcrum. Hæc spes sola omnia cætera[5] superabat incommoda. Turci vero, dum sic afferrentur infirmi, irruebant in eos, et tam portitores trucidabant quam infirmos, nullis parcendum putantes, quos sibi cognoverant esse inimicos. Sed quid? Quacunque morte fuerit justus[6] præoccupatus* salvabitur, præsertim martyr reputandus, cujus tam gloriosa commendat causa martyrium. Quibus nihilominus, licet mala intentione hostes intulerint mortem, illud cedebat ad lucrum,[7] quod tam brevibus impendiis cita morte consummati expleverunt tempora multa.†

They are cheered with the hope of finishing their pilgrimage.

Cruel attack of the Turks on the sick.

* Wisdom, iv. 7.

† Wisdom, iv. 13.

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[1] *vero*] om. A.
[2] *se*] om. A.
[3] *visitaturos*] visitationis, B.
[4] *decubuerant*] decubuerunt, B.
[5] *cætera*] cæterorum, C.
[6] *fuerit justus*] tr. A.
[7] *lucrum*] lucem, C.

[CAPITULUM XXXV.]

Populus arma sua præparat, gaudens de peregrinatione in Jerusalem; quam dissuadent Templarii et sapientiores, sed consilium eorum adhuc populus non exaudit.

A.D. 1191. Cir. Dec. 31. Joyful anticipations in the army of taking Jerusalem.

Igitur lætabatur exercitus eximie, eo quod se speraret[1] in proximo ad Dominicum diu desideratum pervenire[2] sepulcrum. Rotantur loricæ, ne rubigine squalescant: tractantur galeæ mappulis, ne forte pallescant, humore lambente fulgorem; gladiorum birris exterguntur mucrones, ne qua humectatione claritudini inimica corrumpantur. Quid autem per singula numeranda? ad aggrediendum iter se sollicite singuli expediunt, nullis nec hostili occursione[3] retardandi obstaculis, verba quidem jactitantes magniloqua, invitis Saracenis se præmasticant, olim devotam consummaturos peregrinationem. Verum plebis desiderio minus circumspecto sapientiores non censuerunt acquiescendum. Templarii enim[4] et Hospitalarii, Polani[5] nihilominus terræ illius,[6] in futurum oculos habentes acutiores[7] super agendis, regi Ricardo dissuaserunt versus Jerusalem in illo articulo eundum; tum quia, si civitas obsideretur et tota intentione insisterent expugnare Salahadinum et hos qui cum ipso[8] coercerentur inclusi, exercitus Turcorum exterior, qui non procul inde in montanis sedebat, obsidentibus repentinas moliretur[9] incursiones, et periculosior pugna committeretur, hinc ab externis, inde ab exeuntibus obsessis; tum et si omnia succederent ad votum, et obtinerent civita-

The knights and Pullani oppose the popular ardour.

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[1] *speraret*] sperabat, A.

[2] *diu desideratum pervenire*] tr. A.B.

[3] *occursione*] incursione, C.

[4] *enim*] etenim, B.

[5] *Polani*] Palani, C. Gale has *Pisani.*

[6] *terræ illius*] om. B.

[7] *habentes acutiores*] tr. A.

[8] *ipso*] eo, A.

[9] *moliretur*] om. B.

A.D. 1191. Cir. Dec. 31. Their arguments against marching on Jerusalem.

tem Jerusalem, nec hoc etiam expedire visum est, nisi statim viri robustissimi deputarentur qui custodirent civitatem; quod quidem autumabant non de facili posse compleri, præsertim cum plebem perpendissent avidissimam ad peregrinationem consummandam, ut inde sine mora repatriarent singuli, turbationis rerum jam ultra modum pertæsi. Hæc omnia pensantes, subtilius hoc suaserunt differendum, quatenus virtus[1] belli et robur vulgi de consilio conservaretur, et tamdiu cohærerent quamdiu non consummaretur peregrinatio; soluto quippe voto dissolveretur exercitus. Sed adhuc consilium eorum non omnino exauditur.

[Capitulum XXXVI.]

Quos Turcos, rex Ricardus cum suis delitescens ad casellum Balneorum occiderit in prædicto itinere versus Jerusalem.

A.D. 1192. January 3. A detachment of Turks issues from an ambuscade near the Casal of the Plains, and attacks our rear.

Jam incipiebat novus annus, annus videlicet Domini millesimus centesimus nonagesimus secundus, qui et Bissextilis[2] erat, habens, post locum Bissexti, D. dominicalem litteram. Et ecce! tertia post Circumcisionem Domini[3] die, cum exercitus noster ad progrediendum se sollicitius[4] expediret, deformium multitudo Turcorum, qui eadem nocte præterita juxta casellum de Planis in insidiis delituerant inter frutecta, prosiliit diluculo, in viam observandam per quam noster transiturus erat exercitus. Duos itaque ex nostris satellites, quos primos viderant mane progredientes, invadentes, sine mora peremerunt, quos tamen Deus[5] providerat in brevi vindicandos. Rex quippe Ricardus, cui prius innotuerat de prædictis[6] Turcorum insidiis, propterea

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[1] *virtus*] om. A.
[2] *Bissextilis*] Bissextus, C.
[3] *Domini*] om. B.
[4] *sollicitius*] sollicitus, C.
[5] *Deus*] om. C.
[6] *prædictis*] prædictorum, A.

A.D. 1192. January 3. Richard having lain in ambush near the Casal of the Baths attacks the Turks; who fly towards Mirabel.

quoque eadem nocte ad casellum Balneorum consederat in insidiis,[1] ut videlicet insidiantibus insidiaretur, mane progrediens cum Turcorum attenderet incursionem, rapido cursu eo versus[2] ferebatur, sperans prædictos satellites a manibus eorum vivos excutere. Verum ipsis detruncatis, cum regem, ex ejus imminente[3] baneria, Turci cognovissent, statim fugere cœperunt. Erant autem ferme centum Turci, quorum quosdam a facie ejus divertentes in montana rex insequens, septem ex eis aut peremit aut comprehendit. Octoginta vero Turcorum versus Mirabel fugientes, rex sedens equo suo favello Cyprio velocius acto,[4] apprehendit, et statim in ipso congressu Turcorum duos equis dejectos detruncavit, antequam quisquam suorum comitum ad ipsum pervenisse potuisset. Equus quippe favellus incomparabilis exstiterat[5] velocitatis. Ibi tunc erat Galfridus de Liziniaco, cum aliis quibusdam, qui tunc quoque ex illis Turcis viginti tantum vel occiderunt vel vivos retinuerunt; quod si longius fugientes instantius persecuti fuissent, profecto multo plures comprehendissent.[6]

[*Explicit Liber Quartus, Incipit Quintus.*]

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[1] *propterea . . . insidiis*] om. A.

[2] *eo versus*] conversus, B.

[3] *imminente*] om. B.

[4] *acto*] octo, B.

[5] *exstiterat*] erat, A.

[6] The chronicle ascribed to Benedict of Peterborough, vol. ii. p. 721, contains a very curious passage, probably embodying the reports that first reached Europe, of the march to Beit Nûba, and not corrected after the true accounts were received. In this passage we are told that, in the week before Christmas, Richard defeated Saladin with great slaughter in the plains of Ramlah, and then marched on Jerusalem. The Saracens sallied out of the city to meet him and were defeated. Richard proceeded to invest Jerusalem. On the fourth day of the siege the garrison offered to surrender on condition of being allowed to depart "cum vita "et membris," but Richard refused. This is the last news of the crusade given us by the original writer in Benedict's Chronicle, and is, of course, omitted by Hoveden and Bromton. It is interesting as showing that popular rumour did not venture to anticipate an actual capture of Jerusalem.

LIBER QUINTUS.

[CAPITULUM I.]

Ad persuasionem Templariorum et prædictorum, contra voluntatem plebis, nunc demum nostri peregrinationem in Jerusalem intermittunt, ut prius reædificationi Ascalonis intendant.

A.D. 1192. January 13. A council held to determine whether the army shall proceed to Jerusalem or elsewhere.

The council decides that Ascalon must be rebuilt.

Disappointment of the pilgrims.

Anno igitur Domini m^{o}c^{o}xc^{o}ii^{ndo},[1] post Epiphaniam Domini non multis evolutis diebus, coacto consilio sapientiores iterum, ut supradictum est, inter se statuerunt tractandum, ascitis etiam discretioribus illius terræ oriundis, utrum expediret vel procedere versus civitatem Jerusalem expugnandam, vel alias divertere. Allegantibus itaque Hospitalariis et Templariis et Polanis,[2] ut dictum est superius, variis nitentibus[3] rationibus ad id plurimum facientibus,[4] dissuasum est omnino progrediendum, immo Ascalonæ[5] civitati potius insisterent reædificandæ, quatenus ibi transitus observaretur Turcorum a Babylonia versus Jerusalem cibaria portantium. Huic tandem sententiæ in commune annuerunt majores, quod[6] potius expediret tunc temporis Ascalonem a Turcis ereptam reædificare, et, ne liberiori transitu Turci gauderent ulterius, ibidem observare. Igitur cum jam revera innotuisset exercitui regressionis decretum, plebs inæstimabili contabuit mœstitia; gemunt omnes et suspirant, spem eorum, quam alto corde conceperant de Dominico visitando sepulcro, ita repente fuisse præcisam. Imminens itaque tristitia præcedentem de progrediendo lætitiam prorsus absorbuit, et priorem spei conceptionem ex jam[1] auditis expungebat desperatio. Imprecantur hujus decreti promulgantibus omne malum anxii; maledicunt voti dilationem, et tam contrariorum gestorum procuratores. Verum si eisdem plenius innotuisset de statu et penuria eorum, qui in Jerusalem erant, moderatiori forte sollicitarentur anxietate, ex inimicorum tribulatione quamcunque habentes consolationem. Turci quippe, qui infra[2] Jerusalem civitatem se cohibebant, perniciosissimis angustiabantur suppliciis multimodis: nivium enim et grandinum opprimebantur nimietate, ex quarum nihilominus resolutionibus aquarum diluvium a montanis defluens, equos eorum et jumenta catervatim involvit, vel certe frigoris asperitas necavit. In tantum nimirum extabuerunt penuria et nimia periclitabantur defectione, ut si nostris revera constaret de Turcorum tanta depressione[3] ob aeris intemperiem, levibus tunc temporis laboribus et impensis obtinerentur, et procul dubio de facili civitas illa diu desiderata Jerusalem expugnaretur. Sed diu a nostris retineri non posset, quia peracta peregrinatione populo repatriante, non superesset gens quæ eam defendere valeret.

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[1] *m^{o}c^{o}xc^{o}ii^{ndo}*] m^{o}c^{o}ix^{o}ii^{o}, A.B., corrected as in the text. The day of the consultation is said by Hoveden to have been S. Hilary's day, Jan. 13. *Hoveden*, f. 407.

[2] *Polanis*] Posanis, A.

[3] *nitentibus*] intentionibus, C.

[4] *facientibus*] sentientibus, A.

[5] *Ascalonæ*] Ascaloni, A.

[6] *quod*] quoniam, B.

A.D. 1192. January 13.

The Crusaders might have been comforted if they had known the miseries of their enemies in Jerusalem.

The city might have been taken at that time at little cost.

[CAPITULUM II.]

Populus ultra modum anxiatur et doloribus affligitur nimis ultra modum, pro peregrinatione in Jerusalem dimissa, et reversione sua in Ramulam.

Instante jam festivitate Sancti Hilarii,[4] tanta populum nostrum perurgebat de regrediendo sollicitudo

Grief of the people.

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[1] *jam*] om. B.

[2] *infra*] intra, A.

[3] *depressione*] oppressione, A.

[4] *Hilarii*] Hillarii, C.

A.D. 1192. January 13.

Sufferings of the army on the retreat from Beit Nûba to Ramlah.

et mœroris nimietas, ut propemodum apostatarent quam plurimi. Dies exsecrantes nativitatis eorum, se dolebant ad tantam reservatos desolationem. Præterea ægritudinum vehementia plures debilitabantur et penuria, ut vix cum maximo labore et ærumna sufficerent: sed tamen non sufficiebant ad reportanda victualia sua. Equi eorum et jumenta frigoris asperitate et aquarum gelidarum ingruentia in tantum defecerant, ut labentibus genibus, deficiente virtute, frequenter ruerent, et fame affecti in locis cœnosis volutarentur sub sarcinis. Tunc audires eos, qui jumenta minabant, complosis manibus vicissim gemere, vel sibi palmas in faciem dare, et præ amaritudine animi et afflictione spiritus, verba jaculari redolentia in parte blasphemiam. Quin immo acerbiori nunquam, immo nec consimili, æstimantur quicunque, vel scelerati,[1] vel suppliciis addicti facinorosi, agitati angustia, vel attriti depressione, vel pari cruciati defectione pene ultima. O juventus tot præclare gestorum gloria insignis! O militia tot articulis probata! jam emarcescit mœrore, desperatione languet, et præter corporalem infirmitatem, qua populi laborabat infinita multitudo, exulcerantur præcordia stimulis sollicitudinis, quibus nihil est gravius, sicque duplici contritione sunt obruti. Infirmorum siquidem quam plurimi, sibi non sufficientes, ibi perclitarentur neglecti, nisi rex Ricardus, divinæ[2] motus intuitu pietatis, universorum curam haberet. Missis enim nunciis circumquaque quærere ægrotantes, in virtute sua congregavit[3] pereuntes, et coadunatos cunctos secum versus Ramulam procuravit deportari,[4] ubi totus dispositus exercitus regressus est, unde paulo ante discesserat.

Richard shows care and kindness to the sick.

The army arrives at Ramlah.

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[1] *vel scelerati*] om. C.

[2] *divinæ*] divino, B.

[3] *congregavit*] congregabat, A.B.

[4] *deportari*] transportari, B.

[CAPITULUM III.]

Quantis tribulationibus et[1] mœroribus ultra modum anxiabatur exercitus inter Ramulam et Ascalonem, ex viarum periculis, et intemperie aeris, et recessu multorum Francorum ab exercitu.

Igitur dum apud Ramulam in maxima tristitia sederet exercitus, cœperunt quam plurimi, vel ad declinandum iter laboriosum, vel, ob contumaciam et indignationem, ab exercitu recedere, unde non minimum diminutus est exercitus. Francorum enim pars maxima ob iracundiam recesserat, qui et apud Joppen aliquamdiu resederunt in otiis; quidam etiam ad Achon regressi sunt, ubi victualium non erat egestas. Nonnulli etiam profecti sunt Tyrum ad Marchisum qui plurimum eos ad id sollicitaverat, quidam quoque cum duce Burgundiæ ob iram et indignationem diverterunt ad casellum de Planis, ubi per octo dies morati sunt. Rex Ricardus super rerum statu non minimum exasperatus, cum Henrico comite Campaniæ nepote suo et cum residuo exercitu[2] jam ex parte sic diminuto, profecti sunt versus Ibelinum. Vias autem adeo cœnosas invenerunt et lutulentas, ut hospitandi tempore nihil æstimaretur adeo fatigatis optata quiete magis necessarium. Apud Ibelinum moratus est ea nocte exercitus, non minus mœrore affectus quam labore[3] pertæsus. Magnitudinem quidem tribulationis et miseriæ nec calamus describere, nec lingua sufficeret depromere. Summo diluculo, præcedentibus iis qui tentoriis deputabantur figendis, prodiibat seriatim armatus exercitus. Super calamitatem[4] vero illius itineris diei, minimum æstimaretur quicquid anterioris diei exaggeraverat angustia. Fessi nimirum dum proficiscerentur, gelidæ[5] nives impluunt vultibus, grandinum

A.D. 1192. January 13–19. Whilst the army was at Ramlah the French began to desert.

January 19. Richard and his army march from Ramlah to Ibelin (now Yebna).

January 20. March from Ibelin to to Ascalon.

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[1] *et*] om. B.

[2] *exercitu*] exercitus, A.

[3] *labore*] laboris, A.

[4] *calamitatem*] calamitate, B.

[5] *gelidæ*] gelido, B.

A.D. 1192. January 20. Miseries of the march from Ibelin to Ascalon.

densitates reverberant, pluviæ torrentes involvunt, ut tanquam ad examinandum omne cœlum deputaretur affligendis. Sed et terra pedibus cedebat ambulantium cœnulenta; locis palustribus decidunt veredarii equi et homines, qui dum sollicitius toto conamine elaborant emergere, desperabilius revolvuntur in præceps, quamplurimi non amplius evasuri. O quis æstimaret illius amaritudinem diei? quis pondus angustiæ? quis miserorum pensaret infelicitatem, gemitus et suspiria? Constantissimorum etiam vultus non minus lacrymis rorabant quam pluviis, quos nimirum ob suppliciorum immanitatem torpentes jam superesse tædebat. Deficientibus jumentis, decidentia [1] passim periere victualia, vel cum aquarum torrentibus defluentia, vel in locis bituminosis immersa. Sic contriti, probati, fatigati, sæpius diei qua nati sunt maledicentes, frequentius seipsos colaphizantes, tandem ad Ascalonem civitatem pervenerunt; quam omnino ita dirutam a Saracenis solo tenus repererunt, ut vix cum summo labore per portarum introitus ingredi potuissent, super congeries lapidum. Dies illa fuit vicesima mensis Januarii.[2] Ea nocte pro facultate virtutis singulorum sibi quisque vacabat.

Arrival at the ruins of Ascalon. (Jan. 20.)

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[1] *decidentia*] de incidentia, B.

[2] According to the *History of Jerusalem and Hebron*, quoted by Wilken, iv. 464, the Christian army quitted Ramlah on Tuesday the 3rd of Moharrem, and reached Ascalon on the Wednesday. Either Wilken has misquoted, or else the historian has mistaken his dates: for the 3rd of Moharrem, Jan. 20th, was Monday, and the Wednesday of course the 22nd. The dates of the Eastern writers may sometimes be reconciled with those of the Crusaders by remembering that the former began the day in the evening: but it is hardly likely that Richard should have marched in the evening from Ramlah to Ibelin. Possibly our author may be wrong as to the day; for if the Duke of Burgundy remained eight days at the Casal of Plains, from January 13, before the march to Ascalon; the earliest day on which the march could take place would be the 21st, not the 19th as the text implies; Richard would then arrive at Ascalon on the 22nd, which was Wednesday, and agrees so far as the day of the week is concerned with the date of the *History of Jerusalem and Hebron*. Wilken apparently had overlooked the fact that A.D. 1192 was leap year.

[CAPITULUM IV.]

Item quantis incommodis affligebatur exercitus apud Ascalonem ex aeris intemperie, et penuria victualium.

Ascalon civitas juxta mare Græcum sita est, qua quidem nusquam esset altera civitas competentius locata, nec situ fortior,[1] nec suburbanis felicior, si modo portum navibus aptum haberet applicandis.[2] Portum quidem habet sed[3] periculosum, quo maris fervor irrequietus naves solet ex assidua jactatione dissolvere; unde ea tempestate, qua eo pervenit exercitus, maxime propter imminentem aeris intemperiem, per octo dies nulla navis Ascalonem præsumpsit adire cum victualibus, quibus plurimum indigebat exercitus, sed nec homines vel jumenta per octo spatium dierum,[4] quicquam aliud gustaverunt, præter id modicum quod illuc attulerant. Nec enim propter Turcorum insidias in regione tutum[5] erat cibaria quæritare. Denique serenato aliquantisper tempore, venerunt eo naves quædam onerariæ[6] cum victualibus. Nec mora, grassante rediviva tempestate, cœpit iterum exercitus egere; naves quippe quas bargas vocant, et galeæ, propter victualia transmissæ, vi turbinum ingruentium ventorum resolutæ perierant,[7] cunctis fere submersis qui fuerant in ipsis. Omnes etiam Snekæ[8] regis et aliorum confractæ[9] sunt, ex quarum materiis fecit rex suas longas naves conficere, quibus æstimabat,[10] sed frustra, transfretare.

A.D. 1192. January 20-28.

Owing to the inconvenience of the port of Ascalon, and to the violence of the weather, the army is kept eight days without provisions.

After a short interval a period of dearth and bad weather recurs: The shipping is destroyed.

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[1] *fortior*] nec formosior, add. B.
[2] *applicandis*] applicandi, B.
[3] *sed*] om. B.
[4] *spatium dierum*] tr. A.
[5] *tutum*] om. B.
[6] *onerariæ*] oneratæ, B.
[7] *perierant*] perierunt, B,
[8] *Snekæ*] Snakæ, A.
[9] *confractæ*] fractæ, C.
[10] *æstimabat*] æstimat, A.

[Capitulum V.]

Salahadinus, audita reversione et dispersione exercitus nostri, principes et exercitum suum usque ad Maium ad propria remittit.

A.D. 1192. January. Saladin, on the report of the defections from our army, dismisses his forces until the month of May.

Salahadinus, audito quod gens nostra per maritima fuisset dispersa, et quod ex parte noster esset dissipatus exercitus, permisit singulos exercitus sui[1] principes cum gente sua in propria reverti, ut,[2] usque mensem Maium, scilicet tempus expeditioni competens, vacantes, res suas singuli curarent domesticas. Interea Turci, qui jam per continuum quadriennium sub Salahadino laboriosissime militaverant, in castris voluntarie digressi sunt, ut desideratam reviserent familiam. Tunc audires tot admiratos, tot principes exercitus et magnates, nimis damnosam rememorari expeditionem, et super infortuniis obstupescere, ut qui consueverunt retroactis temporibus in singulis fere congressibus perseverare victores, et quoslibet adversarios conterere, et spolia diripere, nunc e[3] contrario, tanto tempore non tantum nihil acquisivisse, verum etiam, cum rerum suarum dispendio, et parentum partem non minimam in prœliis frequenter amisisse. Præterea inconsolabiliter commoti sunt super perditionem[4] principum illorum, et admiratorum et aliorum quos[5] Salahadinus ex condicto neglexit redimere, quos[6] rex Ricardus apud Achon jusserat decollari, sicut prædictum est. Ex hoc igitur inexorabilem adversus Salahadinum conceperant indignationem et odium. Cum gemitibus igitur et lamentis exercitus Salahadini secedit[7] ad tempus.

The causes of the disaffection among the Saracen chiefs.

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[1] *permisit . . . sui*] suos, A.
[2] *ut*] om. A.
[3] *e*] om. C.
[4] *perditionem*] expeditionem, A.; perditione, B.
[5] *quos*] quia, ins. A.B.
[6] *quos*] om. A.B.
[7] *secedit*] secessit, A.

[Capitulum VI.]

Rex Ricardus Francos ab exercitu digressos, quoscunque potuit allicere revocat, et communi consilio Ascalonem reædificant.

A.D. 1192. January. At the end of January Richard summons the French to Ascalon.

The French agree to rejoin Richard until Easter (April 5), and come to Ascalon.

They determine to rebuild Ascalon.

Exeunte jam mense Januario, et instante aere puriore, rex ægre ferens exercitum in diversa dispergi, destinatis nunciis mandavit Francis persuasorie, quatenus ad castra redirent Ascalonem, et unitate communionis consolidaretur exercitus universitas, et decerneretur a cunctis quorsum [1] censeretur commodius divertendum; "expedit enim," inquit, "ad capiendum consilium, scilicet [2] virtute et consilio, universitatem exercitus "simul adesse, ne forte, quod absit, interveniente discordia, perniciosius a mutuis destituamur auxiliis, et "desperabilius ab insidiatoribus expugnemur adversariis." His auditis Franci regi significant, ejus mandato se profecto parituros, sed tantummodo usque Pascha, ea quoque conditione, ut si forte mallent ad Pascha Franci recedere, sine quorumlibet contradictione et impedimento libere recederent; eis etiam [3] libere recedentibus auctoritatem præstaret et conductum. Omnibus his rex annuit, utpote pensans multa pro tempore dissimulanda. Et ecce, redeuntibus Francis, consolidatus reparatur exercitus. Visum est igitur in commune muros Ascaloniæ [4] reparare, et civitatem reædificare; verum proceres et majores in tantum exstiterant jam attenuati, ut vel ad modicum non sufficerent. Et tamen singuli secundum propriam virtutem

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[1] *quorsum*] quorum cum, A.; quorum, C.

[2] *scilicet*] simul, C.

[3] *etiam*] autem, A.

[4] *Ascaloniæ*] Ascalonis, A.B.

A.D. 1192. February.

The zeal of the crusaders in the fortification of Ascalon.

opus[1] inchoare cœperunt; unius itaque portæ majoris altius fundamenta confodiendo perquirentes, usque ad ipsius maceriei[2] soliditatem dejecerunt dirutam lapidum congeriem. Ibi videre fuit universos in commune operari, proceres, nobiles, milites, armigeros, et servientes[3] a manu ad manum lapides et saxa protendere. Nec erat distinctio vel differentia inter[4] clericos et laicos, inter ingenuos et[5] plebeios, inter satellites et principes; idem omnibus par labor, et opera simul omnes fecit æquales. Hinc et in brevi profecerunt usque ad ipsorum etiam operantium admirationem. Postea perquisitis et adhibitis cementariis, fervet opus,* et expeditius surgit altitudo murorum. Erant civitatis Ascalonis turres plurimæ, jam solo[6] prorsus æquatæ, numero quinquaginta tres, eminentiores et firmissimæ, præter minores moderatioris altitudinis. Quinque quoque turrium prædictarum propria sortitæ sunt vocabula a suis fundatoribus; quia, secundum antiquorum assertionem consciorum veritatis, et famam publicam, primus exstiterat illius famosi Noæ filiorum Cham[7] nomine potentissimus, qui triginta duos[8] filios generavit post ipsum regnantes. Ipsi civitatem Ascalonem[9] construxerunt. Ipsi, ut fama prædicat, ad consummandam quam inchoaverant civitatem,[10] circumquaque per suæ fines ditionis asciverant auxiliatores, in quorum gratiam conciliandam, et nomen æternum,[11] dicuntur puellæ construxisse turrim quæ dicitur Puellarum. Simili modo ædificaverunt milites turrim nuncupatam Scutorum. Turrim vero Sanguinum vocitatam asse-

* Virgil, Æn. i. 436.

Ascalon has fifty-three towers, built by the thirty-two sons of Ham.

The Tower of Girls.

The Tower of Shields.

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[1] *opus*] om., A.
[2] *maceriei*] materiei, B.
[3] *servientes*] servientibus, B.
[4] *inter*] om. A.B.
[5] *ingenuos et*] om. B.
[6] *jam solo*] a solo jam, A.
[7] *Cham*] Cam, B.
[8] *duos*] duo, B.
[9] *Ascalonem*] Ascalonis, B.
[10] *civitatem*] Ascalonem, ins. B.
[11] *æternum*] æternam, B.

A.D. 1192. February.

The Towers of Bloods, of Emirs, and of Bedouins.

Richard sets the example of working and spending money on the work.

Three quarters of the city were rebuilt at his expense.

verant fundatam de quorumlibet reorum redemptione; et quoniam hujusmodi obsequio a sui reatus supplicio vitæ sanguinem redemisse dicuntur, Turris Sanguinum appellatur. Quartam, Admiratorum Turrim dictam,[2] ædificasse feruntur admirati. Quintam, Turrim dictam[3] Bedewinorum, construxerunt[4] Bedewini. Hæ itaque quinque turres ab his constitutæ dicuntur auctoribus, a quibus singulæ singula traxerunt vocabula. Applicatis igitur operi cementariis electis, expeditius opus excrevit. Rex ibidem operando etiam insignis enituit, qui in omnibus operibus suis singularis eminebat; ipse manibus ædificando, ipse sermone persuadendo, ipse impensas distribuendo, efficacius proficiebat. Ad cujus exhortationem singuli procerum et magnatum proportionaliter, pro suæ possibilitatis facultate, partem amplexati sunt consummandam. Quorum si quis, deficiente forte pecunia, ab operando defecisset, tunc rex magnanimus corde major quam dignitate, eisdem impertiebat de facultatibus suis, prout singulos noverat indigere. Ipso denique innuente, ipso persuadente, ipso operam impendente simul et impensas, in tantum opus invaluit, ut tres ædificandæ civitatis partes ejus sumptibus dicerentur consummatæ.

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obsequio a] obsequia, C.

dictam] om. A.

[3] *Turrim dictam*] tr. B.

[4] *construxerunt*], eam, ins. A.

[CAPITULUM VII.]

Qualiter rex Ricardus excussit a Turcis apud Darum[1] *mille ducentos Christianos captivos in Babyloniam captivandos.*

A.D. 1192 February. Rescue by Richard of a body of Christian captives.

Interea procuraverat Salahadinus mille ducentos Christianos, Francos videlicet et illius terræ oriundos, Babyloniam perducendos captivos, quos cum ipsius Salahadini domestici produxissent usque[2] castrum dictum Darum, et ibidem pernoctassent in crastino profecturi, accidit, Deo sicut creditur dispensante, quod per regem Ricardum excussi sunt a servitute. Rex

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[1] *Darum*] The spelling of this name varies in the MSS. between *Darum* and *Darun*. Gale has apparently considered it as a Latin name, and declinable, and uses *Dari* and *Daro*, without MS. authority, in some places. In Bohadin it is *Daroun*, and in Abulfarajius, *Daroum*. William of Tyre calls it *Darum*, and interprets it *domus Græcorum* : or rather *the monastery of Roum*. From this it would appear that *Darum* was the proper form, and that it was akin to *Daromas*, the southern region of Judæa ; see Schultens, *Index Geogr. ad V. Saladini, sub voce.* William of Tyre (Bongars, i. 987) places Darum four miles from Gaza, and five stadia from the sea. Marino Sanuto (Bongars, ii. 86.) places it fifteen miles from Gaza. Hence Dr. Robinson, *Biblical Researches*, ii. 375., supposes that William of Tyre meant four Italian miles. Bernard the Treasurer, quoted by Wilken, *Gesch. d. Kreuzzüge*, iii., pt. 2, p. 136, says that it was two leagues from Gaza. Wilken supposes that it may be now Khan Yunes. If, as we are informed in c. 40 of this book, Richard could march in a day from Darum to Forbia, which is six miles north of Gaza, it would seem from the analogy of his other marches that the shorter distance given by William of Tyre, in common miles, is correct, and that Darum was perhaps *Deir el Belah.* Khan Yunes is too far from the sea; for independent of William of Tyre's measurement, it is plain that the castle of Darum was less than a mile from the shore. Compare what our author says of the army's carrying the warlike engines to Darum from the sea, in c. 39 of this book. At c. 12, we find the Crusaders sallying from Ascalon, four miles beyond Darum : Ascalon is nine miles north of Gaza, and to place Darum at Khan Yunes would make the day's expedition nearly sixty miles, which is impossible.

[2] *usque*] ad, ins.

A.D. 1192. February.

Richard having gone to reconnoitre Darum finds the captives in a church, their guards having fled into the tower of the Castle.

enim dum forte die quadam exiret cum electa militum manu,[1] castrum visurus Darum quoquo modo comprehendendum, quia nimis erat illac meatus accommodus Turcis, Babyloniam euntibus et Jerusalem, qui victualia portarent et escas; regis adventum cum ex iminente baneria sua comperissent Turci, qui paulo ante ad occasum jam sole vergente usque Darum pervenerant, timore perterriti, vitæ suæ consulentes, in turrim castri se velocius intromiserunt, et quos deduxerant captivos extra castrum reliquerunt. Qui confestim in quandam ecclesiam, quam conspexerant[2] vicinam, alacriter confugerunt. Quos rex eo veniens sine mora solutos illæsos fecit abire, et Turcorum quam plurimos trucidavit, quot[3] scilicet in manus suas et suorum tunc temporis contigit incurrere. Equos pretiosos rex ibi lucrifecit quamplures, et de majoribus Turcis comprehendit vivos viginti, exceptis peremptis. Quis regis eo adventum, captivandis tam necessarium, a Deo procuratum dubitaverit? Qui nisi tunc cum suis sic venisset, universi quos excussit a manu hostili, proculdubio perpetua damnarentur servitute.

He delivers them, and carries off many valuable horses.

[CAPITULUM VIII.]

Rex Ricardus pro Marchiso mandat, sed ille mandatum respuit.

Richard summons the Marquis of Montferrat to Ascalon.

His ita[4] gestis, mandavit rex Ricardus, missis legatis, illi satis[5] præmemorato Marchiso, sicut et antea pluries fecerat, ut in expeditionem veniret Ascalonem, vices suas executurus ex animo, pro parte regni ad quod aspiraverat: et hoc mandavit ei super præstitum olim super eodem coram rege Franciæ etiam fide media juramentum. Super hoc mandato perverse sen-

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[1] *militum manu*] tr. A.

[2] *conspexerant*] conspexerunt, A.

[3] *quot*] quos, A,

[4] *ita*] itaque, A.

[5] *illi satis*] illatis, C.

A.D. 1192. February.

The Marquis refuses to come, but arranges for a conference at Casal Ymbert.

tiens et subsannans, ille degener Marchisus asserebat se eo nullatenus venturum, nisi prius habito cum rege Ricardo colloquio. Aliter autem ad exercitum protestatus est quod nec pedem portaret, sed nec pes ipsum. Verumtamen ex condicto apud casellum Ymberti convenerunt postmodum ad colloquium.

[Capitulum IX.]

Dux Burgundiæ, a[1] *rege Ricardo revocatus ad Ascalonem, recedit ab eo ad Achon, quia noluit ei commodare pecuniam.*

The French apply to the Duke of Burgundy for their pay: and he asks Richard for a further loan.

Igitur dum rex cum cæteris muris Ascaloniæ intenderent[2] omni diligentia restaurandis, emergente[3] simultate, orta est inter regem et ducem Burgundiæ discordia. Consumptis siquidem ex parte majore victualibus, et propemodum attenuatis usque ad nudum singulorum substantiis, cœperunt Franci ipsum ducem interpellare super sibi debitis stipendiis, sine quibus se proponebant ulterius in castris non posse militare. Super hac exactione cum sollicitius ducem urgerent, nec ad hoc ipse sufficeret, visum est ei regem Ricardum super ampliori præstanda[4] pecunia convenire. Prius etenim, ut supra dictum est, eisdem Francis ad ducis petitionem accommodaverat numeratam pecuniam apud Achon, reddendam ei de redemptione in Achon comprehensorum Turcorum. Sed illius pecuniæ pristinæ solutio defluxerat in nihilum, quia captivi, pro quibus redimendis non est soluta pecunia, dederunt tantum capita sua. Unde rex Ricardus ducis non annuit petitioni. Hac[5] occasione et intervenientibus

Richard, having lost the money lent on the ransom of the Turkish prisoners, refuses.

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[1] *a*] cum, A.

[2] *intenderent*] intenderet, A.

[3] *emergente*] mergente, A.

[4] *ampliori præstanda*] tr. B.

[5] *Hac*] itaque, ins. B.

a parte ducis aliis nonnullis, jurgiorum seminariis, recessit inde dux commotus, cum quo nihilominus Franci properanter versus Achon profecti sunt.[1]

A.D. 1192. February. The Duke of Burgundy leaves for Acre.

[CAPITULUM X.]

Apud Achon Pisani faventes regi Guidoni, cum Genuensibus faventibus Marchiso et Francis confligentes, ducem Burgundiæ equo dejecerunt, et ipsum cum Marchiso in Tyrum fugaverunt, et pro rege Ricardo miserunt, qui eos pacificavit.

Struggle at Acre between the Pisans in favour of Guy and the Genoese in favour of Conrad.

Illi autem ad Achon venientes, invenerunt[2] atrociter inter se confligentes Genuenses cum Pisanis.[3] Pisani namque mera liberalitate, et justioris causæ contemplatione, favebant regi Guidoni. Marchisi vero partes fovebant Genuenses, præsertim ob fidem præstitam et juramentum, quo tenebatur Marchisus regi Franciæ. Hinc orta[4] discordia, fiunt cædes, et mutuæ impugnationes, et tanquam bellum civile in Achon, et motus rerum, et turbatur civitas tota. Appropinquantes civitati cum audissent tumultum plurimum, et populi strepitum sese mutuo cohortantium ad pugnam, festinanter dux cum Francis armatur, sicque Genuensibus opem ferre cupientes procedebant armati. Super quorum adventu Genuenses sunt contumacius elati. Pisani nihilominus cum se impeti attendissent, irritati, et exeuntes ipsis obviam, audacter exceperunt advenientes in[5] pugnam, quoniam facies eorum erat

The Duke of Burgundy and the French join the Genoese

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[1] According to Hoveden (fol. 407), the departure of the duke of Burgundy took place about March 23, (quindecim diebus ante Pascha). Clearly, however, the duke had gone to Tyre in February; so that Hoveden's date must refer to the recall of the French force generally, which left Ascalon on the 1st of April. See below, c. xiv.

[2] *invenerunt*] inveniunt, B.

[3] *cum Pisanis*] et Pisanos, A.

[4] *orta*] est, ins. A.

[5] *in*] ad,

A.D. 1192. February. The Duke thrown from his horse by the Pisans, who secure the city.

pugnare volentium.[1] In ducem Burgundiæ, qui major eorum esse videretur, insurgentes, impetu magno ipsum circumdantes, ab equo statim lancea transfixo dejecerunt in terram, sicque se recipientes in civitatem, portas firmiter clausas obturaverunt, propter contingentes importunitates. Didicerant enim jam Pisani, Genuenses illos significasse Marchiso, ut quantocius[2] veniret ad occupandam civitatem Achon, quam eidem scilicet spoponderant tradendam. Ob hujusmodi factionis cautelam nimirum sibi præcavebant Pisani, et civitatis indemnitati. Nec mora; Marchisus eo venit in galeis suis cum armata gente multa,[3] sperans occupare repente civitatem.[4] Ad quorum adventum Pisani constanter insistunt petrariis et mangunellis. Tribus diebus se[5] oppugnantibus sic resistunt Pisani, virtute sua confisi et causa meliore. Sicque se invicem experientes viriliter concertant, donec Pisani mandaverunt regi Ricardo rerum statum, ut velocius accederet. Rex eo tempore venerat Cæsaream, iturus ad colloquium quod habiturus erat cum Marchiso, ubi præfati nuncii obviam regi venientes, rem ut erat cum exposuissent, et vice Pisanorum, ut concite veniret ad conservandam Achon postulassent, nocte sub obscura redierunt Achon.[6] Marchisus autem, cum regem Ricardum accepisset eo in proximo venturum, sine dilatione regressus est Tyrum properanter, tanquam regis adventum, sibi male conscius, reputaret suspectum. Dux nihilominus Burgundiæ cum Francis prius Tyrum abierat. Rex rerum cognita perturbatione, postquam Achon pervenerat in crastino Cinerum, postera die, negotiorum omnium curam, tanquam jam fere solus in terra relictus,[7] in se suscepit agendam; et convocato

The Pisans having defended themselves for three days against the Marquis, send for Richard to Cæsarea.

Conrad returns to Tyre.

February 20. Richard arrives at Acre.

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[1] *volentium*] violentium, C.

[2] *quantocius*] quam citius, A.

[3] *multa*] plurima, A.

[4] *repente civitatem*] tr. B.

[5] *se*] fere, A.

[6] *postulassent . . . Achon*] om. B.

[7] *relictus*] relicta, A.

populo rationibus acutissimis edisserens persuasit, "nihil inter consortes insignius amicitia, nihil familiaritate jocundius, nihil consensu vel concordia suavius, vel unanimitate[1] solidius, nihil e contrario simultate perniciosius, nihil quod periculosius dissipat pacis unitatem, quod et fœdus polluit dilectionis. Denique quicquid mutuæ caritatis glutino confirmatur, et corroboratur gratia amicitiæ, profecto livoris fermento dissolvitur." Hujuscemodi[2] rex allegationibus cum Pisanis Genuenses ad pacis unitatem et concordiæ revocavit, et pristinam inter eos in pacis osculo reformavit societatem.

A.D. 1192. February 21. Richard persuades the Pisans and Genoese to a reconciliation.

[CAPITULUM XI.]

Rex Ricardus apud Casellum Ymberti colloquium habens cum Marchiso, monet eum redire ad unitatem exercitus; qui quia noluit, abjudicatur[3] *terris et redditibus sibi promissis.*

His itaque pacificatis, mandavit rex Ricardus Marchiso, ut rediret ad colloquium apud Casellum Ymberti, si forte gratia divina concordantes in unam sententiam efficacius in agendis proficerent, et totius regni res publica ex utriusque communicata virtute fortius administraretur. Convenerunt quidem[4] et diutius collocuti sunt, sed modicum profecerunt. Marchisus ducis Burgundiæ necnon et Francorum prætendebat recessum, et argumentosis cavillationibus se nitebatur a negotiorum exercitio excusare. Sicque Francorum allegata absentia, Tyrum rediens se contulit uxoriis thalamis, suspensus a castris militaribus.

Richard and Conrad hold a long conference at Casal Ymbert, but to little profit.

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[1] *unanimitate*] unitate, A.

[2] *Hujuscemodi*] Hujusmodi, A.; Hujus commodi, B.

[3] *abjudicatur*] abire dicatur, A.

[4] *convenerunt quidem*] convenerunt siquidem, A.; conveniunt quidem, B.

A.D. 1192. February. Conrad having returned to Tyre, is pronounced by the council of chiefs to have forfeited his possessions in the kingdom of Jerusalem. *Judith, ii.2.

Cernens rex Ricardus ducem Burgundiæ et Marchisum cum Francis se gratis a castris absentasse, pensans etiam altius pactæ vitiata fœdera pacis, diutius fluctuans animo, quid in tali discrimine sibi potius esset agendum; cum majoribus populi et discretioribus[1] habuit mysterium[2] consilii,* quid ulterius competentius censerent. Qui cum, trutinatis subtiliter causarum meritis, adjudicassent Marchisum juris decreto demeruisse redditus dudum sibi, sicut prædictum est, assignatos in regno, ratione prævaricationis eisdem redditibus ipsum censuerunt privandum. Hinc pertinacius radicata est discordia inter magnates Franciæ et regem Ricardum, inter Marchisum maxime, qui tunc ut prius sæpius sollicitaverat Francos universos ab Ascalone Tyrum ad se venire, totumque regnum et terram adeo conturbavit, ut rex Ricardus Marchisi fallaciam non ignorans, a crastino Cinerum usque ad diem Martis ante Pascha ab Achon civitate non discederet. Inimicum enim quamvis humilem prudentis est cavere.

Richard stayed at Acre from Feb. 20 to Mar 31.

[CAPITULUM XII.]

March 27.

Dum rex Ricardus esset apud Achon, nostri de Joppe et de[3] *Ascalone exeuntes, infinitam prædam reduxerunt, et apud Achon filium Saphadini rex militem fecit.*

An expedition from Joppa to Mirabel.

Tertia die ante Dominicam Palmarum, exiens a Joppe turba juvenum usque Mirabell, prædam maximam animalium a Saracenis diripuerunt, et triginta Turcos trucidaverunt, et vivos usque Joppen reduxerunt quinquaginta cum præda infinita. Cujus medietas comiti, qui custodiebat civitatem, cedebat; altera medietas

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[1] *discretioribus*] discretioris, A.
[2] *mysterium*] misterium, MSS.
[3] *de*] om. A.

A.D. 1192. March 28. An expedition from Ascalon proceeds four miles beyond Darum.

vendita est octo millibus Bizantiis Saracenicis probatæ monetæ. Item[1] in crastino, id est, Sabbato Dominicæ Palmarum,[2] exierunt ab Ascalone omnes qui equos habebant et totam percurrebant regionem, referentibus iis qui intererant, usque in Ægyptum ultra Darum quatuor milliariis; et congregatam diversi generis animalium prædam plurimam adunaverunt equorum equarumque, asinos viginti, camelos triginta, ovium quoque et aliorum pecorum septingentas;[3] Saracenorum etiam fere ducentos cum mulieribus et parvulis secum reducentes, redierunt alacriter Ascalonem. Dominica Palmarum, rex Ricardus apud Achon filium Saphadini,[4] ad hoc transmissum, insignivit magnifice cingulo militiæ.

March 29. Richard knights a son of Saphadin on Palm Sunday.

[CAPITULUM XIII.]

Dux Burgundiæ et Marchisus, invidentes profectibus regis Ricardi, mittunt pro Francis, qui cum eo apud Ascalonem et Joppen erant.

The Duke of Burgundy and the Marquis summon the French from Ascalon to Tyre.

Interea invidiæ zelo fervente, cujus est semper superioris contabescere virtutibus, dux Burgundiæ et Marchisus, missis a Tyro legatis usque Ascalonem, mandaverunt residuis qui ibidem resederant Francis, quatenus quantocius ad ipsos properarent Tyrum, et ipsorum acquiescerent consilio, et ut, juxta juramentum prius regi Franciæ præstitum, in unicam convenirent sententiam. Tunc manifestus factus est dolus et præmeditata machinatio, ab eo tempore quo fœdus inierat ipse Marchisus cum rege Franciæ et Francis, ut vide-

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[1] *Item*] Iter, B.

[2] According to Bohadin, 222, Saladin received the news of this raid on the 16th of the former Rabia, April 1.

[3] *septingentas*] septuaginta, A.

[4] *filium Saphadini*] Saphadinum, B.

A.D. 1192. March. They wished to weaken king Richard.

licet, post regis discessum sibi Francos haberet confœderatos, ad ea quæ cogitaverat expeditius perpetranda. Hinc itaque tanquam in tantum sibi obligatos intendebat ab expeditione subducere Francos, quatenus relictus rex Ricardus minus valeret ad exercenda negotia regni.

[CAPITULUM XIV.]

March 31.

Rex Ricardus rediit Ascalonem, et Franci, id est, septingenti milites, remandati a duce Burgundiæ et Marchiso, a rege discedunt versus Tyrum.

Richard returns to Ascalon on the Tuesday before Easter, and on the morrow, April 1, consents to the departure of the French, giving them an escort.

Die Martis ante Pascha rediit rex ab Achone Ascalonem ad exercitum, tristis nimium et turbulentus. In crastino quoque die Mercurii, accedentes ad regem, majores Francorum postulaverunt ab eo, ut juxta pactam sponsionem deputaret eis duces viarum, et abeundi libere securitatem. Quibus rex confestim[1] annuens, assignavit eis deducendis itineris socios quam plurimos, videlicet Templarios et Hospitalarios, et comitem Henricum Campaniæ, et alios multos. Ipse quoque, nihil omittens ex contingentibus, cum eisdem processit prosequendis, cum lacrymis liberaliter obsecrans, et blande deprecans, ut cum ipso aliquantam moram facerent, ejus impensis sufficienter exhibendi,[2] ut, quantum daretur, desolatæ terræ succurrerent. Quos cum prorsus renuentes dimisisset abire, reversus est Ascalonem, et statim rapido cursu misso nuncio usque ad[3] Achonem, mandavit civitatis custodibus,[4] ne Franci infra civitatem admitterentur ad commorandum, sed nec eisdem quæcunque fieret[5] contumelia vel molestia,

He orders the commanders at Acre not to admit the French.

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[1] *confestim*] om. A.

[2] *exhibendi*] exhibendis, A.B.

[3] *ad*] om. A.B.

[4] *civitatis custodibus*] tr. B.

[5] *fieret*] inferretur, B.

unde posset scandalum oriri, aut contentionis occasio. Sicque Franci eo venientes extra civitatem ceperunt stationem.

A.D. 1192. April. The French post themselves outside Acre.

[Capitulum XV.]

Audito recessu Francorum, Salahadinus pro exercitu suo mittit et venit.

April 2.

Igitur die Cœnæ Domini, ex Francorum discessione graviter est desolatus exercitus; cujus ex parte non minima[1] robur est dissolutum. Recesserant enim[2] Francorum ferme septingenti milites, armis probati, et præclaris gestis insignes et expediti. Hujus itaque occasione discessionis et diminutionis exercitus populus lamentatur et dolet, lacrymatur et contabescit[3] mœrore. Turci vero uberius[4] lætabantur, his quæ gerebantur auditis: Salahadinus etiam, referentibus iis qui hoc audierant, statim missis legatis et veredariis litterarum suarum portitoribus, universis suæ ditioni addictis mandando præcepit, edicto proposito, et admiratis, ut omni occasione postposita concite redirent in terram Jerosolimorum. "Franci jam," inquit, "oborta[5] inter "ipsos simultate recesserunt, terram deserentes jam "fere vacuam[6] defensore, quia robur belli et virtus "exercitus Christianorum jam[7] decidit, unde de facili "et terram totam[8] et principales civitates, Achonem "et Tyrum, obtinendas non diffidimus in brevi." Ad Soldani mandatum redeunt Turci, minus tamen voluntarii, præteritorum non immemores, et agmine rariore, licet nostræ respectu paucitatis ad superfluentem[9] numerum excreverunt.[10]

On Maundy Thursday the army was much distressed by the departure of the French.

Saladin takes heart and recalls his forces, which assemble unwillingly and in smaller numbers.

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[1] *minima*] modica, A.

[2] *enim*] autem, B.

[3] *contabescit*] tabescit, A.

[4] *uberius*] om. A.

[5] *oborta*] aborta, C.

[6] *vacuam*] corrected in B. to *vacuatam.*

[7] *Christianorum jam*] tr. C.

[8] *terram totam*] tr. A.

[9] *superfluentem*] supereffluentem, B.

[10] *excreverunt*] excreverint, B.

[CAPITULUM XVI.]

A.D. 1192. April 4.

Ad sepulcrum Domini, secundum morem ignis de cœlo lampadem accendit, vidente Salahadino, quo jubente ter[1] extinguitur sed ter reaccenditur.

On Easter Even, Saladin goes to the Holy Sepulchre to witness the miracle of the Sacred Fire.

In vigilia Paschæ erat Salahadinus suorum constipatus obsequio, ad honorabile illud Dominicum sepulcrum in Jerusalem, ut videlicet, super rei certificaretur[2] veritate, cœlestis, inquam, ignis adventu, ea die, singulis annis de more in lampadem divinitus descendentis.[3] Plurium itaque Christianorum captivorum compeditorum devotionem, et lacrymas Dei misericordiam deprecantium cum Salahadinus diutius attentius attenderet, cum cæteris Turcis; ecce! subito, videntibus universis, advenit ille divinus ignis, et lampadem succendit evidentius statim ardentem. Quod cum cuncti vidissent, commotus est populus vehementer, lætantibus Christianis, et Dei magnificentiam vocibus collaudantibus altisonis. Saraceni vero super tam evidenti stupidi[4] miraculo, etiam oculis subjectam pervertebant visionem, asserentes fallacibus præstigiis ignem phantasticum machinatum; unde super eo volens certificari, Salahadinus jussit extingui lampadem divinitus accensam. Quæ extincta sine mora opere divino reaccenditur; quam et secundo jussit infidelis ille extinguere; secundo nihilominus illuminatur; tertio extincta tertio illuminatur.[5] O magna Dei potentia:[6] quid est repugnare invincibli? Non est consilium contra Dominum,* Cujus voluntati non est qui possit resistere. Super hujus visione miraculi, et fide et devotione Christicolarum admirans Soldanus et acriter commotus, spiritu

He orders it to be extinguished thrice, and each time it is miraculously rekindled.

* Proverbs xxi. 30.

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[1] *ter*] om. B.

[2] *certificaretur*] om. B.

[3] *descendentis*] descendentem, C.

[4] *stupidi*] stupendi, A.

[5] *tertio . . . . illuminatur*] om. C.

[6] *potentia*] patientia, A.B.

prophetico constanter asseruit, dicens, "Proculdubio vel[1] "in proximo hac vita decedo, vel hanc civitatem pos-"sidendam amitto." Sed nec ipsum fefellit augurium, quoniam in proxima sequenti[2] Quadragesima mortuus est Salahadinus.

A.D. 1192. April 4. He draws a sad augury from this event.

[CAPITULUM XVII.]

Qualiter rex Ricardus apud Ascalonem celebrabat solemnitatem die Paschæ.

April 5.

Illius solemnitatis Paschalis festivitatem, quæ fuit Nonas Aprilis, rex Ricardus transegit egregie Ascaloniæ,[3] quoscunque volentes exhibens in abundantia ciborum et potuum. Papiliones etenim suos in suburbanis campestribus Ascaloniæ[4] fecit figi, et ad exhibendam gentem suam, festivitati magnificentius[5] celebrandæ convenientia cuncta procuravit administrari copiosissime. Ibi videre fuit nihil gloriosius voluntaria dapsilitate; quando bonæ voluntati concordat ingenuitas factorum.

Richard keeps Easter-day at Ascalon, with pomp and largess.

" Cumque cor egregium præclaris consonat actis,
" Non decet ut manibus[6] patulis angustia cordis
" Detrahat, immo manus cor largum dando sequatur."

[CAPITULUM XVIII.]

Consummata est reædificatio Ascalonis regiis impensis.

April 6.

Die Lunæ Paschalis hebdomadæ, rex diligenter opus repetens inchoatum, ferventius institit muris civitatis

On Easter Monday he

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[1] *vel*] om. B.; nihil, C.

[2] *sequenti*] After this word, B. has *ebdomada* marked for erasure.

[3] *Ascaloniæ*] Ascalone, A.B.

[4] *Ascaloniæ*] Ascalonis, A.B.

[5] *magnificentius*] magnificentiam, B.

[6] *ut manibus*] in manibus, A.; ut mappis, B.

A.D. 1192. April 6. resumes the rebuilding of Ascalon.

perficiendis; cæterosque ad operandum familiarius urgebat. Nec multo post, ipso procurante et collaborante, consummatum est opus suis operis[1] et impensis; et absque Francorum sollicitudine, qui recesserant, quos jure deberet æque respicere portio laboris, consummata sunt omnia.

[Capitulum XIX.]

April 7.

Rex Ricardus profectus est ad considerandum Gazam et Darum.

Richard goes to reconnoitre Gaza, and on the following day, April 8, to Darum.

Die Martis Paschalis hebdomadæ, rex cum paucis profectus est usque Gazam considerandam. Die Mercurii nihilominus apud Darum profectus, qua parte commodior pateret assultus diligenter investigavit, circumquaque perambulans. Turci vero, qui infra Darum se concluserant, in regem et suos cum arcubus et balistis plura[2] jaciebant missilia simul et convicia, tanquam incomprehensibiles. Consideratis omnibus rex rediit Ascalonem.

[Capitulum XX.]

Franci, ab Ascalone Tyrum revocati, tantum luxuriæ et tabernis ibi vacabant.

The escort of the French returns to Ascalon.

Abeuntibus, ut prædictum est, Francis, ii, qui eos usque ad[3] Achonem jussu regis deduxerant, reversi sunt Ascalonem ad exercitum. Franci vero Tyrum venientes, quibus vacaverint studiis et operis, non æstimatur ab re notandum. Ipsi quidem, quos puræ pere-

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[1] *operis*] operibus, A.
[2] *plura*] plures, C.
[3] *ad*] om. A.B.

A.D. 1192. April.

Abominable behaviour of the French at Tyre.

Their absurdities in dress.

How they spent their nights.

There were some wise and sorrowful men among them.

grinationis in[1] Terram Sanctam reputabatur perduxisse devotio, relictis castris militaribus, jam amatoriis indulgebant, cantionibus muliebribus,[2] et scortantium commessationibus. Referentibus enim iis qui hoc fieri perspexerunt,[3] muliercularum et ipsi applaudebant choreis: luxus quoque vestium otium loquebatur effœminatorum: manicarum nimirum hiatus multiplici laqueo claudebantur; operosis constricta cingulis latera lasciviunt, et ut rugosæ vestis conclusio manifestius intuentibus pateret, chlamydes in anteriora contortas ordine præpostero comprimebant inter brachia, et quæ velandis posterioribus fuerant primitus procurata,[4] aliarum partium cogebantur in usus; ventres palliis velabantur, non dorsa. Circa colla

"gemmarum radiis stellata coruscant"

monilia, florumque varietate contexta insidunt serta verticibus; manibusque pateras tractabant, non enses: noctes in compotationibus deducuntur insomnes, jamque mero æstuantes puellarum solebant frequentare prostibula; vel si, prius forte[5] aliis ad id opus consimile admissis, clausa reperissent, diripuerunt ostiola, verba jaculantes ampullosa, et horrorem audientibus sobriis ingerentia juramenta, ut non ignoratur, de more Francorum. Quid plura? levitatem interiorem arguebat status exterior. Proh pudor! hujusmodi se Franci studiis applicabant. Verum tamen hujus ineptiæ non omnes asserimus arguendos; erant quippe quos et ipsorum dissolutio non minimum conturbavit, quos et inter regem et ipsos contristavit discordia.

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[1] *in*] et, B.
[2] *muliebribus*] mulieribus, C.
[3] *perspexerunt*] prospexerunt, A.
[4] *procurata*] procreata, A.
[5] *forte*] om. C.
[6] *id*] om. A.B.

[Capitulum XXI.]

A.D. 1192. April.

Discordiam, qualis inter Christianos nostros nunc in Terra Sancta venit, probant exempla nunquam inter veteres contigisse.

Charlemagne on his Spanish and Saxon expeditions had no such discord in his army, nor when he went to resist the Saracens in Calabria.

In former crusades there was no such discord, nor in any recorded war.

Rex magnificus Karolomannus, nomine famosus et opere, qui tot acquisivit terras et regna suo subjugavit imperio, cum in Hispaniam proficisceretur subjugandam, nunquam fertur in exercitu suo intervenisse contentio, vel etiam[1] quando idem rex prædictus comprehendendam in expeditione adivit Saxoniam, ubi plura gessit insignia, ubi ad internecionem pessundedit illum famosum Witedinum.[2] Quando etiam illi potentissimo Agulando, Roma transiens, profectus est obviam excipiendo in bellum, qui cum manu validissima, et, nisi Deo opitulante, hominibus pene invincibili, Saracenorum, applicuerat apud Rysam[3] civitatem Calabriæ, nulla inter socios erat[4] discordia. Quando quoque terra illa Jerosolimorum tot sæpius bellis concussa, quibus tot strages factæ sunt hostium incredulorum, tot feliciter pugnæ confectæ; sive ubicunque terrarum, sub quibuscunque principibus famosa antiquorum bella narrentur[5] patrata, nunquam quidem sub uno militantem exercitum imperatore dissipavit discordia, vel diversarum oriundos regionum distraxit contentiosa simultas; nec sub unius principis ditione gentes discrevit invidia, nec sunt inter ipsos audita convicia vel opprobria. Immo mutuum singuli singulis exhibebant honorem et gratiam, et una gens appellata propter unanimitatem, in quibus nulla potuit durare dissensio. Hinc olim Franci universis prævalebant externis;[1] similiter et nostri moderni commodius antiquorum haberent exempla imitari.

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[1] *etiam*] om. A.

[2] *Witedinum*] So all the MSS. Gale reads Wercelinum.

[3] *Rysam*] Risam, A.; Rasam, B.

[4] *nulla inter socios erat*] tr. B.

[5] *narrentur*] narrantur, A.

A.D. 1192. April.

[CAPITULUM XXII.]

Prior Herefordensis ab Anglia missus est legatus in Terram Sanctam, qui monebat regem in terram suam redire, propter seditiones quæ in regno suo contigerant.[2]

After the close of Easter, the Prior of Hereford arrives with letters to the king from William B. of Ely, complaining of earl John.

Post Pascha completum, imminente transfretantibus opportuna temperie,[3] venit nuncius ad regem Ricardum, totum quidem commoturus exercitum, prior, scilicet, Herefordensis prioratus cujusdam Angliæ.[4] Venit itaque prior ille deportans litteras regi ex parte Willelmi Elyensis episcopi, regis cancellarii, se significantis cum aliis, quos rex regno Angliæ deputaverat interim gubernando, jam fuisse a terræ munitionibus exturbatos; nonnullos etiam parti suæ faventes in seditionibus peremptos, sicut idem prior se vidisse testabatur; et quod procurante fratre regis tunc comite Johanne, ab Anglia regis eliminato cancellario, nihil pecuniæ in thesauro regio superesset relictum, vel ubicunque locorum, nisi tantum vix quod[5] in ecclesiis resederat occultatum. His etiam adjiciebat idem prior, quod postquam pluribus molestiis et injuriis fugatus est in Normanniam prædictus ejus cancellarius, presbyter et episcopus, et totius regni præfectus, comes præfatus exigebat pertinaciter a regni comitibus et proceribus juramenta fidelitatis et subjectionis, et castrorum custodias. Nec non et manus extenderat ad regii fisci præstationes annuas usurpandas, quæ dicuntur de

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[1] *externis*] exterius, B.

[2] The rubric is mutilated in A.

[3] *opportuna temperie*] opportuno tempore, A.

[4] Probably Robert, prior of Hereford, and afterwards abbot of Muchelney. See Richard of Devizes; ed. Stevenson, p. 34.

[5] *vix quod*] tr.

A.D. 1192. April.

He explains the misdeeds of John, and urges Richard to return home.

Scaccario. "Super his igitur," inquit prior, "nisi maturius captaveritis consilium quantocius repatriandi, "et injurias vestras in vos insurgentes vindicandi, his "addent pejora, nec absque belli discrimine poteritis "ulterius jus vestrum recuperare." Super auditis rex nimirum vehementer[1] obstupescens, animo diutius plura volvens et pauca proloquens, vix credendum arbitrabatur, quia tanti sceleris factio fidem videbatur excedere. Attamen, cujus bona diripiuntur et patienter sustinet? Quis æquanimiter patitur injurias? Cæterum, quælibet adversa, licet incerta, sollicitus vera potius augurat esse timor. Rerum turbatio cum ad aliorum jam pervenisset notitiam, conturbantur et ipsi, animo fluctuant, æstuant, rerum pensantes statum confusum, et inter principes inexorabiles discordias. Tunc quidem, si rex recederet, non inveniretur qui remaneret, quoniam inter Ascalonitas et Tyrios zelus esset et contentio; sicque proculdubio terra illa libera Turcis cederet[2] in possessionem æternam.

The consternation that followed this news.

[Capitulum XXIII.]

Exercitus, audito regis secreto, quod a legato receperat,[3] et ejus proposito repatriandi, consuluit[4] sibi regem præfici, eligens plus Marchisum quam Guidonem.

On the morrow Richard lays the intelligence before a council of chiefs.

In crastino rex[5] Ricardus, coram convocatis majoribus exercitus, rem, ut audierat, exposuit, interpretans prædicta verba prioris, asserens se de necessitate oportere repatriare. Quod si tamen abiret, stipendiis suis trecentos milites et duo millia peditum electorum spopondit exhibendos in expeditione, in illa terra. Sci-

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[1] *vehementer*] om. B.

[2] *Turcis cederet*] tr. A.

[3] *receperat*] acceperat, A.

[4] *consuluit*] consulit, A.

[5] *rex*] om. C.

scitatus est itaque quis eorum cum ipso simul vellet repatriare, quis in terra illa remanere; neminem enim ad utrumlibet cogebat, eorum relinquens opinioni,[1] quam partem gratis inclinatiores eligerent. Communicato super hoc aliquamdiu consilio, prudentiores dant inquisitioni regiæ tale responsum, quod quia terra desolata est propter discordantium dissensionem, et casus rerum essent incerti,[2] præsertim quia rex Guido regni negotium obtinendi nondum potuit ad effectum deducere, necessarium quam maxime censebant in terra regem novum creandum, cui omnes obedirent, cui terra committeretur, qui præliaretur bella populi, quem denique cunctus sequeretur exercitus. Quod si fieri non contingeret ante regis Ricardi discessum, omnes se recessuros acclamant, utpote qui terræ non sufficerent custodiendæ. Ad hæc rex statim intulit, inquirens, utrum duorum mallent eligere, sive regem Guidonem, sive Marchisum. Cui sine mora, pusilli cum majoribus, omnis simul populus, flexis genibus suppliciter exorabant Marchisum in principem elevandum et defensorem, quoniam quidem ipsum reputabant regno magis necessarium, quia potentiorem. Rex igitur cum universorum attendisset petitioni,[3] aliquantulum eorum modeste redarguit levitatem, qui prius Marchiso frequentius detraxerant.

A.D. 1192. April.

The chiefs advise the election of a new king of Jerusalem.

The king gives them their choice between Guy and the Marquis, and they choose the Marquis.

[Capitulum XXIV.]

Rex, ut satisfaceret populo, misit pro Marchiso, licet seditiosus erat et confœderatus cum Salahadino.[4]

Rex Ricardus, postquam pro Marchiso sibi præferendo totius populi perpendisset petitionem, præbuit et ipse assensum, procurans viros nobiles Tyrum destinandos,

Richard assents to the election.

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[1] *opinioni*] optioni, A.

[2] *essent incerti*] esset incertus, A.

[3] *petitioni*] petitionem, A.B.

[4] *Salahadino*] Saladino, B.

A.D. 1192. April.

Henry of Champagne, Otho de Transinges, and William of Cageu, are sent to Tyre with the news.

qui Marchisum[1] honorifice adducerent. Generalitatis itaque, rege consentiente, decreto propter Marchisum ab universis electum, missi sunt sufficienter instructi viri nobilissimi Henricus comes Campaniæ, et Otho de Transinges, et Willelmus de Cageu. Hi cum suorum obsequio galeati procedunt versus Tyrum, properantes Marchiso diu desideratum ferre nuncium optimum. Verum ut proverbialiter dici solet,

"Buccam frustrari sæpe accidit a cochleari."

We are allowed to believe that the Marquis was rejected by God on account of his contumacy, treason, ill faith, and alliance with Saladin.

Saphadin opposes any alliance of Saladin with the Franks except with consent of Richard.

Indignum forte regno Deus reprobaverat[2] Marchisum, ad cujus æstimationis argumentum hoc etiam potest accedere, quod post recessum Francorum rex Ricardus ipsum toties, sicut et prius, rogaverat super auxilio præstando regno perquirendo, sicut præfati sumus; sed semper contumaciter renuit, quod ad culpam non immerito poterat imputari. Et præter hæc omnia, jam laborabat in machinatione contra honorem coronæ regiæ,[3] et contra exercitum Ascalonicum, cum Salahadino fœdus inire pacis, ea scilicet conditione, ut ad ipsum veniens juraret mutuam se de cætero observaturum concordiam, medietatemque civitatis Jerusalem obtenturus tenendam de Salahadino haberet, et castrum Baruth et Sydonem, totiusque terræ medietatem citra flumen. In hanc pacis conditionem satis assensit Salahadinus, renuente tamen constanter ejusdem fratre[4] Saphadino. Pertinaciter namque Salahadino dissuadebat, sicut postmodum accepimus, ne unquam quamcunque pacis concederet conditionem cum quocunque Christiano præter assensum regis Ricardi, "quo," inquit, "nullus[5] melior invenitur "Christianus, vel etiam probitate consimilis; citra cujus "conscientiam vel voluntatem, concordiam quamcunque "reformandam nec consulo nec assentio." Hinc dissipatum est consilium nequam, hinc infecto negotio proditionis pendebat processus. Hoc quidem sic fuisse machinatum certissimis post patebat indiciis; nam inter Salahadinum et Marchisum, dum hujus nefandi procuratores negotii, mutua verba reportantes, solliciti discurrerent[1] legati, contigit Stephanum de Torneham[2] ipsis obviare exeuntibus a Salahadino de Jerusalem, quorum nomina tunc temporis ob notam infamiæ satis erant notoria. Unus eorum vocabatur Balianus de Ybelino, alter Reginaldus de Sydone; sed hos dimittamus. Eorum quidem omnis opera et studium sollicitum merito cedebat in nihilum, tanquam pulvis quem quis portat in ventum.

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[1] *Marchisum*] ibi, ins. C.

[2] *reprobaverat*] probaverat, A.

[3] *coronæ regiæ*] tr. A.

[4] *constanter ejusdem fratre*] tr. A.

[5] *inquit "nullus"*] tr. A.B.

A.D. 1192. April. Stephen of Turneham once caught Balian of Ibelin and Reginald of Sidon coming from an interview with Saladin.

[CAPITULUM XXV.]

Audiens Marchisus se esse in regem[3] electum, cum omnibus suis nimio repletus est gaudio; et præparant se sui armis et aliis necessariis ad coronationem ejus.

Injuncta nuncii functa legatione, qui propter Marchisum adducendum fuerant destinati, Tyrum pervenientes, Marchiso plenius exposuerunt, ab universis unanimiter ipsum electum fuisse in regem, assentiente rege Ricardo, et coronam regni concessam, quatenus veniret regni negotia viriliter cum exercitu suo gesturus,[4] ultionem[5] in Turcos exacturus, et ut de cætero regno Jerosolimitano tanquam suo intenderet gubernando. Quo audito Marchisus, præ nimia cordis exultatione, protensis in cœlum manibus, fertur orasse sic: "Domine Deus, qui me creasti, et animam in

The news of the election arrives at Tyre.

Joy of Conrad: his prayer.

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[1] *discurrerent*] discurrunt, B.
[2] *Torneham*] Turneham, B.
[3] *se esse in regem*] tr. A.
[4] *gesturus*] gessurus, A.B.
[5] *ultionem*] ultiones, A.

A.D. 1192. April.

He prays God that he may be crowned.

"corpus infudisti, qui es Rex et verus et benignus, "concede mihi, quæso, Domine, ut si me regno Tuo "gubernando dignum judicas, coronatum me[1] videam. "Sin autem, Domine, de me aliter[2] senseris, nun"quam ad id[3] me consenseris promoveri." Postquam in civitate Tyro plenius innotuit Marchisum in regem coronandum, fit lætitia magna in populo, singulis quæ sua fuerant procurantibus, et operam dantibus iis sollicitius, quæ coronationis celebrationi viderentur competere. Ad instructionem vel vestium vel armorum mutuantur pecuniæ, quatenus eo viderentur ornatiores comparere, quanto is in cujus erant obsequio, dignitate collata, excellentius nosceretur[4] excrevisse.[5] Ibi viderentur arma tractari, rubigine squalida renovari, gladios acuere, loricas rotare, milites et ephebos bellorum imagine gesticulare,[6] concertantium simulantes conflictum, et futuram Turcorum jactitantes contritionem. Et revera magnæ virtutis gens aderat, si tamen divinum non defuisset auxilium. Gens itaque dissolvebatur lætitia eo inconvenientiori, quo immoderatiori, unde proverbialiter dicitur, "Nec nimis gau"dendum, nec nimis dolendum, omnis enim nimietas "reprehensibilis est."

Joy in Tyre, and preparation for the coronation.

[CAPITULUM XXVI.]

Marchisus a duobus juvenibus Hausasinis,[7] a Seniore de Musse transmissis, duobus cultellis transfoditur.

Count Henry stays at Acre, on his return.

Comes interim Henricus, qui post legationis executionem ad civitatem Achonem declinaverat, cum

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[1] *me*] om. B.

[2] *Domine, de me aliter*] tr. B.

[3] *id*] om. A, which has over the word *promoveri*, as a correction, *vel promovendum.*

[4] *nosceretur*] noscerentur, C.

[5] *excrevisse*] exercuisse, A.

[6] *gesticulare*] et, ins. A.

[7] *Hausasinis*] Hausassis,

A.D. 1192. (April 28. *Diceto*, 667.)

The Marquis, returning from a feast with the Bishop of Beauvais, is stabbed by two assassins.

nunciis aliis sociis [1] suis, dum se decentius instruerent, jam ad exercitum reversuri Ascalonem, inopina morte præventus est apud Tyrum idem Marchisus. Qui, dum die quadam a convivio episcopi Belvacensis, cum quo comederat familiariter invitatus, in pace reverteretur hilaris admodum et jocundus, et jam pervenisset ante teloneum civitatis, ecce! duo juvenes Hausassisi sine palliis expediti, rapido impetu accurrentes, duobus cultellis, quos manibus gerebant, exsertis, hinc inde transfixis præcordiis lethaliter ipsum vulnerantes cœpto cursu prætervolabant. Marchisus statim lapsus equo moribundus volutabatur. Unus homicidarum statim detruncatus est; alter vero in ecclesiam quandam se statim immisit; qui nihilominus inde raptus per mediam civitatem pertrahendus [2] condemnatur, quousque tantæ reum proditionis spiritum deficiens exhalaret. Verum antequam exspiraret, diligenter inquisitus, cujus instinctu vel quare sic egerit, se professus est a multo tempore eo fuisse transmissos ad id perpetrandum, et ob moventis auctoritatem et salutiferam obedientiam hoc præsumpsisse; quod verum fuisse manifeste jam patuit. Ipsi quippe juvenes diutius exstiterant in ipsius obsequio Marchisi, competentem ad id perpetrandum captantes temporis articulum. A seniore enim de Musse se transmissos asserebant, qui Marchisum morte dignum judicabat, et infra certum illius temporis terminum trucidari mandaverat. Omnes namque quos senior ille de Musse [3] vita reputaverit indignos, eodem modo procurat perimendos. Senior quidem de Musse de more hæreditario quam plurimos in obsequio suo solet educare pueros nobiles in palatio suo, quos docere facit omnem prudentiam et doctrinam et diverso

These were sent by the Old Man of Musse (the Sheikh of Alamoot) to kill the Marquis.

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[1] *sociis*] foras, B.

[2] *pertrahendus*] protrahendus, C.

[3] *Musse*] om. B.

A.D. 1192. April 28.

The discipline of the Old Man of Musse.

instrui idiomate, quatenus ubicunque terrarum sine interprete in omni gente se noverint familiariter gerere. Est autem ipsorum [1] credulitas [2] crudelis nimis et obscura; ad quam sectandam maxima cura et sollicitudine imbuuntur discipuli. Igitur quos ille senior perpenderit adultæ fuisse ætatis, ascitos facit stare coram eo, quibus in remissionem omnium peccatorum injungit, aliquem, quem ipsis expresserit ex nomine, virum potentem et tyrannum, huic subducere vitæ. In hujus etiam executionem ministerii singulis singulos contradit cultellos [3] horrificæ longitudinis acutos. In hujus obedientiam mandati devotius insistentes absque dilatione procedunt, quousque ad quemcunque prænotatum pervenerint tyrannum; in cujus tamdiu persistunt obsequio, donec tempus nacti præmeditatum consummaverint negotium; tali se sperantes obsequio gloriam promeruisse cœlestem. Hujus nimirum exstiterant sectæ qui Marchisum nefarie peremerant.

Conrad is carried to his palace, and having charged his wife to give up Tyre to Richard only, dies and is buried at the Hospital.

Marchisum igitur, jam extremum spiritum trahentem, sui circumquaque vallantes,[4] leniter in ulnis comprehensum ad palatium deportant, inconsolabiliter dolentes et flentes, quia tam brevis paulo ante concepta perseveraverat eorum lætitia. Salutaribus autem fidelium sacramentis perceptis, uxori suæ firmiter injunxit, ut civitati Tyro conservandæ vigilanter intenderet, nec [5] cuiquam hominum resignaret nisi regi Ricardo, sive illi quem regnum jure contingebat hæreditario. Nec mora, defunctus est, et apud Hospitale cum planctu vehementi sepultus.[6] Sicque prius uberius exultantium abbreviata est lætitia, et diutius desiderati, nondum prægustati, prorsus evanuit summa dominii. Et ecce! terræ desolatæ prædestinatum præreptum est solatium, et exuberans nova mœstitia præcedentem exsuperavit lætitiam.[1]

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[1] *ipsorum*] eorum, A.B.

[2] *credulitas*] crudelitas, A.

[3] *contradit cultellos*] tr. A.

[4] *vallantes*] vallentes, C.

[5] *nec*] ne, C.

[6] *sepultus*] est, ins. A.

A.D. 1192. April 28.

[CAPITULUM XXVII.]

Franci quidam ex invidia infamant regem Ricardum super occisione Marchisi.

The French wickedly insinuate that Richard contrived the death of the Marquis.

In illa populi tanta confusione[2] jam succrescentia triticum corruperant, quæ superseminaverat inimicus homo zizania.* Exiit enim susurrium[3] a quibusdam Francis, Francorum nequitiam tali fictione velare putantibus, lingua virosa confictum, sibilus scilicet invisus popularibus auribus infusus, quod rex Ricardus nequiter procuraverat[4] mortem Marchisi, et mercede conductos Hausassisos ad id agendum duos illos destinaverat homicidas. O livor infamis! semper carpens meliora, dente corrosivo[5] bonum zelat, et quam[6] nequit exstinguere claritudinem[7] gestorum intendit denigrare. Nec sic regem Ricardum in partibus illis defamasse contenti sunt invidi; immo regi Franciæ mandaverunt, ut sibi caveret[8] ab Hausassisis,[9] satellitibus senioris illius de Musse, quoniam Marchisus ab eis[10] occisus est, et quod hujus superstitionis ministros rex Ricardus in Franciam[11] direxerit quatuor ad regem Franciæ perimendum. O cujus æstimandi sunt meriti qui fuerunt[12] hujus ad-

*S. Matthew, xiii. 25.

They send word to king Philip that Richard has sent four assassins to kill him.

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[1] Our author, unfortunately, does not give the date of the assassination of the Marquis. Hoveden (fol. 407) says that it took place on the fifth of the Calends of May, April 27. Ralph of Diceto (col. 667), however, places it on the fourth before the Calends, April 28, which agrees with the date given by Bohadin, 225, Tuesday the thirteenth of the latter Rabia. So also the other Eastern writers enumerated by Wilken, iv. 483.

[2] *tanta confusione*] tr. B.

[3] *susurrium*] susurrum, C.

[4] *procuraverat*] procuraverit, B.C.

[5] *corrosivo*] corrisivo, MSS.

[6] *quam*] quod, B.

[7] *claritudinem*] claritatem, A.

[8] *caveret*] præcaveret, A.

[9] *Hausassisis*] et, ins. B.

[10] *eis*] illis, A.

[11] *in Franciam*] om. A. Francia, B.

[12] *fuerunt*] fuerant,

A.D. 1192. April. inventionis auctores, cujus occasione, sicut creditur, tot conturbatæ sunt gentes * et concussæ provinciæ. Hujus autem suæ malignitatis commento arbitrabantur infames sic robur addidisse, fucumque palliasse nequitiæ.

Their hypocrisy.

* Psalm xlvi. 6.

[CAPITULUM XXVIII.]

Apud Tyrum, comes Henricus a Francis[1] *eligitur in regem, et super hoc et super occisione Marchisi nuncii regi Ricardo mittuntur.*

The French at Tyre try to get possession of the city from the Marchioness.

Sepulto Marchiso, Franci convenerunt in unum, qui extra civitatem sederant in tentoriis, ferme decem millia, qui postquam super rerum statu invicem aliquamdiu tractassent, mandaverunt uxori Marchisi, ut ipsis contraderet civitatem absque dilatione et contradictione conservandam,[2] ad opus regis Franciæ. Quibus ipsa respondit, quod quando rex Ricardus ipsam visere veniret, ipsi potius redderet civitatem et nulli alii; sicut dominus suus moriens ei præceperat.[3] "Non est," inquit, "alter qui terram sic elaboraverit a Turcorum "manibus eripere, et pristinæ libertati restituere: ipsi "quidem merito fortiori debetur regnum, prout viderit, "dispensandum." Super hoc mandato Franci nimium commoti sunt indignantes. Quibus in hunc modum super obtinenda civitate contendentibus,[4] ecce! comes Henricus, super audito rerum eventu non modicum obstupescens, venit Tyrum. Quem statim ut vidit populus præsentem sine dilatione, tanquam a Deo[5] missum, elegerunt in principem et dominum, et ad ipsum accedentes cum omni diligentia supplicare cœperunt, ut patienter sine omni contradictione et excusatione sus-

She refuses.

Count Henry comes to Tyre, and is elected King by the people.

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[1] *a Francis*] om. A.

[2] *conservandam*] observandam, A.

[3] *moriens ei præceperat*] tr. A.

[4] *contendentibus*] contundentibus, B.

[5] *Deo*] Domino, A.

ciperet regni coronam, et viduam Marchisi duceret uxorem, cui regnum jure debebatur hæreditario.[1] Quibus comes incunctanter respondit, quod super hoc negotio consummando, ad quod Deus eum vocarat, secundum regis avunculi sui consilium se gereret. Nec mora, mittuntur legati, qui celebratam solemniter ab omni populo electionem regi Ricardo significent, et Marchisum nefarie peremptum.

A.D. 1192. April. They insist on his marrying the widow of Conrad.

[CAPITULUM XXIX.]

Quanta instantia rex Ricardus quotidie Turcos affligit, occidit, captivat.

Interim autem, antequam nuncii prædicti venirent a Tyro ad regem Ricardum, instante jam tempore sereniore post brumales rigidos menses, rex Ricardus infatigabili exercitio Turcos invadens infatigabiliter persequebatur et pertinaciter. Nunquam enim similis illi comparuit in terra illa; quem Turci sic metuerent, qui sic ipsos afficeret, sine intermissione contereret, se pene solum frequentius in multos[2] ingereret, capita[3] hostium reportaret, singulis fere diebus quibus Turcos sibi contingeret occurrere, nunc capita decem, nunc duodecim, nunc viginti, nunc[4] triginta. Nihilominus, cum sibi visum esset, vivos reducebat captivos. Nunquam profecto per unum hominem tot Saraceni deleti sunt temporibus Christianis.

Richard in the meantime makes several expeditions against the Turks.

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[1] *debebatur hæreditario*] tr. A.B.; debeatur, C.

[2] *multos*] multas, B.

[3] *capita*] copias, B.

[4] *nunc*] vel, A.B.

[CAPITULUM XXX.]

A.D. 1192. April 16.

Mestoch redemptus recedit, et armigeri quidam ex nostris furrantes a Turcis capiuntur.

Meschtoub returns from captivity on payment of ransom.

Die Jovis ante festum Sancti Aelphegi,[1] Mestoc ille, qui, sicut prædictum est, cum aliis in Achone civitate comprehensus est, redemptus abire liber permissus est. Nec multo post armigeri nostri et servientes, pabula jumentis quæsituri, cum incaute longius processissent, Saraceni prosilientes ab insidiis quosdam eorum peremerunt, quosdam captivos abduxerunt et equos quamplures.

[CAPITULUM XXXI.]

April 22.

Pugna inter regem Ricardum et aprum sibi occurrentem, quæ regi fere erat periculosa.

Richard goes to Blancheguard (Tel-es-safieh).

Die Mercurii ante festum Sancti Marci Evangelistæ, rex cum exercitu apud Candidam Custodiam[2] profectus est; sed neminem inveniens, hostes quippe propter ejus adventum prius fugerant, dum reverteretur aprum ferocissimum invenit, dentibus armatum eminentissimis.[3] Qui cum ad[4] regis clamorem moderatis passibus non procul evaderet, restitit oppositus insequenti. Spumantes itaque dentes ob iram ciendam acuens, subrigentibus hispidus[5] setis, erectis auribus videbatur in se indignationem recolligere, et furore fervescere, ut fortius vel exciperet irruentem vel impeteret. Qui cum nec ad regis clamorem loco moveretur, immo, ad admirantis circuitionem in orbem se

His encounter with a wild boar on his return.

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[1] *Aelphegi*] Alfegi, A.; Alphegi, B. Bohadin, p. 223, gives exactly the same date, Thursday the 1st of the latter Rabia, April 16.

[2] *Candidam Custodiam*] Gadidam custodiendam, A.

[3] *eminentissimis*] eminentibus, A.

[4] *ad*] om. A.

[5] *hispidus*] hispidis, A.

gyrando infra spatium præoccupatum se cohiberet, rex lancea utens vice venabuli infigendum invasit,[1] quem et aper irruentem lateratim paululum occurrens, repercutere volens appropiavit regi. Fuit quidem corpore immani, timidis horrendus aspectu, cujus patulo pectori lancea fortius infixa, duorum sese mutuo comprimentium impetum ferre non sustinens, confracta est media. Aper ex vulnere ferventior, impetu validissimo ferebatur in regem, ad quem quaquaversum declinandum cum brevissimi temporis vel loci non suppeteret articulus, rex, equo cui insederat[2] subditis calcaribus, aprum in directo transiliente, præteribat illæsus, equi phaleras apro tantum dissipante posteriores. Cujus quidem ictum frustraverat equi saltus expeditior; lanceæ etiam particula apro fuerat impedimento propius congrediendi, quoniam in summo pectore steterat paulo[3] eminentior. Deinde singulis sese repetentibus,[4] aper cursu[5] concito invasurus regem aggreditur; cui rex venienti vibrato gladio cervicem illisit pertransiens. Quem ad ictum validissimum stupidum effectum rex accelerans, equo regyrato, subnervavit, sicque perdomitum assignavit venatoribus mancipandum.

A.D. 1192. April 22. Combat with the wild boar.

Richard conquers.

[CAPITULUM XXXII.]

De captione quorundam Turcorum a nostris.

April 28.

Die Martis ante Festum Sanctorum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, Rogerus de Glanvilla a Candida Custodia profectus[6] cum sociis suis, ante portas Jerusalem potenter transiens, quosdam Saracenos interceptos ad vincula coegit et secum reduxit captivos. Die Mercurii

Roger Glanvill starting from Blancheguard passes before the gates of Jerusalem.

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[1] *invasit*] evasit, B.

[2] *insederat*] sederat, B.

[3] *paulo*] paululum, B.

[4] *repetentibus*] impetentibus, A.

[5] *cursu*] concursu, A.

[6] *profectus*] est, ins.

A.D. 1192. April 29. Richard takes some Saracens between Blancheguard and Gaza.

sequente,[1] rex Ricardus inter Albam Custodiam et Gazam invenit quosdam Saracenos, de quibus tres occidit et quinque cepit et Ascalonem misit.[2]

[CAPITULUM XXXIII.]

May 1.

Item de captione Turcorum a rege apud Furbiam et a Templariis apud Darum.

Richard at Furbia, (Herbia). May 2. He is roused from his bed by an attack of Turks whom he routs.

Die Beatorum Apostolorum Philippi et Jacobi, et nocte sequenti, dum rex pernoctaret[3] apud Furbiam[4] cum paucis, summo mane irruentes Turci æstimaverunt se nostros improvidos prorsus comprehendere vel conterere. Rex igitur primus, exsiliens a stratu suo, scutum tantum arripuit et gladium; qui progrediens obviam irruentibus, septem cepit ex Turcis et quatuor occidit. Cæteri vero fugerunt a facie ejus. Postea cum rex Templarios et Turcopolos emisisset ad explorandam terram circa Darum dictum castrum,[5] invenerunt viginti Saracenos hordea metentes,[6] qui a castro exierant. Illos ceperunt et Ascalonem miserunt.

[CAPITULUM XXXIV.]

Prædictis nunciis a Tyro[7] venientibus, et regi nunciantibus mortem Marchisi et electionem Henrici, lætatur rex pro electione, dans ei totum quæstum suum, mittitque pro Francis.

The news from Tyre.

Rex Ricardus, dum in diebus illis in planitiis Ramulæ Turcos agitaret insequens fugitantes,[8] ecce, apparue-

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[1] *sequente*] om. B.

[2] *Die . . . misit.*] This sentence is in rubric in MS. B.

[3] *pernoctaret*] pernoctavit, B.

[4] *Furbiam*] Forbiam, A.

[5] *castrum*] om. C.

[6] *metentes*] metententes, B.

[7] *a Tyro*] ad Tyrum, B.

[8] *fugitantes*] fugientes, add. C.

A.D. 1192. May. Richard gives his consent to the election of count Henry.

runt præfati nuncii ad ipsum a Tyro destinati, rei statum ipsi indicantes et de morte Marchisi, et de electione comitis Henrici ad regnum suscipiendum, quod tamen, præter ejus assensum et consilium, idem comes suscipere non præsumpsit. Rex, audita morte Marchisi, diutius super tam insolito mortis genere et inopinato conticuit stupens. Super electione vero nepotis sui et honore regio solemniter exhibendo lætabatur eximie; noverat siquidem suos id plurimum optasse. "Ex quo," inquit, "urgente fato inevitabili, " sicut asseritis, emigravit Marchisus, quid super hoc " dolor[1] nimius conferret solatii viventibus? vel pro- " ficeret planctus animæ mortui? Comitis quidem " Henrici plurimum congratulor electioni,[2] et admodum " desidero ut ad Dei voluntatem regno præficiatur " gubernando, postquam terra erit prorsus acquisita.

But refuses to advise him to marry the widow, and summons him for an expedition against Darum.

" Super ducenda vero Marchisi relicta in conjugem " non consulo; quoniam, vivente viro suo, Marchisus " ipsam injuste rapuit, et polluendo adulterium " commisit: regnum vero comes suscipiat, cui dono " in dominium civitatem Achonem in possessionem " æternam cum omnibus pertinentiis, Tyrum quoque et " Joppen, et terram totam, Deo annuente, perquiren- " dam. Cui vice mea dicatis, ut, quam citius[3] potue- " rit, redeat ad nos in expeditionem,[4] Francos secum " adducens. Proposui[5] namque Darum comprehen- " dere, si qui fuerint Turci qui resistere præsumpse- " rint." Rex vero rediit ad Ascalonem.

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[1] *dolor*] rep. C.

[2] *electioni*] electionem, B.

[3] *quam citius*] quantocius, B.

[4] *in expeditionem*] om. C.

[5] *proposui*] posui, C.

[CAPITULUM XXXV.]

A.D. 1192. May.

Prædictis legatis a rege Tyrum redeuntibus, et ejus voluntatem nunciantibus, conjungitur Marchisa Comiti, cum universorum lætitia, cui redduntur Tyrus et castra alia.

The French urge the marriage, and the Marchioness surrenders the keys of Tyre.

Audito rege, revertuntur legati Tyrum ad comitem regem futurum, renunciantes verba regis. Tunc reviviscit lætitia, tunc exultant universi. Comitem itaque vallantes[1] persuadent[2] hæredem regni ducere uxorem. Comes renuit, ne incurrat offensam regis Ricardi. Franci vero et regni magnates, allegantes rem fortius conjugio stabiliendam, urgent ita[3] fieri, quibus ita[4] procurantibus, Marchisia sponte sua accedens ad comitem obtulit ei claves civitatis. Quo facto, statim ad instantiam Francorum, rem sollicite accelerantium, contractum est[5] solemniter matrimonium[6] inter comitem Henricum et Marchisiam in facie ecclesiæ, præsentibus quampluribus[7] clericis[8] et laicis. Comitem quidem ad hoc agendum persuadentes non plurimum laborasse putantur, non enim laborat qui cogit volentem. Celebrantur nuptiæ regali magnificentia.[9] Omnibus optatum gaudent universi consummatum negotium: exultant Franci; Normanni lætantur, pari voto contenti, quoniam[10] idem comes nepos erat utriusque regis Franciæ et Angliæ. Hujus fœderis intervenientis conglutino sperantur tempora lætiora, et in unam concordiam reditura dissidentia. Completis nuptiis, misit Comes qui civitatis Achon et Joppæ, et aliarum terræ civitatum et castrorum auctoritate sua susciperent cus-

The marriage is at last celebrated: (May 5. *Diceto*, 667.)

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[1] *vallantes*] vallentes, C.
[2] *persuadent*] persuadere, B.
[3] *ita*] itaque, A.
[4] *ita*] etiam, A.B.
[5] *est*] om. C.
[6] *solemniter matrimonium*] tr. A.
[7] *quampluribus*] om. A.
[8] *clericis*] om. C.
[9] *regali magnificentia*] tr. A.B.
[10] *quoniam*] quia, A.

A.D. 1192. May 5. Henry proclaims the expedition to Darum.

todiam, et in jus suum manciparent, ut ipse[1] omnium obtineret dominium, quatenus de cætero ipsi responderent ut domino. Postea proposuit edictum, ut sine mora instruerentur universi, profecturi in expeditionem versus Darum castrum expugnandum.

[CAPITULUM XXXVI.]

Cum quanto gaudio receptus est comes Henricus apud Achon, tendens cum duce Burgundiæ et[2] exercitu suo versus Ascalonem, in auxilium regis Ricardi.

Henry and his wife proceed with the Duke of Burgundy to Acre.

Dispositis itaque custodibus, qui Tyrum civitatem et terræ munitiones fideliter observarent, movit comes Henricus exercitum cum duce Burgundiæ versus Achon, ut expedirent processum,[3] et quæ forent necessaria providerent. Secum etiam duxit uxorem, qua nondum potuit patienter carere. Comitis adventus cum innotuisset iis qui resederant in Achon, novo domino applaudentes, summa cum lætitia tripudiantes exibant obviam advenienti, ob ipsius excipiendi reverentiam et honorem. Quem et[4] introducebant circumvallantes[5] in civitatem, quam videres[6] circumquaque ornatam, ut similitudo templi, cortinis; et pannos sericos expositos,[7] et injecto thure per vicos[8] et plateas fumigantia thuribula, mulieres ducentes choros, turbam tumultuantem in jubilo et exultatione. Quid singula? populus infinitus armatus processerat eidem excipiendo obviam,[9] tanquam millia sexaginta, in signum domini novi,

Joyful reception there.

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[1] *ipse*] om. A.

[2] *et*] cum, ins. A.

[3] *processum*] prorsum, B.

[4] *et*] ut, C.

[5] *circumvallantes*] circumvallentes, C.

[6] *videres*] videns, B.

[7] *pannos sericos expositos*] pannis sericis, A.B.; expositis, A.

[8] *per vicos*] om. B.

[9] *excipiendo obviam*] tr. A.B.; in obviam, B.

A.D. 1192. May. Henry holds a banquet in the royal palace.

quem corde voluntario sic se suscipere contestabantur. Clerus ipsum deduxit ad manum usque ad[1] ecclesiam coram altare, Sanctamque Crucem cum aliis quoque relliquiis ei protulerunt osculandam. Ibi ipse,[2] alii quoque quam plurimi pretiosa munera obtulerunt, deinde deductus in palatium regale magnificentissimum instruxit convivium. Ipsi quoque tanquam regi futuro unusquisque pro facultatibus suis intendebat honorando.

[CAPITULUM XXXVII.]

Regi Guidoni, pro probitate militiæ suæ et regni amissione, rex Ricardus pietate motus confert insulam Cypri.

The author commiserates with the unmerited misfortunes of king Guy.

Verum quia vix est ut unus crescat nisi altero decrescente, ut[3] videlicet, unius dispendium alterius vertatur in commodum, quo comes Henricus jam gloriatur adepto, rex Guido regno privatur, cujus occasione tot prælia confecerat, quod tot redemerat laboribus et defenderat sudoribus. Nunc tanquam privatus incedit, non quia regnum demeruerit, quo nimirum rex alius nullus inveniretur magnificentius morigeratus, sed eo solo quod simplex erat et minus astutus, et[4] quo debebat jure haberi venerabilior, reputatus est contemptibilior. Miles erat probatissimus. Achonem primitus a Saracenis occupatam strenuissime obsedit, et diutius oppugnavit, sed Turcorum jugiter crescente multitudine, a parte marina expugnare non prævaluit, quam, sicut prænotatum est, vix duo reges obtinere potuerant. Numquid virtus simplicitatis obtinendo juri suo eidem debuit[5] obesse? Eo nimirum jam sæcularis invaluit

His bravery and generalship.

His simplicity of character.

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[1] *ad*] in, A.
[2] *ipse*] et, ins. A.
[3] *ut*] om. C.
[4] *et*] om. A.
[5] *debuit*] debuerit, B.

summa perversitatis, ut is amplioris reputetur gloria dignior honoris, quo gestis noscitur immanior; sicque reverentiam acquirat astutia, dum ignominiose jaceat pietas simplicitatis, hujus sæculi regnante prudentia. Hic est Guido rex sine regno. Verumtamen rex Ricardus, super ipsum motus pietate, et[1] propter ipsius notam probitatem, insulæ Cypri, quamvis eam prius Templarii a rege emissent, eidem contulit gratis imperium. Sicque rex Guido, Templariorum emptionis commutata conditione, insulæ Cypri factus est imperator.

A.D. 1192. May. He receives Cyprus from Richard in compensation for the loss of Jerusalem.

[Capitulum XXXVIII.]

Nuncii ab Anglia sæpe venerunt,[2] qui, diversa regi nunciantes, regem reddiderunt incertum quidnam ei faciendum esset.

Eo tempore, quo, sicut prædictum est, Tyro Marchisus occisus est, frequenter venerunt nuncii ad regem Ricardum, sollicitantes ipsum ut repatriaret. Quorum quidam asserebant omnia tuta, alii terram Angliæ in proximo occupandam, quidam persuadebant ut repatriaret, alii, ut[3] perquirendæ peregrinationis terræ, quam adierat, omnem adhiberet diligentiam. Sic diversis ipsius animum perturbabant assertionibus, ut cui jam cederet sententiæ prorsus ambigeret. Cæterum regis Franciæ ex anterioribus indiciis satis animum metiebatur, juxta quod proverbialiter dicitur, quod "Proculdubio habet malum mane, qui malum habet vicinum."

Many conflicting messages come from England to king Richard.

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[1] *et*] om. B.

[2] *venerunt*] veniunt, A.

[3] *ut*] om. A.

[CAPITULUM XXXIX.]

A.D. 1192. May.

Qualiter sine auxilio Francorum, rex Ricardus, tantum cum suis, castrum Darum expugnavit in quatuor diebus, et[1] cepit in eo trecentos Turcos.

Whilst Henry and the French are on their way, Richard provides for the safety of Ascalon and sets out for Darum.

Interea,[2] comite Henrico cum Francis apud Achonem se ad expugnandum castrum Darum accurantibus,[3] rex Ricardus, osor desidiæ, cum suis exiit ab Ascalone, et petrarias suas navibus membratim impositas versus Darum destinavit portandas. Assignavit igitur[4] qui custodirent Ascalonem, et mercede copiosissima conduxit servientes probissimos,[5] quos ordinavit per vicina circumquaque castra, ad observandos de die omnes transitus viarum, nocturnas etiam exercentes[6] excubias sollicite, ne qua forte possent, sicut prius, versus Darum liberum habere Turci discursum, ad portanda victualia, vel arma, vel quæcunque Turci procurassent ad exercitum suum in Jerusalem deportanda, vel, sicut consueverant, in transeundo apud Darum tutum ulterius haberent receptaculum, unde nostris frequentes[7] moliebantur insidias. His ita dispositis rex cum suis tantum domesticis, armatus profectus est ad castrum Darum, quo quadam Dominica pervenientes,[8] non procul inde fixa sunt tentoria ipsius et comitum ejus. Verum propter gentis nostræ paucitatem, ambigebatur qua parte castrum obsideret, quoniam gens tantilla obsidione illud cingere nequibat. Si enim ex omni parte gens dispersa sederet, Turcorum forte irruen-

He arrives at Darum on a Sunday. (May 17.)

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[1] *et*] om. A.

[2] *Interea*] The date of the expedition to Darum is settled by the sequence of events in the Chapter. Hoveden places it a week too late, f. 407. The chronology of our author agrees with that of Bohadin, p. 227.

[3] *accurantibus*] accurrentibus, A. C.

[4] *igitur*] itaque, B.

[5] *probissimos*] fortissimos ac probissimos, B.

[6] *exercentes*] exercerent, B.

[7] *frequentes*] frequenter, A.

[8] *pervenientes*] perveniente, B.

A.D. 1192. May 17-22.

They encamp before the town, and the Turks retire into the castle.

The king and nobles carry the warlike engines from the sea to the town, a distance of nearly a mile.

Darum was fortified with seventeen towers, one of which was surrounded by a ditch and rendered almost impregnable.

tium non sufficeret assultum sustinere,[1] sicut nec hostes expugnare, unde simul versus villam in quadam planitie resederunt collecti. Turci tam paucorum parvipendentes conatus, a castro exeunt, et dum aliquamdiu, tanquam experimenti causa, nostros sollicitassent, tanquam provocantes ad bellum, in castrum denique se receperunt, et obseratis firmissime portis se præparabant defendere. Nec mora, ecce! petrariæ regis navibus allatæ venerunt. Quas rex etiam cum aliis proceribus et nobilibus, particulatim disjunctas,[2] a littore portabant in humeris suis, eundo pedites non sine sudore, sicut tunc vidimus, fere per spatium unius milliarii. Denique cum fuissent consolidatæ et erectæ petrariæ, et custodibus assignatæ, ipse rex unam sibi assumpsit exercendam, qua turris principalis impeteretur. Alteram habuerunt Normanni, tertiam Pictavenses:[3] omnes tres ad castellum jaciebant dissipandum. Turci desolantur videntes sibi proximum imminere[4] exitium: verumtamen imprimis se viriliter tentabant defendere. Petrarias sine intermissione die noctuque fecit rex jacere. In castro[5] Darum eminebant septem et decem turres fortissimæ et convenienter aptatæ; quarum una fuit cæteris eminentior et fortior, quam et exterior fossa cingebat profundior, quæ etiam ex una parte strato consolidabatur pavimento, ex parte vero altera rupis eam imminebat nativa. Genti vero perfidæ[6] denique timor inerat[7] ignaviæ, ne se defenderet efficaciter, vel saltem inde fugeret. Rex fossores sub terra[8] subtilius fecit fodere, et pavimentum disrumpere, et murum cavare. Petrariæ jugiter jacientes mangunellum unum Turcorum, in principali turri erectum, crebris jam ictibus dis-

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[1] *assultum sustinere*] tr. A.

[2] *disjunctas*] disjunctis, B.

[3] *tertiam Pictavenses*] tr. A. B.

[4] *imminere*] om. B.

[5] *castro*] crastino, A.; castello, B.

[6] *perfidæ*] perfidiæ, B.

[7] *inerat*] arguebat, ins. B.

[8] *sub terra*] om. C.

A.D. 1192. May 17-22. Siege of Darum.

sipaverant, unde plurimum Turci[1] desolati sunt. Verum primitus saxis et pilis arcuum et balistarum nostros rejiciebant; missilia enim densissime volabant emissa. Balistarii vero nostri in adversariorum[2] vigilantissimi[3] exitium, cum ipsos forte prospexissent in propugnaculis expositos, emissis percutiebant missilibus, quorum tot perimebant sauciatos, ut vix cæteri[4] præ timore se movere præsumerent.

Distress of the garrison.

Status quidem eorum infirmus erat; et ecce, porta castri diruta est et igne supposito combusta, et cum petraria regis dissipata. Turci autem, jam missi in desperationem ex continua vexatione, non prævalebant ad defensionem sufficere, quorum jam plurimi perempti sunt, alii decubuerant vulnerati. Cæterum perpendebant regem Ricardum, in omnibus quæ inchoasset operibus, constantissimum et invincibilem, et quod turres suffodiendo et petrariis jaciendo nunquam quiesceret. Tunc exeuntes tres Saraceni pervenerunt ad regem, petentes pacem, offerentes castrum reddendum, ea tamen conditione, ut liberæ abirent omnes animæ, relictis rebus omnibus quæ fuerant eis. Rex non consensit, immo dixit ut se defenderent, in quantum prævalerent.

They offer to surrender the castle on condition of liberty: the king refuses.

Quibus in castrum regressis, petraria regis vehementius[5] acta nunquam quiescebat. Nec mora, turris quædam[6] quam subterraneo meatu infirmaverant regii fossores, crebris impulsibus vexata, cum horrifico fragore corruit. Turcos a ruina fugientes raptim nostri insequuntur cædentes, qui resistere non valentes se intromiserunt in turrim principalem: nequissimo quidem usi consilio, universos equos suos, ne alienum cederent in usum, prius subnervaverant. Ipsis fugientibus, nostri viriliter ingrediuntur in castrum,

The smaller towers being undermined, the Turks retire into the principal tower.

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[1] *plurimum Turci*] tr. A.

[2] *adversariorum*] nostrorum, ins. A.

[3] *vigilantissimi*] vigilantissime, A,

[4] *cæteri*] et, ins. C.

[5] *vehementius*] vehementer, A.

[6] *turris quædam*] om. C.

A.D. 1192. May 17-22.

quorum primus erat Seguinus Barrez cum armigero suo nomine Ospiardo,[1] tertius intrantium Petrus erat de Garstonia;[2] alii quam plurimi postea[3] quorum jam nomina exciderunt. Baneria Stephani de Longo Campo prima muris eminebat[4] imposita; secunda comitis Leicestriæ,[5] tertia Andreæ de Chavegni,[6] quarta Reimundi filii Principis. Genuenses etiam et Pisani multiformia signa sua super muros erexerunt, sicque baneriæ nostræ sunt erectæ et Turcorum dejectæ. Ibi viderentur Turci velocius versus turrim fugientes, vel gladiis percussi corruere, vel pilis transfixi deficere, antequam in turrim pervenisse[7] potuissent. Quos in propugnaculis nostri[8] repererùnt adhuc persistentes, ejecerunt eos in profundum membratim excerpendos in terram. Numerus occisorum diversis in[9] locis in castro sexaginta Turcorum erat. Ipsi vero, qui confugerant in turrim, videntes suorum perditionem, et castrum occupatum, turrim nihilominus in proximo diruendam,[10] ad quam quippe succidendam se jam applicuerant viri virtutis ad regis instantiam, perpendentes nihil ulterius superesse salutis contra faciem regis, se jam in extrema necessitate, die Veneris ante Pentecosten, exposuerunt regiæ clementiæ dedendos in perpetuam servitutem; præsertim quia quidam[11] potentissimus Admiratus, Caisac nomine, cujus tutelæ castrum fuerat commissum, ipsis opem ferre dissimulavit. Comprehenso itaque castro Darum,[12] ferme quadraginta Christiani reperti[13] in vinculis captivi, soluti sunt et libertati

The crusaders make their way into the castle.

Those who had taken refuge in the principal tower surrender.

May 22

Forty Christian captives found in the castle.

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[1] *Ospiardo*] Espiardo, C.
[2] *Garstonia*] Gasconia, A.B.
[3] *quam plurimi postea*] tr. A.B.
[4] *eminebat*] imminebat, A.
[5] *Leicestriæ*] Legeicestriæ, B.
[6] *Chavegni*] Cavegny, B.
[7] *pervenisse*] venire, A.
[8] *in propugnaculis nostri*] tr. A.
[9] *in*] om. B.C.
[10] *diruendam*] diruendum, B.
[11] *quidam*] quidem, C.
[12] *castro Darum*] tr. C.
[13] *reperti*] sunt, add. A.

A.D. 1192. May 23. On Whitsun eve the Turks are brought out of the tower and bound.

restituti. Nocte Sabbati sequentis, fecit rex suos Turcorum adhuc existentium in turri custodiam habere usque mane Sabbati. Igitur vigilia Pentecostes ad regis imperium descendentes a turri, Turci arctissimis usque ad rugitum constricti sunt loris, vinctis post terga manibus: quorum numerus trecenti[1] erat, præter parvulos et mulieres. Sic ante Francorum adventum, obtinuerat rex Ricardus eleganter, cum suis tantum domesticis, castrum Darum expugnatum in quatuor diebus; plurimum quidem nostri sategerant ut absque Francis id fieret, quod ad gloriam utique ipsis ascribebatur ampliorem.

So Richard, without the French, took Darum.

[CAPITULUM XL.]

Rex Ricardus comiti Henrico adventanti[2] apud Darum dedit ipsum castrum, et recessit inde apud Furbiam.

Count Henry, with the Duke of Burgundy and the French, come up after the capture.

Comprehenso Darum, venit comes Henricus cum Francis et duce[3] Burgundiæ eo versus plurimum festinantibus, ut et ipsi ad comprehendendum castrum adessent: verum prius res consummata est. Rex exiit obviam advenienti comiti, et cum exultatione præcipua excepit, deducens in castrum; cui quoque concessit, et coram plurimis donavit, in obtinendi regni primitias, ipsum castrum cum pertinentiis perquisitis vel perquirendis. In castro Darum die magno festivitatis Pentecostes commorati sunt universi. Die Lunæ, positis in castro custodibus comitis, profecti sunt versus Ascalonem, per mediam Gazam transeuntes usque

The king keeps Whitsunday, May 24, and starts for Ascalon on the Monday, May 25.

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[1] *trecenti*] trecentorum Turcorum, A.B.

[2] *adventanti*] adventi, B.

[3] *duce*] comite, C.

Furbiam,[1] ubi rex tribus sedit diebus.[2] Cæteri vero usque Ascalonem profecti sunt, ubi Franci festivitatem Pentecostes solemnizabant.[3]

A.D. 1192. May 25–27. He stays three days at Furbia.

[CAPITULUM XLI.]

Rex Ricardus audiens Caysac Admiralium cum mille Turcis munire Castrum Ficuum, illuc venit ut illud expugnaret, sed omnes inde aufugerant.

May 27. The king hears that the emir Caysac is fortifying the Castle of Figs.

Apud Furbiam [4] quidam regis explorator, rediens a partibus Castri Ficuum vocati, retulit regi, in Castro Ficuum Saracenos mille vel eo amplius cum Admirato Caysac residere; qui etiam castro intendebant sollicite muniendo contra Christianos illuc forte venturos; quo rex audito sine mora eo versus[5] profectus est, quem et sequebatur exercitus. Prima nocte pernoctabant

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[1] *Furbiam*] Forbiam, A.C.

[2] *tribus diebus.*] Richard arrived at Furbia, (probably Herbia, between Ascalon and Gaza) on the 25th of May, and stayed there three days, that is until the 27th. If he started on the 27th for the Canebrake of Starlings, he would arrive at the Castle of Figs on the 28th. But on the 28th, according to Bohadin, p. 228, (the 14th of the former Sjumada,) he set out from El-Hessy for Masjdeljaba. Bohadin says that the Crusaders were worsted in a skirmish before reaching Masjdeljaba. Our author describes them as reaching the Castle of Figs and then returning. The Castle of Figs must then be some place between Tel-el-Hessy and Masjdeljaba. According to Dr. Robinson, Masjdeljaba is now Mejdel, about 12 miles due east of Jaffa, which, he says, bears the name still, Mejdel Yaba. *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 140. It seems unlikely that the Castle of Figs was identical with Masjdeljaba, which there are strong reasons for supposing to have been the Mirabel of the Crusaders. If the two accounts refer to the same expedition, as seems most likely, either Richard must have intended by the route he took to throw the garrison off their guard, or else the Turks were mistaken in supposing Masjdeljaba to be the object of attack. Masjdeljaba is about 30 English miles from El-Hessy.

[3] *solemnizabant*] solemnizabantur. B.

[4] *Furbiam*] Forbiam, A. C.

[5] *versus*] om. C.

A.D. 1192. May 28. Having encamped the first night at the Canebrake of Starlings, Richard proceeds early in the morning to the Castle of Figs, but finds it deserted, and returns to the Canebrake of Starlings.

apud casellum nuncupatum Arundinetum,[1] sive Cannetum Sturnellorum. Diluculo profecti sunt usque ad prædictum Castrum Ficuum, quo proposuerant,[2] quod contra ipsos Turci prædicebantur munire. Sed ibi neminem invenerunt præter duos Turcos, quos secum deduxerunt[3] captivos. Ejusdem[4] castri portas inde[5] Turci recedentes solo tenus demoliti sunt, valde velociter fugientes, cum innotuisset eis de regis Ricardi et[6] exercitus adventu. Super captione siquidem castri Darum non modicum exterriti, et eorum qui intus reperti sunt[7] perditionis non immemores, sibi præcaverant, ne et ipsi in consimilem inciderent quæstionem. Igitur cum castrum sic invenissent desertum, ascendentes in propugnacula eminentiora, circumquaque perspexerunt, si qui hostium apparuissent, quos[8] invaderent. Non invenientes cum quibus inirent certamen, reversi sunt pernoctaturi usque ad Casellum Sturnellorum.

[CAPITULUM XLII.]

Nunciata perturbatione terrarum suarum per Johannem comitem fratrem suum, nimis commotus est, et repatriare se velle asserit.

May 29. More news from England.

Apud Cannetum Sturnellorum, venit ad regem ab Anglia destinatus nuncius, clericus nomine Johannes de Alenzun,[9] indicans Angliam turbatam per Comitem

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[1] *Arundinetum*] Harundinetum, MSS. The Canebrake of Starlings is mentioned by William of Tyre (Bongars, i. 1009) as being 12 miles from Mont-Gisard near Ramlah. It is identified by the comparison of this passage, and Bohadin, p. 223, with Wady-el-Hessy, where, according to the latter, Richard fixed his head quarters for some time after leaving Darum.

[2] *proposuerant*] et, ins. B.

[3] *deduxerunt*] deduxerant, B.

[4] *Ejusdem*] Eidem, B.

[5] *inde*] unde, C.

[6] *et*] om. C.

[7] *reperti sunt*] tr. A.

[8] *apparuissent, quos*] aperuissent, quod, C.

[9] John of Alençon, archdeacon of Lisieux, and Vicechancellor. See *Fœdera*, (*ed. nov.*) i. 48.

A.D. 1192. May 29.

John of Alençon announces that John is throwing the kingdom into confusion, and is in league with king Philip.

Johannem fratrem regis, qui nec persuasione reginæ matris suæ,[1] vel quorumcunque aliorum consentiens, propriæ potius ducebatur motu voluntatis: a rege quoque[2] Franciæ crebris intercurrentibus nunciis sollicitabatur, ut jam eo res processerat, quod nisi quacunque occasione nefaria proditio refrænaretur, in proximo asseruit imminere, ut Anglia a regis Ricardi alienetur ditione. His auditis rex turbatus rumoribus, postquam diutius in silentio pensitando volvisset animo, quid potius videretur eligendum, postremo fatebatur, oportere se revera repatriare, ne solo natalis patriæ et regno patrum suorum, tanquam exsul, immerito efficeretur extorris. Nondum autem fama plenius propalata hujusmodi regis voluntatis, quidam dicebant quod, "rex profecto abiturus est;" alii vero "Non, "sed perseverabit; quia rumores incerti non avocabunt "ipsum a tam pii operis consummandi negotio, quia "nimirum acquirendæ terræ per ipsum hoc non ex"pediret, nec honori suo competeret."

Conflicting reports of Richard's intentions.

[Capitulum XLIII.]

Totus exercitus consentit[3] in unum, ire scilicet obsessurus Jerusalem, sive repatriaret rex Ricardus, sive non.[4]

The chiefs determine to proceed against Jerusalem.

Super regis Ricardi[5] recessu sic diversis[6] diversa sentientibus, convenerunt unanimiter in unum duces exercitus et magistratus, Franci, Normanni, Angli, Pictavenses, Cenomannenses, Andegavenses; et una voce sibi mutuo compromiserunt, quod sive abeunte rege vel remanente, sine omni occasione procederent versus Jerusalem obsidendam. Hoc in exercitu jam cognito, fit in populo inæstimabilis lætitia: in communi con-

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[1] *suæ*] ejus, A.

[2] *quoque*] om. A.

[3] *consentit*] consensit, A.

[4] *Totus . . . non.*] C. reads this rubric as part of the last chapter.

[5] *Ricardi*] om. A.B.

[6] *diversis*] om. C.

A.D. 1192. May 29–June 3.

This resolution is joyfully received by the army.

gaudent[1] universi, divites et pauperes, pusilli cum majoribus; nec jam in exercitu quisquam erat, qui pro modo suo non exhiberet exteriora indicia, testimonium gaudio cordis interioris;[2] unde usque in mediam noctem, copiosis accensis luminaribus, ducebant choros, diversis concrepantes cantionibus, et

> "Pervigili ducunt noctis dispendia plausu."

Richard takes to his bed in perplexity.

Solius animum regis ex auditis curarum urtica sollicitat, qui profunde meditans alternas variat cogitationes. Quarum mole fatigatus se lecto sternit iratus. Nihilominus tamen intrante jam mense Junio, sub uno consensu totus ad progrediendum animatur exercitus.

[CAPITULUM XLIV.]

Muscæ dictæ Cincenellæ[3] *apud Ybelin facies exercitus exterminant pungendo, ut leprosi viderentur.*

June. The army proceeds from the Canebrake of Starlings to Ibelin of the Hospitallers: (Beit-Gebrin).

Ab Arundineto autem Sturnellorum rex et exercitus procedentes profecti sunt, alacriter descendentes[4] per planitiem versus Ybelin[5] Hospitalariorum, juxta Hebron,[6] prope vallem ubi nata fertur beata Anna mater

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[1] *congaudent*] gaudent, A.

[2] *interioris*] interiori, C.

[3] *Cincenellæ*] Sincenellæ, A.

[4] *profecti . . . descendentes*] om. A.

[5] *Ybelin*] Ybelon, B.

[6] *Hebron*] Ebron, B. Ibelin of the Hospitallers is Beit Gebrin, the ancient Eleutheropolis, identified by the Crusaders with Beersheba. See William of Tyre (Bongars, i. 865). Although situated within the limits of the Lordship of Hebron, or S. Abraham, (see *Assises de Jerusalem*, i. 420, ii. 528, and Seb. Pauli's *Codice Diplomatico del Sacro ordine militare Gerosolimitano*, i. 18,) it does not lie near enough to Hebron to justify the *juxta* of the text; yet curiously enough, Bohadin in his account of Richard's movements after the capture of Darum (p. 228) makes a similar reference to the dwelling place of Abraham. Mar Hanneh, the patron saint of the valley referred to in the text, is not the Mother of the Virgin, but S. John, probably the Baptist. See, however, Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, ii. 357 and 361.—According to Bohadin, p. 229, Richard moved about the 31st of May (17th of the former Sjumada) from El-Hessy to a place where the roads to Beit-Gebrin, Ascalon, and the other strongholds diverge. This description applies closely to Kuratiyeh, or Galatia, between Beit-Gebrin and Ascalon, which most probably was the scene of the conversation given in c. xlv.

A.D. 1192. June.

They are greatly plagued with stinging flies.

Dei genitricis Mariæ. Ibi moram faciens exercitus lætabatur eximie, ex spe progrediendi versus Jerusalem. Ibi ingruebant exercitui muscæ quædam minutissimæ, sicut scintillæ volitantes, quas appellabant cincenellas. His circumquaque regio vicina replebatur; hæ improbissime instabant, peregrinorum acerrime pungentes manus, colla, guttura, frontes, et facies, vel ubicunque pars nuda patebat. Quarum scilicet puncturas tumor statim sequebatur ferventissimus, ut universi quos punxissent,[1] viderentur leprosi; a quarum molestissima infestatione, vix aptatis circa capita et colla velaminibus potuerunt muniri. Spe nihilominus exhilarati fortius adversa toleranda ducebant; mutuo quippe sibi fuerant confœderati universi fide media, ad progrediendum versus Jerusalem obsidendam. Regem solum ex auditis sollicitudinis fluctus exagitat.

All except Richard hope to proceed against Jerusalem.

[CAPITULUM XLV.]

Quidam capellanus regis regem alloquitur, sermone valde dissuasorio; quo motus rex repatriare distulit.

June 3.

A certain Poictevin Chaplain of Richard, named William, wishes to address the king.

Cum die quadam, regem Ricardum[2] in[3] meditatione solitarium, fixis in terram luminibus, sedentem in tentorio suo vidisset capellanus quidam Pictavensis, nomine Willelmus,[4] altius indoluit; et quoniam regem ex[5] nunciorum relationibus existimavit exasperatum, ipsum convenire non præsumpsit, ut ex his animum exoneraret, quibus admodum urebatur; flens igitur amarissime piis oculis respexit regem, nihil dicens. Quod cum rex avidum loquendi ex gestientis[6] nutibus perpenderet, advocato[7] dixit ei,[8] "Domine capellane,

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[1] *punxissent*] puxissent, A.

[2] *Ricardum*] om. A.

[3] *in*] om. B.

[4] *Willelmus*] Gwillelmus, B.

[5] *ex*] de, B.

[6] *gestientis*] gestientibus, B.

[7] *advocato*] capellano, ins. B.

[8] *ei*] Di, di, di, ins. B.

A.D. 1192. June 3.

Richard bids him speak his mind.

“ fidelitate mihi debita te obtestor, quatenus omni
“ amota dilationis et simulationis ambage, mihi edicas
“ qua causa sic fleveris, si me forte tantæ tuæ tristitiæ
“ respexerit occasio.” Cui capellanus, oculis lacrymis
gravidis, voce demissa, “ Non,” inquit, “ prius dicam
“ quam revera mihi constiterit excellentiam vestram
“ super expositis meis adversus me non exacerbandam.”[1]
“ Rex jurejurando spopondit impunitatem. Tunc

The chaplain tells him that if he returns to England now, he will lose his fame and show a want of faith in God, who has so often delivered him.

capellanus confidens sic orsus est; “ Domine rex, ex eo
“ quod reditum acceleras in patriam, in exercitu ab
“ universis diffamaris, ab his maxime qui familiarius
“ tuum optant honorem. Quod Deus avertat ut incertorum
“ occasione rumorum ab hujus terræ desolatæ
“ avertaris acquisitione. Hoc quidem in æternum opprobrium
“ credimus vobis cedendum; clarioris gloria
“ cœpti non offuscetur regressu celeriori; non in posterum
“ objiciatur ignaviter recessisse, pendente negotio.
“ O finis plurimum dissimilis prædicandis, si deroget[2]
“ inceptis. Provideatur, oro, ne gloriosum meritum
“ inchoantis denigret virtus emarcens in posterum.

* S. Luke viii. 39.

“ Domine rex, memento quanta tibi fecerit[3] Deus,* Qui
“ ubique tuos memorandos in sæcula prosperaverit[4] actus,
“ quibus gloriosiora vel frequentiora nunquam tuæ rex
“ ætatis[5] peregerit.[6] Rex, recordare quod, cum esses
“ comes Pictaviæ,[7] nullum unquam habueris vicinum
“ tantæ virtutis, vel animositatis adversarium, qui non
“ tuis subactus viribus manus daret. Rex, memento
“ magnarum contentionum turbarumque Brabaconum,

He recounts the deliverances and victories of Richard.

“ quas toties dissipasti rara manu et dispersisti. Rex,
“ memento quam gloriose triumphasti ad amovendam[8]
“ obsidionem apud Hautefordiam, quam comes de
“ Sancto Ægidio obsederat, et tu ipsum abegisti, et

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[1] *adversus me non exacerbandam*] tr. B.
[2] *deroget*] derogat, A.
[3] *fecerit*] fecerat, C.
[4] *prosperaverit*] prosperavit, C.
[5] *tuæ rex ætatis*] tr. A.
[6] *peregerit*] fecerit, A.
[7] *Pictaviæ*] Pictavensis, B.
[8] *amovendam*] ammovendam, B.

A.D. 1192.
June 3.

He bids him remember Messina and Cyprus.

“ probrose effugasti. Rex, memento regni tui quod absque scuto et galea liberum obtinuisti et quietum, sine quorumcunque contradictione. Rex, memento tuarum tantarum virtutum, qualiter tot et tantas gentes subegeris, cum civitatem Messanam viriliter comprehenderis, quam te probum illuc exhibueris, cum gentem Græcam represseris, quæ te lacessire et debellare præsumpserat, a quorum manibus te divina liberavit clementia, ipsis pessundatis et confusis. Recole, rex, virtutum insignia, quibus te Deus ditavit, secundum divitias gratiæ Suæ,* quando Cyprum insulam subjugasti, quod ante te nullus unquam præsumpsisse ausus[1] est; quam in quindecim diebus debellasti; quod auctore quidem Deo potuisti, et quod imperatorem captivaveris: quodque navem illam singularem, quæ vento adversante in portum Achonensem intrare non potuerat, occursans[2] cum galeis tuis, obruisti cum octingentis Turcis armatis, quando serpentes absorpti sunt fluctibus marinis. Memento, domine rex, obsidionis Achonensis, ad quam tempestive comprehendendam advenisti, et te oppugnante reddita est: et quod[3] ab ægritudine, quam dicunt Arnaldiam, qua nimium laboraveras, miserante Deo, convaluisti, aliis quam plurimis principum eadem infirmitate morientibus. Memento, rex, terræ hujus quam tuæ Deus commisit tutelæ, cujus te solum respicit cura, ex quo rex ille Franciæ ignaviter abierit.[4] Rex, memento Christianorum captivorum[5] quos a vinculis liberasti apud castrum Darum, quos Turci deducendos in captivitatem constrinxerant, quibus ut subvenires eo te Deus destinavit.[6] O quam alto perpendere haberes intuitu cordis, quod[7] te Deus

* Ephes. i. 7.

The adventure of the Dromond, the siege of Acre, his recovery from the Arnaldia, and the deliverance of the captives at Darum.

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[1] *ausus*] prævisus, B.
[2] *occursans*] accurrens, A.
[3] *quod*] om. A.
[4] *abierit*] abierat, B.
[5] *Christianorum captivorum*] tr. A.B.
[6] *destinavit*] destinaverit, B.
[7] *quod*] om. C.

A.D. 1192. June 3.

He reminds him of the capture of Darum.

" innumeris honoraverit triumphis, et magnificaverit " successibus, ut[1] jam non sit rex vel princeps qui " tibi resistat ulterius. Numquid excidit[2] memoriæ " recenter subactum tua virtute et instantia castrum " Darum, in quatuor diebus? Et quid super eo sen- " tiendum quod, cum minus provide recubans somno " occupatus, ab improba gente perfidorum pene oppri- " mereris, cum te Deus expeditius illæsum eruerit a " manibus eorum? Singula quid memorem? quos- " libet[3] ubicunque terrarum adversantes tua denique

The summing up of the discourse.

" forti manu subactos, urbesve quassatas, et quod- " cunque proposueris feliciter exsuperasse negotium? " Memorare quod ab occiduo huc usque egressus orbe, " ubique victor exstiteris, ante tuos pedes vinculandi " prociderunt[4] hostes, ante cujus faciem

" Nec cadere Antæo,[5] nec crescere profuit Hydræ."

" Jam te tremit Soldanus, te Babylonis stupuere " sinus, Turcorum impetus horret; et quid amplius?

The application.

" Omnes dicunt in commune, quod tu omnium pater " exstiteris, tu patronus et defensor Christianitatis, " quam si modo deserueris, idem est ac si inimicis ex- " posueris[7] diripiendam.

" O rex fortis, ut cœpisti
" Perdura[8] diutius,
" Opem genti confer isti,
" Te sperat attentius
" Protectorem, ope Christi,
" Procede felicius."

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[1] *ut*] et, C.
[2] *excidit*] excedit, C.
[3] *quoslibet*] ve, add. A.
[4] *prociderunt*] prociderint, A.
[5] *Antæo*] Antheo, MSS.
[6] *Hydræ*] Ydræ, MSS.
[7] *exposueris*] exposuissetis, B.
[8] *Perdura*] Dura, C.

[CAPITULUM XLVI.]

Rex voce præconaria per exercitum clamare fecit, se non repatriaturum usque[1] *Pascha.*

A.D. 1192. June 3.

In hæc verba capellani rex suspensus, in silentio volvebat[2] multa animo, pensans verborum virtutem. Ipso[3] nimirum loquente capellano, rex omnino tacuerat, similiter et illi, qui cum ipsis consederant in tentorio, intenti ora tenuerant.* Regis quidem eodem sermone commutatum est cor, et confirmata est cogitatio, ut clariori consolidaretur certitudine. Et ecce! in crastino hora nona reversus rex et omnis exercitus extra pomœria Ascaloniæ foris[4] consederat, existimantibus singulis revera regem recessurum, et quod jam redditum acceleraret. Verum mutato proposito, per inspirationem gratiæ Dei, et sermonem[5] capellani, dixit comiti Henrico nepoti suo, et duci Burgundiæ, aliisque proceribus, quod nec per nuncium qualemcunque sollicitantem, sive quoscunque rumores vel querelas ante Pascha recederet a terra. Igitur pridie Nonas Junii, scilicet in hebdomada Sanctæ Trinitatis,[6] accersito[7] Philippo præcone suo, jussit ut per exercitum clamaret, notificans regem Ricardum usque[8] Pascha in terra remansurum absque omni dubietate, et ut singuli juxta possibilitatem suam se expedirent instruentes[9] ad civitatem Jerusalem obsidendam.

The king now resolves to stay in Palestine.

* Virgil, *Æneid* ii. 1.

June 4.

The army returns to Ascalon.

Richard proclaims that he will stay until next Easter.

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[1] *usque*] post, ins. A.

[2] *volvebat*] volebat, C.

[3] *Ipso*] Ipse, B.

[4] *Ascaloniæ foris*] tr. A. B.; Ascalonem, B.

[5] *sermonem*] sermone, B.

[6] *Igitur . . . Trinitatis*] tr. A.B.

[7] *accersito*] accito, B.

[8] *usque*] ad, ins. A.

[9] *expedirent instruentes*] expedienter instruerent, B.

[CAPITULUM XLVII.]

A.D. 1192. June 4.

Audita regis voluntate, lætatur exercitus, et se præparat ad expugnationem Jerusalem.

Joyful preparations of the army for the march to Jerusalem.

Audita voce præconis, velut avis ex die parente, congratulabantur universi. Tunc sine dilatione omnes se instruunt, sarcinas procurant, ad iter expediunt, et protensis in cœlum manibus dicebant: "Te, Deus "omnipotens, adoramus, et gratias agimus, quia nunc "civitatem Tuam videbimus, in qua Turci jam diutur"niorem moram egerunt. O quam felix tanta nostra "dilatio! quam beata exspectatio! quam condignæ "tribulationum singulorum passiones! quoniam tam "optatæ[1] jam sequitur visio civitatis." Hæc et his similia singulis protestantibus, sola eos vexabat sollicitudo, et procuratio procedendi. Præterea turba vulgi humilioris, quam spes effecerat alacriorem, victualium sarcinas propriis gestabant cervicibus; singulis se procul dubio asserentibus ad unius mensis sufficientiam ferre copiam escarum. Adeo quidem versus Jerusalem optabant progressum; nihil est etiam quod non exsuperet animus volentis, dummodo fuerit voluntarius, et divinus emollit famulatus asperiorem[2] duritiam.

[CAPITULUM XLVIII.]

Rex et exercitus ab Ascalone versus Jerusalem tendens, venit ad Candidam Custodiam, ubi duo ex nostris moriuntur incessu[3] serpentium.

Happy anticipations.

Igitur ut prædictum est, singulis se ad expeditionem instruentibus, unanimiter placita gratitudine congruere[4]

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[1] *optatæ*] optata, B.

[2] *asperiorem*] asperiorum, B.

[3] *incessu*] morsu, A.

[4] *congruere*] congrue, B.

A.D. 1192. June 7. The march begins early in the morning of the first Sunday after Trinity.

videbantur quæcunque fiebant. Sedens itaque extra Ascalonem rex et exercitus, jam prorsus ad iter instructus, die Dominica, scilicet in octavis Sanctæ Trinitatis,[1] ab Ascalonia[2] exiens, progressus est[3] summo mane versus Jerusalem. Gens egregie instructa, gens electa, paulatim progreditur[4] propter æstum. Ibi ditiores inferiorum compatientes impotentiæ, caritativo gratum ducebant succurrere obsequio, et[5] liberalitatis humilitate peditibus præbebant vecturam; et qui habebant equos, vel cujuscunque generis jumenta, pauperioribus peregrinis exhibebant ad portandum et ipsos et[6] sarcinas eorum; et ipsi pedites gratis post ipsos ambulabant, scilicet juvenes expediti et potentes ad itinerandum.

Magnificent array of the army.

Ibi videre fuit innumeras ventilantes insignes banerias,[7] multimodosque penuncellos, tot matrum filios, tot regionum oriundos, tot arma multiformia, galearum apices gemmis vernantes, loricasque nitentes, flammeosque[8] in scutis reptantes leones, vel aureos volitantes dracones, equos arduos ad cursum ferventiores,[9] quorum indignata teneri ardore spumescit[10] habena; tot mulos, tot lanceas acuta cuspide micantes; face gladiorum relucet aer; tot milites probatos et electos, quod me judice sufficerent ad Turcorum multitudinem, et satis ipsis majorem, conterendam sive sustinendam.

They cross a river of sweet water, and come to Blancheguard.

Itinerando itaque adeo profecerunt, quod jam fluvium dulcis aquæ transeuntes, pervenerunt usque ad Candidam Custodiam. In exterioribus igitur planitiis, fixis tentoriis, alacriter pernoctabant. Illa nocte prima, duorum morsibus serpentum miles quidam, et ejus armiger interierunt,

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[1] Bohadin places the march from Ascalon to Blancheguard, or Tel-es-Safieh, on the Saturday instead of the Sunday, p. 229.

[2] *Ascalonia*] Ascalone, B.

[3] *est*] om. B.

[4] *progreditur*] egreditur, A.

[5] *et*] om. B.

[6] *et*] om. C.

[7] *insignes banerias*] tr. A.

[8] *que*] om. A.B.

[9] *ferventiores*] ferventes, B.

[10] *ardore spumescit*] tr. A.B.

A.D. 1192. June 7, 8. They stay two days at Blancheguard.

intra modicum terræ spatium; quorum animas Deus absolvat, in Cujus obsequio sunt deprehensi. Ibi duobus diebus commoratus est exercitus.

[CAPITULUM XLIX.]

Rex cum exercitu tribus diebus venit ad Betenoble a Candida Custodia, expectans ibi populum per unum mensem, et multa interim insigniter faciens.

June 9. They march from Blancheguard to Toron of the Knights.

Tertia die,[1] quinto Idus Junii, prodibat conglobatus exercitus, et absque impedimento vel adversitate pervenerunt usque ad Turonem Militum. Ea[2] nocte comprehensi sunt quatuordecim Parthi a nostris, qui de montibus descenderant ad prædandum. In crastino post prandium inde[3] motus est exercitus, præcedente ipso rege cum domesticis suis, versus castellum Arnaldi,[4] in cujus parte dextra eminentiori figi sibi[5]

June 10. and the next day to Castel Arnald.

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[1] *Tertia die.*] Bohadin's date of this march agrees exactly with our author's. He calls the resting place on the 9th of June (the 26th of the former Sjumada) Netroun, which enables us to identify Toron of the Knights with Latroon, near Amwâs. Benjamin of Tudela mentions Toron of the Knights, and says that it was the ancient Shunem; a curious statement if the reading be correct. Benedict of Peterborough, and Bromton, give Toron the name of Turemud or Turomund. The last syllable is, perhaps, a fragment of the word Modin, the name of the city of the Maccabees, which the Crusaders (perhaps correctly) placed in this neighbourhood; see Robinson, *Later Biblical Researches*, p. 152. The modern explanation of the name of Latroon, *Castellum Boni Latronis*, is thus shown to be a mere common instance of the passion for fanciful derivations of names that have become unintelligible. Robinson's supposition that the modern name is really derived from the legend of the Penitent Thief is absurd. The Knights who gave name to Toron were the Hospitallers, to whom Emmaus and its casals were given by Robert of the Casal of S. Giles, in 1141. See S. Pauli, *Codice Diplomatico*, &c., i. 20.

[2] *Ea*] Eadem, B.

[3] *inde*] om. A.

[4] *Arnaldi*] Ernaldi, B.

[5] *sibi*] ibi, C.

A.D. 1192. June 17.

The army encamps at Beit-Nûba, and stays there a month; (June 11 to July 3.)

June 12.

The king, hearing that there are Turks among the mountains, goes to the fountain of Emmaus to look for them, takes much spoil, and sees Jerusalem in the distance.

jussit tentoria. In crastino venerunt Franci, et cunctus exercitus, profecturi versus Betenopolim: ibi aliquamdiu sedit exercitus, ut expectaret comitem Henricum quem rex miserat usque Achonem, ut ibi residentem in otiis ad expeditionem populum adduceret. Eapropter oportuit totum commorari exercitum per unum mensem vel plus, juxta[1] radicem montis, qua transire solebant peregrini, et a Sancta Civitate reverti. Dum ea valle qua resederat[2] commorabatur exercitus, plura contingere vidimus accidentia, quæ non existimamus prætereunda silentio. In crastino Sancti Barnabæ, scilicet die Veneris, regi nunciante speculatore Turcos in montanis sedere in insidiis transeuntium, rex summo mane ad montana profectus est, Turcos quæritans, usque ad fontem Emaus, et in aurora ipsos comprehendit improvidos, in quos irruens viginti peremit, alios dissipavit. Cepit quoque præconem ipsius Salahadini, qui sua clamando proponere solebat edicta. Illi soli pepercit; et comprehendit tres camelos, et equos et mulos, et pulchros Turkemannos.[3] Præterea sibi lucratus est duas optimas mulas,[4] onustas pretiosissimis sericis indumentis; specierum etiam genera multa, aloen et cætera; Saracenos etiam perniciter persequendo per montana fugavit, fugitantes cædendo, quousque unum eorum in valle quadam consecutus, transfossum ab equo dejecit moribundum. Quo contrito, rex prospiciens vidit eminus civitatem Jerusalem apparere.

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[1] *juxta*] ad. A.

[2] *resederat*] resederet, B.

[3] *Turkemannos*] Turchemannos, B.

[4] *optimas mulas*] tr. A.B.

[CAPITULUM L.]

A.D. 1192. June.

Turci in Jerusalem, audientes regem advenientem, timentes fugerunt, et Salahadinus se præparavit ad fugam.

Dismay of the Turks in Jerusalem.

Igitur cum ex fugientibus Turcis innotuisset iis, qui resederant in Jerusalem, regem Ricardum adventare,[1] vehementer extimuerunt, ut si rex in illo formidinis[2] ipsorum articulo processisset cum universo exercitu, profecto deseruissent civitatem Jerusalem Turci[3] quietam et liberam Christianis habitandam. Saraceni quippe exeuntes velocius aufugerant universi, ut nec esset qui civitatem muniret, vel in ipsa residere præsumpserat, nec minis Soldani districtus, vel[4] mercede allectus.

Saladin prepares to fly.

Salahadinus nihilominus equum suum meliorem exegerat, et agiliorem sibi præceperat exhiberi dextrarium, ut fugeret a facie regis Ricardi, quem non[5] ausus est expectare.

[CAPITULUM LI.]

Item dum apud Betenoble morarentur, Franci cum ducentis Turcis pugnantes confunderentur, nisi episcopus Saresberiensis[6] supervenisset eis in auxilium.

June 12. Two hundred Saracens descend from the mountains towards the camp of the French.

Eadem die, dum[7] rex talibus intenderet studiis, et vacaret negotiis, ducenti Saraceni a montanis descendentes in plana versus tentoria Francorum, totum conturbabant[8] exercitum, antequam effugarentur. Duos

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[1] *adventare*] advenientem, B.
[2] *formidinis*] fortitudinis, B.
[3] *Turci*] Turcis, A.
[4] *vel*] nec, A.
[5] *non*] nec, B.
[6] *Saresberiensis*] Salesberiensis, A.
[7] *dum*] cum, C.
[8] *conturbabant*] conturbant, C.

A.D. 119
June 12
They kill two of our men and rouse the French.

Indiscreet ardour of a Hospitaller, Robert of Bruges.

He is rebuked by the Master, Garnier.

namque ex nostris satellites jam peremerant, qui longius exierant ob quæritanda pabula jumentis, ad quorum clamorem Franci exsilientes,[1] Templarii quoque et Hospitalarii, irruerunt in Turcos, qui ad radicem montis viriliter restiterunt, nostros audacter repercutientes. Turci quippe congredi cum nostris vehementer refugiunt[2] in planis, in montis vero descensu restiterunt, et unum ex nostris militem repente[3] prostraverunt. Unde Franci non minima denotabantur infamia. Ibi miles quidam, nisi ordinis sui regulam fuisset transgressus, memorabile virtutis gessisset insigne: attamen id præsumpsisse potioris[4] videtur ascribendum audaciæ probitatis. Hospitalarius hic erat, nomine Robertus de Bruges,[5] qui cum jam vexillum regium[6] pertransisset, venit ad regem, equo cui sedit peroptimo calcaribus vehementius acto, et sociorum[7] ordinem indisciplinate deseruit, et ex aviditate congrediendi cum hostibus, antequam alii ordine militari procederent, ferebatur solus in hostes. Turcum itaque quendam quem decentissime conspexerat[8] armatum, ex opposito veniens rapido cursu aggressus,[9] cum fortissima quam gerebat lancea, tenacissima qua muniebatur Turcus armatura frustrata, medio transfodit corpore, ut jam emineret penetrato lancea tergo. Decidit in terram Turcus, cujus corpus non est ibi relictum. Simul igitur universi nostri equis admissis irruerunt in hostes. Dixit itaque Magister Hospitalis Garnerius prænominato Roberto de Bruges, ut ab equo descenderet, et ordinis attenderet disciplinam; cui frater obtemperans pedes usque ad tentorium a loco certaminis regressus est, sicque[10] in patientia fuit expectans, quousque viri potentes et

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[1] *exsilientes*] prosilientes, A.

[2] *refugiunt*] effugiunt] C.

[3] *repente*] om. B.

[4] *potioris*] potius, A.

[5] *Bruges*] Brugges, B.

[6] *vexillum regium*] tr. A.

[7] *sociorum*] suorum, A.

[8] *conspexerat*] prospexerat, A.

[9] *aggressus*] congressus, B.

[10] *que*] om. A.

A.D. 1192. June 12.

He is pardoned at the instance of the nobles.

The Count of Perche and the Bishop of Salisbury come to the rescue of the French.

nobiles, coram Magistro Garnerio[1] geniculantes, veniam impetrarent fratri Roberto, super transgressionis excessu,[2] sed[3] ut de cætero sic gerere caveret. Diutius igitur dubio utrique desudantes certamine pari voto insistunt imminentibus. Cœlum Marte tonat: sanguine madescit humus; collisi tinniunt enses, clypei crepitant, hos ira, illos agitat furor. Jam nimium nostri fatigati pondere belli, fluctuare cœperunt, et ecce! Deo providente, audito congredientium tumultu, eo venit[4] comes de Perche,[5] qui tamen se timide habuit; Episcopus vero Saresberiensis cum turma sua nisi citius occurrisset, Franci confunderentur in illa die.*

* Zephaniah iii. 11.

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[1] *Garnerio*] Garnero, B. Garnier of Naplous is said by the historians of the order to have succeeded Roger de Moulins, the Master of the Hospital who fell at the battle of Nazareth, and to have died at Ascalon, July 6, 1187, of wounds received at the battle of Hittin. The authors of *L'Art de Vérifier les Dates*, were aware that he was alive in Feb. 1191; but place the whole Mastership of Hermenger Daps and the beginning of that of Godfrey de Duisson between that date and the battle of Arsûf. From Benedict of Peterborough (vol. ii. p. 657) and Bromton (c. 1203) we find that Garnier was Master in June 1191. As Master of the Hospital he attested Richard's settlement of Berengaria's dowry, May 12, 1191, at Limasol; see Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, i. 995; and we find from this passage that he retained the office in June 1192. Yet in our author's account of the battle of Arsûf, Garnier of Naplous is spoken of as a different person from the Master; see above, Lib. iv. c. 19. There can be no doubt that the received chronology of the Masters is in great disorder, and unfortunately the inconsistency of our author in this point does not serve to settle it. The Mastership of Hermenger Daps is certainly misplaced, for he writes as Master, to Leopold of Austria, in October 1188. See Ansbert, ed. Dobrowsky, Prague, 1827, p. 5. The point is one of some importance. The connexion of Garnier with the English nation can hardly be questioned. See the *Monasticon Anglicanum*, vi. 799, &c., and 837. But the dates given there are not to be depended on.

[2] *excessu*] recessu, A.

[3] *sed*] om. C.

[4] *venit*] venerunt, B.

[5] *Perche*] Perchi, A.; Perchis, C.

[CAPITULUM LII.]

A.D. 1192. June 17.

Item dum ibidem[1] *morarentur, probissimi milites nostri quorum custodiæ deputata est carvanna*[2] *nostra a Joppe ad exercitum ducenda, a Turcis vilissime sunt tractati et durissime cæsi, et omnino deperissent nisi comes Leicestriæ succurrisset.*[3]

On S. Botolph's day, our Caravan from Joppa under Baldwin Carron and Clarenbald of Mont-Chablon was attacked by Turks near Ramlah.

Quinto decimo[4] Kalendas Julii, hoc est die Sancti Botulfi, scilicet die Mercurii, egressa carvanna nostra de Joppe versus exercitum veniebat, onusta victualibus et aliis clitellis[5] necessariis. Carvannæ conducendæ deputatus erat ea die Ferricus de Viana, vice comitis Henrici, qui custodire debuerat extremos, qui missus erat Achonem. Ferricus itaque rogaverat Baldewinum Carron[6] et Clarenbaldum[7] de Monte Chablon, ut ea die pro ipso carvannam custodirent, ne forte dissolutius oberrarent vel minus provide disgregarentur. Verum incautius evagantes ea die suam luebant incuriam et negligentiam. Ibi fuit Manesserius de Insula, et Ricardus de Orques, et Theodericus, Philippus et quidam socii[8] Baldewini Carron,[9] Otho et armigeri plurimi, et consanguinei, et amici eorum, quorum amicitia probabatur in necessitate. Anterioribus itaque expeditius itinerantibus, sequebantur tardius extremi passibus morosis; et ecce! subito, non procul a Ramula, prosilientes Turci a latebris insidiarum equites, a montanis cum impetu rapidissimo irruerunt in extremos nostros, singuli certatim alios anticipare cupientes. Equos itaque qui habuerant velociores extremam nostrorum catervam penetrantes transibant. Ibi dejectus est equo

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[1] *ibidem*] ibi, A.

[2] *carvanna*] carvana, B.

[3] *omnino . . . succurisset*] et per comitem Leicestriæ liberati sunt, A.

[4] *decimo*] om. A.

[5] *clitellis*] om. B.

[6] *Carron*] Carroñ, B.

[7] *Clarenbaldum*] Clarebaldum, B.

[8] *socii*] om. C.

[9] *Carron*] Carroñ, B.

A.D. 1192. June 17. Baldwin is thrown from his horse.

suo Baldewinus Carron,[1] qui statim extractum[2] vibrans gladium, ab impetentibus, juges multiplicans ictus, se fecit inaccessibilem.[3] In illo congressu nihilominus exturbati sunt ab equis Ricardus Dorques[4] et Theodericus; Baldewinus autem fortius dimicabat, donec homines sui equum ei exhibitum quem acquisierant, ipsum fecerunt ascendere. Ibi videres conflictum acerrimum, et decentissimas congressiones, et percussiones aptissimas, gladios exsertos scintillare, invasiones infatigabiles, et occursus rigidissimos; equos innumeros[5] sessoribus vagari dejectis, Turcos irruere,[6] nostros instanter dimicare. Quoties Turci quemcunque prosternerent, alii se in turbam ingerentes prostratum erectum equum ascendere fecerunt, et sibi mutuis probissime auxiliabantur collationibus.[7] Verum sorte plurimum impari contendebant nostri, dum nostri[8] satis pauciores illis hostilibus catervis immixti singuli longius disgrederentur ab aliis, et inter hostes præ multitudine eorum quasi absconderentur. Unde Turcorum multitudine nostros concludentium[9] non fuit plurimum mirandum, si constantissimorum etiam quis dejiceretur, tot hostium incursione gravatus. Pila nimirum Turcorum densissime volantia equos vulnerabant, et nimium debilitabant. Præterea, ecce! denuo prostratus est ab equo Baldewinus, qui confestim armigerorum suorum unum præcepit ab equo, cui sederat, descendere, et ei contradere. Baldewinus ascendit, et sine mora illius sui armigeri, qui dum equo sederat,[10] probissime se gesserat, vidit caput amputare.[11] Ibi se defendentes constiterant nostri; ibi comprehensus est Philippus socius ipsius[12] Baldewini, qui præ aliis omnibus se

A severe struggle ensues.

Baldwin, being thrown a second time, takes the horse of his squire, who is immediately slain.

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[1] *Carron*] Carrun, B.

[2] *extractum*] om. B.

[3] *inaccessibilem*] inmarcessibilem, B.

[4] *Dorques*] Torques, A.

[5] *innumeros*] om, B.

[6] *irruere*] ruere, A.B.

[7] *collationibus*] collocationibus, C.

[8] *nostri*] om. A.; nostris, B.

[9] *concludentium*] excludentium, A.

[10] *sederat*] sedit, A.

[11] *amputare*] amputari, A.

[12] *ipsius*] om. B.

A.D. 1192. June 17.

Some of the knights are taken.

Baldwin is a third time unhorsed.

Manessier de l'Isle coming to his aid is thrown from his horse, and beaten with clubs.

The Earl of Leicester rescues them.

gerebat insignius. Cum Philippo quoque abducebant Turci quendam armigerum præstantissimum, et fratrem Ricardi occiderunt. Ibi quidem horrendus timidis videretur iteratus congressus; contendunt gladiis, concertant totis viribus Baldewinus et socii ejus. Porro Clarebaldus de Monte Chablun jam ipsos deseruerat fugiens perniciter, ex quo Turcorum perspexit crescere multitudimem. Ibi quoque renovatur conflictus acerrimus, ibi tertio equo dejicitur Baldewinus, et ipsum adeo clavis contuderunt,[1] ut propemodum redderetur inutilis. Sanguis ei emanabat plurimus a naribus et ore, et ensis ejus acumen ab assiduitate feriendi fuit retunsum et inefficax, confracto mucrone. Hostium itaque constipatus mole ingruentium, exclamavit voce magna ad Manesserium[2] de Insula, militem præstantissimum, et Turcos omnes conterentem, dicens, "O "Manesseri, ergo me deseris?" Quo audito Manesserius ocior advolat ad excutiendum Baldewinum ab insistentium Turcorum improbitate. Porro plures erant Turci et ipsis duobus invincibiles; qui dum diutius duo contra innumeros decertassent, in ipsa congredientium multitudine, equo etiam dejectus est Manesserius, quem jam prostratum crudeliter flagellabant clavis ferreis et dentatis, et super[3] ipsum stantes adeo laniabant et vulnerando contriverant, et immisericorditer vexaverunt, ut et ejus unam tibiarum usque ad medullam detruncarent. Sicque Baldewinus et Manesserius in hostili turba depressi, suis erant perditi ignorantibus quid de ipsis factum esset. Et ecce! misit eis Deus liberatorem et propugnatorem[4] præstantissimum comitem de Leicestre,[5] qui statum ipsorum ignoraverat. Comes igitur, cum impetu magno

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[1] *contuderunt*] contundunt, A.

[2] *Manesserium*] Manasserium, B.; so also below.

[3] *super*] om. A.

[4] *et propugnatorem*] om. C.

[5] *de Leicestre*] de Leicestria, A.; Leicestriæ, B.

A.D. 1192. June 17.

Stephen Longchamp's bravery.

adveniens, Turcum[1] quendam, quem primum habuit obvium, ab equo statim dejecit; cujus caput Ansconus[2] socius Stephani de Longo Campo amputavit, et procul abjecit. Ipse quoque Stephanus viriliter se gessit in omnibus articulis. Et ecce! gens nostra crevit, et Turcorum virtus elanguit, et conversi sunt in fugam, versus montana præpete cursu abeuntes, præter eos quos consecuti sunt nostri. Vulneratos igitur nostros qui ibi[3] jacuerant, leniter equis impositos, usque ad exercitum deduxerunt. Sic igitur[4] quod ea die gestum est æstimabatur mihi memorandum, et quod per comitem de[5] Leicestre effugati sunt Turci, qui quosdam interfecit, quosdam cepit.

The Turks are routed by the Earl of Leicester.

[Capitulum LIII.]

Item dum ibidem morarentur, quidam episcopus Surianus de Sancto Georgio quandam crucem Dominicam regi Ricardo dedit, quam detulit.[6]

The Syrian Bishop of Lydda brings a piece of the true cross to Richard.

Quidam episcopus Syrianus[7] de Sancto Georgio, qui, destructa regione circa Jerusalem, cum eo primum venissent[8] Saraceni, pro se et pro suo genere sub Salahadino tributarius exstiterat, cum quadam Sanctæ Crucis particula venit ad regem Ricardum, cum maxima turba virorum ac mulierum gentis suæ, et regi[9] crucem illam tradidit.

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[1] *Turcum*] om. A.

[2] *Ansconus*] Anscous, C.

[3] *ibi*] om. A.

[4] *igitur*] ergo, B.

[5] *de*] om. C.

[6] *detulit et dedit*] A.

[7] *Syrianus*] Surianus, A.

[8] *venissent*] venerunt, C.

[9] *regi*] Ricardo, ins. B.

[CAPITULUM LIV.]

Item dum ibidem morarentur, quidam abbas regi dicebat, se particulam quandam Sanctæ Crucis abscondisse in loco quodam, ad quem rex cum abbate veniens, partem illam invenit, reportavit,[1] *et cum exercitu*[2] *adoravit.*

A.D 1192. June 22.

Item accidit tertia die ante festum Sancti Johannis Baptistæ,[3] die Sancti Albani, ubi tunc morabatur exercitus, ut ex rumore regi notificato, universus consolaretur exercitus. Venit enim ad regem quidam abbas religiosissimus, forma vultus significante sanctitatem; de Sancto Helya exstitit abbas, barba prolixa, capite cano, effigie reverenda. Hic dixit regi se quandam Sanctæ Crucis particulam a multo tempore servasse occultatam,[4] quousque, opitulante Deo, Terra Sancta vacuaretur a Turcis, et in pristinum statum restituerentur universa. Hujus repositi thesauri se solum conscium asserebat; a Salahadino quoque se sæpius dicebat arctatum, et ut crucem illam proponeret, difficillimis quæstionibus frequentius coercitum; sed se semper exactorem dubia suspendisse ambage, et frustratoriis delusisse responsionibus: quem cum hujus inquisitionis occasione strictissimis mandasset Salahadinus loris arctari, se constanter abbas asseruit crucem illam amisisse in comprehensione civitatis Jerusalem; sicque delusa sollicitudo quærentis est. His auditis, rex confestim cum gente plurima cum abbate seriatim profectus est usque ad destinatum, de quo abbas prædixerat, locum. Qui Sanctam Crucem illam, a loco sub-

The Abbot of Mar Elias comes to the camp declaring that he can show the king a place where he has buried a portion of the true cross.

The king goes with his people to the place.

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[1] *reportavit*] om. A.

[2] *exercitu*] populo, A.

[3] *Baptistæ*] om. B.C.

[4] *a multo . . . occultatam*] om. C.

A.D. 1192. June 22.

The cross is brought with joy into the camp.

latam, alacriter retulerunt cum reverentia condigna ad exercitum, quam et populus[1] summa cum devotione certatim osculantes[2] adoraverunt, ubertim piis fluentibus lacrymis.[3]

[*Explicit Liber Quintus, Incipit Sextus.*]

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[1] *populus*] populo, A.

[2] *osculantes*] osculante, A., with marks of erasure.

[3] The date given by our author to this event is obscure, and the circumstances are such as to throw some doubt on the story. It will be seen from the following book that the king was not in the camp on the 22nd of June, but on his way to capture the great Caravan. This date, if it be correct, can refer only to the arrival of the Abbot of Mar Elias in the camp; and yet we are told, in the first chapter of the next book, that the army had adored the cross for a long time before Richard's departure in search of the Caravan. Either, then, our author is confused, or else the joy that prevailed in the army arose from the present of the Bishop of Lydda recorded in ch. 53. It appears from Ralph of Coggeshall, *Chronicon Anglicanum*, Martene and Durand, *Collectio Amplissima*, v. 822, that a similar discovery of the true cross was made to Richard on the night before his departure from Beit-Nûba towards Acre, about July 3rd, by a holy man from S. Samuel's; that is, Neby Samwil, north-west of Jerusalem, or possibly Ramah, one hour North of Hebron. (See the *Memoir* on Van de Velde's map, p. 341.) It might seem from this that our author had mistaken the month and the person; but he is closely confirmed by Hoveden, both in placing the discovery before the capture of the Caravan, and in fixing the place at Mar Elias. Hoveden even states, that it was whilst the king was at Mar Elias that the spies brought the report of the Caravan. If the dates are to be reconciled at all, we must suppose the king to have taken Mar Elias on his way towards Blancheguard; but, perhaps, it is better to allow that there is an error.

LIBER SEXTUS.

[CAPITULUM I.]

Rex Ricardus, Francis volentibus ire versus Jerusalem, pluribus de causis non consuluit sine consilio Templariorum et Hospitalariorum[1] *et indigenarum.*

A.D. 1192. June.

Igitur cum sanctam illam crucem diutius in exercitu adorassent,[2] super illa non modicum gavisi, plebs et vulgus ignobile conquesti sunt dicentes, "Domine "Deus, quid ergo erit nobis? Numquid adhuc in "Jerusalem eundum est?[3] quid ultra faciemus? an ad "itineris illius consummationem durabimus?" Et factum est murmur in turba et maxima querela. Super his igitur[4] tractaturi conveniunt rex et majores in populo, utrum expediret ad[5] Jerusalem obsidendam prodire an non. Francorum quidam regem attentius rogabant, et sæpius hortabantur ut procederet[6] ad obsidionem, quoniam hoc convenientius videbatur. Quibus rex e contrario respondit hoc fieri non posse, "nec[7] me," inquit, "in hoc negotium[8] ducem videbitis "ducendi[9] populi, unde notam incurram reprehen- "sionis vel infamiæ. Imprudentis quidem est æstimatio "huic me deputari præsumptioni. Si autem vobis pla- "cuerit nunc Jerusalem petere,[10] vos non deseram; "socius ero vester, non dux; prosequar non præcedam.

Great anxiety of the pilgrims to proceed to Jerusalem.

A council is held, to determine.

The French urging the king to march on the city, he replies at length.

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[1] *Hospitalariorum*] Hospitaliorum, B.

[2] *crucem . . . adorassent*] tr. A.B.

[3] *Numquid . . . est*] om. C.

[4] *igitur*] om. A.

[5] *ad*] om. C.

[6] *procederet*] procederent, B.

[7] *nec*] ne, A.

[8] *negotium*] negotio, B.

[9] *ducendi*] deducendi, A.B.

[10] *petere*] petite, B.

A.D. 1192. June.

Richard's reply to the French: He will not lead them against Jerusalem, but is willing to accompany them.

The difficulties of the undertaking are at present too great.

He will not lay himself open to the charges, which his enemies are watching to bring against him, of rashness and folly.

“ Quicquid in nostro agitur apud nos exercitu novit
“ Salahadinus, quem status noster, sciatis,[1] non[2] latet,
“ quæ sit virtus nostra vel virium[3] effectus. A maritimis
“ plurimum distamus. Quod si forte Salahadinus
“ cum gente sua descenderint[4] in plana Ramulæ, et
“ transitus viarum observantes, ne quid ad nos victualium
“ possit pervenire,[5] usitatos obsederint meatus,
“ numquid non æstimandum hoc esset perniciosissimum
“ obsidentibus? Et nimis sero pœnitenda luerent inchoata.
“ Præterea civitatis Jerusalem obsidendæ, sicut
“ accepimus, amplissimus est ambitus, quam si tantilla
“ gens nostra undique proportionaliter obsideret, non
“ sufficeret bipertitus noster exercitus, et ad obsidendum
“ et ad excutiendos victualium nostrorum portitores, si
“ forte a Turcis invaderentur. Immo prorsus de facili
“ perimerentur universi, quibus nimirum non essent
“ auxiliatores. Ego igitur, si hujus præsumptionis
“ auctor existerem, et exercitui, me duce, quid infortunii,
“ quod absit, accideret, solus reputarer arguendus
“ fatuitatis, et super universorum periculo reprehensibilis,
“ si nunc exercitum ad obsidendam Jerusalem
“ producerem. Cæterum proculdubio certissime
“ novi nonnullos hic in præsentiarum esse, nec non et in
“ Francia[6] tales, qui pridem non ignorantur voluisse, et
“ nunc etiam velle, et plurimum optasse, me talibus
“ negotiis minus provide operam impendisse, sive opera
“ perpetrasse, quæ merito possent redargui, et ego contraherem
“ detestabilis[7] crimen infamiæ. Eapropter in tam
“ arduorum aggressus negotiorum, sub incertitudine tam
“ dubia, non arbitror incircumspectius præpropere præcipitandum.
“ Nos præterea, vel gens nostra alienigena,
“ hujus regionis prorsus situs ignoramus, nec viarum

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[1] *sciatis*] sciaris, B.
[2] *non*] om. A.
[3] *virium*] om. B.
[4] *descenderint*] descenderit, A.
[5] *possit pervenire*] perveniat, A.
[6] *Francia*] Francis, B.
[7] *detestabilis*] detestabile, B.

“ transitus, vel locorum angustias, quibus cognitis tutius “ procederemus et cautius, quatenus optatis gauderemus “ successibus. Indigenarum autem consilio, qui territoria “ sua et pristinas desiderant recuperare hæreditates, “ quicquid ipsis commodius visum fuerit, qui terrarum “ noverunt[1] plenius tractus, reor salubrius agendum. “ Templarii quoque et Hospitalarii quicquid æstimave- “ rint potius aggrediendum, et fideliter decreverint, “ imitabile videtur; utrum ad obsidendam Jerusalem “ sit progrediendum, vel ad Babyloniam comprehendendam, vel ad[2] Baruth, sive ad Damascum. Ipsorum “ quidem in agendis nostris si imitamur decretum, non, “ ut nunc est, tanta dissensione noster in adversa “ distraheretur exercitus.”

A.D. 1192. June.

Ignorant as the pilgrims are of the country, they should take counsel of the natives and of the knights who have more knowledge, and greater interests at stake.

[CAPITULUM II.]

Communi assensu viginti viri discreti eliguntur, quorum consilio stent universi; qui, jurati, Babyloniam potius quam Jerusalem adire consulunt. Rege hoc annuente, Franci contradicunt.

Ad regis igitur exhortationem communi decretum est assensu ut, quicquid viginti jurati fideliter arbitrarentur agendum, absque contradictione, unanimi sequerentur assensu. Electi sunt[3] igitur ad id decernendum de Templariis quinque, de Hospitalariis quinque, de Syrianis[4] terræ illius indigenis quinque, de proceribus Francorum quinque. Hi viginti convenientes in unum, cum aliquamdiu mutuo super prædictis tractassent, potioris[5] responderunt proculdubio fore[6] commoditatis Babyloniam obsidendam[7] adire. Quod

The question is referred to a committee of twenty jurors, who determine on an expedition into Egypt.

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[1] *noverunt*] noverint, A.

[2] *ad*] om. A.

[3] *sunt*] om. C.

[4] *Syrianis*] Surianis, A.

[5] *potioris*] posterioris, B.

[6] *proculdubio fore*] tr. A.B.

[7] *obsidendam*] possidendam, B.

A.D. 1192. June.

The French refuse to abide by the decision of the jurors.

audientes Franci constanter contradixerunt, nec se alias quam Jerusalem obsidendam profecturos protestabantur.[1] Cum rex Francorum attendisset proterviam et defectionem, turbatus respondit: "Franci," inquit, "si meis acquiescerent consiliis, et juxta prædictorum "juramentum ad obsidendam Babyloniam[2] procedere "voluerint, ecce! classem meam apud Achonem decenter "instructam eis exhiberem, ad deportanda[3] victualia "et omnia necessaria, et exercitus confidenter pro"cederet per[4] maritima. Ego quoque stipendiis meis "eo deducerem milites septingentos[5] in nomine Domini, "et duo millia servientium. Præterea si quis operæ vel "pecuniæ meæ, vel quorumcunque quæ mea sunt in"diguerit, pro certo exponendum noverit liberaliter, "prout cuique opus videbitur. Porro, quia ipsis secus "æstimatur agendum, me quidem cum ipsis non inficior "iturum, sed tantummodo cum domesticis, et non alienos "conducturum." Tunc sine dilatione præcepit ut in tentoria Hospitalariorum sui convenientes sollicite inquirerent, quid quisque ad consummandam conferret obsidionem, et quantam gentem ibi exhiberet.[6] Venerunt quidem, et ibi, ut prædictum est, compromiserunt magnates cum cæteris ad obsidionem se magna exhibituros, et qui minimum habebant[7] in loculis. Verum super tam ambiguis et incertis articulis, nimis indiscretæ videretur præsumptionis[8] illud appetisse, vel etiam inchoasse Jerusalem obsidere, postquam jurati id tanto opere[9] agendum fuissent dehortati.

The king tries to persuade them, and offers to maintain seven hundred knights and two thousand serving men; but if they insist on besieging Jerusalem, he will take his domestics only.

A council of ways and means is called.

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[1] *protestabantur*] obtestabantur, B.

[2] *ad obsidendam Babyloniam*] tr. A.

[3] *deportanda*] portanda, A.

[4] *per*] ad, B.

[5] *septingentos*] lxx., C.

[6] *exhiberet*] exhiberent, B.

[7] *habebant*] habuerunt, B.

[8] *videretur præsumptionis*] tr. B.

[9] *tanto opere*] tantopere, B.

[Capitulum III.]

A.D. 1192. (June 20.)

Item dum ibi morarentur, Bernardo regis exploratore nunciante carvannas maximas de Babylonia venientes, prosilit rex cum Francis ad eas comprehendendas, et e contra Salahadinus misit milites ad eas conservandas.[1]

Bernard, the king's spy, and his

Igitur dum super his quæ a singulis obsidioni conferri deberent sollicitius indulgerent, ecce Bernardus

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[1] The movements of Richard on the adventure of the caravan cannot be determined with perfect exactness, either from our author or from the Saracen historians. We may, however, gather the following data:—1. Richard started from Beit-Nûba on the evening of the 20th of June: we learn from Abu Schamah (Wilken, iv. 512) that tidings to this effect were brought to Saladin at Jerusalem on the following day, the 9th of the latter Sjumada. 2. The capture of the caravan took place on Tuesday the 23rd of June. Hoveden, fol. 408; Bohadin, 233. The Round Cistern, the place of the struggle, is called by Bohadin the Water of Chowailepha (p. 231), and is marked in Van de Velde's map as a reservoir near Tel-Khewelfeh, 14 miles due south of Beit-Gebrin. See the *Memoir* accompanying the map, p. 113, and Robinson's *Biblical Researches*, i. 305, and iii. 8. It is called by John of Oxenedes, following a MS. of Ralph of Coggeshall, *Rubea Cisterna*, and by Matthew Paris *Turbata Cisterna*. The Red Cistern was, however, a different place, according to the *Chronicon Terræ Sanctæ*; Martene and Durand, *Amplissima Collectio*, v. 562; and between Jerusalem and Jericho, in the Wilderness of Adummim. See also Hoveden, fol. 362. It might seem from the text, that Richard stopped but once between Beit-Nûba and Tel-Khewelfeh, viz., at Galatia, or *Kuratiyeh*. Bohadin, however, mentions three stopping-places, Tel-es-Safieh, Es-safieh, and El-Hissi. The last may be identified with the wady and Tel-el-Hessy, which in the last book we recognized as the *Cannetum Sturnellorum*. Kuratiyeh is in an angle between Tel-es-Safieh and Tel-el-Hessy, about six miles from each, and may have been the principal resting-place on the march. It is, perhaps, also the *Assaphia* of Bohadin, 231; where Schultens suspects a mistake in his text, for the Wady-es-Safieh, which alone could exactly answer to the name, is too much to the west, and out of the line of march. Neither Bohadin nor our author appears to have been personally engaged in the expedition: consequently, the former rereceived his account of the resting-places from spies, who could only have occasional glimpses of

A.D. 1190. June 20. companions bring the king news of a caravan coming up from Egypt.

explorator regis[1] cum aliis duobus, qui illius terræ fuerunt omnes indigenæ, cum vestibus Saracenicis, qui de partibus Babyloniæ venerunt, qui revera a Saracenorum in nullo discrepabant habitu, et Saracenorum solummodo vacabant statum diligentius addiscere, regi Ricardo notificandum. Nemo ipsis efficacius Saracenico loquebatur idiomate; horum trium quilibet, hujus gratia ministerii, prius acceperat a rege Ricardo centum marcas argenti. Hi igitur notificaverunt regi, ut sine mora cum ipsis ipse simul cum gente sua veniret[2] ad intercipiendas carvannas a Babylonia venientes, ad quas ipsos se spoponderunt proculdubio conducturos. Rex super auditis admodum exhilaratus mandavit duci Burgundiæ, ut in hoc negotium cum ipso expeditius veniret, Francos secum adducens. Qui sic quidem fecit, sed ea conditione Franci se[3] compromiserunt eo profecturos, ut tertiam partem quæstus haberent. Rex annuit. Igitur indilate prodeuntes æstimati sunt quasi quingenti milites bene armati; et servientes expeditissimos mille duxit rex conductitios. Rex alios antecedens, advesperascente[4] jam die, processerunt tota nocte, ad lunæ splendorem itinerantes, usque ad Gala-

The king persuades the French to join in an expedition.

He marches all night to Galatia.

Richard's movements, and the latter from men who would not know the exact names of the places where they stopped. It would seem most likely then that Richard set out from Beit-Nûba on the evening of the 20th of June, and came by Tel-es-Safieh to Kuratiyeh: that there he spent the 21st, received the first report of the spies, and sent them out again to watch the hills the next night. During the 22nd he must have moved from Kuratiyeh to Tel-el-Hessy, where the spies found him on their return (Bohadin, 231, 232), and from whence he advanced early in the morning to Tel-Khewelfeh. Bohadin's statement that he spent a night at Tel-es-Safieh may have been only a rumour, or may have been true of his infantry, which would have been terribly worn out with a night march of more than twenty miles, and ought to have been sent on in advance.

[1] *regis*] Ricardi, ins. A.

[2] *veniret*] venirent, B.

[3] *Franci se*] tr. A.B.

[4] *advesperascente*] advesperante, C.

tiam; ibi modicum quiescentes, propter victualia Ascalonem miserunt. Interim diligentius sibi caventes armis muniebantur, donec redirent vernaculi, qui propter victualia missi fuerant. Porro, ex quo gens nostra primitus, ut dictum est, ad comprehendendas carvannas promota est, statim explorator quidam indicavit rem Salahadino in Jerusalem, quod viderat regem Ricardum cum gente sua versus carvannas suas accelerantem; et sic revelatum est consilii nostri mysterium.[1] * Salahadinus igitur confestim quingentos Turcorum electos misit properanter ad conservandas carvannas. Hi habebant arcus et cannas, qui, cum omnes convenissent in unum cum iis qui prius carvannis deducendis deputabantur, duo millia equitum æstimabantur exceptis peditibus plurimis.

A.D. 1192. June 21. He sends to Ascalon for provisions.

Saladin receives information of the expedition.

* Judith ii. 2.

[CAPITULUM IV.]

Rex Ricardus[2] *cum suis viriliter cum Turcis dimicando, cepit carvannam unam pretiosissimarum rerum, quarum pretium æstimari non poterat, et innumerabilium camelorum, dromedariorum, equorum, mulorum,*[3] *asinorum.*

Dum rex Ricardus cum gente sua apud Galatiam consisteret, ecce, quidam explorator indicans ei unam Carvannam de prædictis carvannis transire per Rotundam cisternam, ad quam festinanter comprehendendam monuit procedere et exercitum interim se cohibere. "Quisquis," inquit, "hanc carvannam comprehen-"derit, maximum quæstum faciet." Verum quoniam explorator ille illius terræ fuerat oriundus, rex ei soli certissimam non arbitrabatur fidem[4] habendam.

June 21. Richard is informed that a caravan may be caught at the Round Cistern, (near Tel-Khewelfeh).

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[1] *et . . . mysterium*] om. B.

[2] *Rex Ricardus*] Dum rex, A.

[3] *mulorum*] om. A.

[4] *non arbitrabatur fidem*] tr.

A.D. 1192. June 21. He sends out scouts to make sure.

Misit igitur statim Bedewinum quendam et duos vernaculos Turcopolos prudentissimos, ad rei veritatem inquirendam et certius indagandam,[1] quos et in modum Bedewinorum redimitos fecit Saracenis assimilari.

The scouts watch the hills during the night (June 21-22).

De nocte quoque profecti transierunt colles speculis aptos, vicissim descendentes, donec perspexerunt Saracenos quosdam in loco eminentiori, qui et ipsi fuerant speculatores insidiantes transeuntibus; ad quos pedetentim cum noster Bedewinus accederet explorandi causa, Saraceni diligentius inquirebant, qui vel unde fuissent, vel quo pergerent. Quibus Bedewinus, duobus suis sociis innuens ut tacerent, ne ex idiomate possent agnosci, respondit quod a partibus Ascalonis redirent, quo perrexerant causa prædandi.

They fall in with some of Saladin's scouts: but escape and return to Richard. (June 22.)

Cui Saracenorum unus dixit, "Immo, "venis nobis nequiter insidiari; degis enim cum rege "Anglorum." Cui Bedewinus, "Mentiris," inquit; et eo dicto festinanter processit apud[2] carvannas. Quos et Turci illi aliquamdiu persecuti sunt cum arcubus et cannis, acrius infestantes, quousque tædio affecti persequi destiterunt; vehementius tamen suspicati sunt ipsos fuisse suos potius quam alienos. Exploratores igitur nostri cum super[3] memoratis carvannis ipsis verum constitisset, indilate reversi sunt ad regem Ricardum, dicentes quod absque dubio posset carvannas comprehendere, dummodo properanter procederet. Quo cognito rex, equis annona data aliquamdiu refectis, cum gente sua festinanter profectus est,

The next night (June 22-23) Richard hastens towards the Round Cistern.

nocteque sequenti[4] tota[5] ambulabant, quousque prope locum venissent, quo carvanna restiterat cum custodibus pausantibus. Non procul inde subsistens rex et socii confestim armati sunt, et acies per turmas instruxerunt. Rex in primo et Franci disponuntur in

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[1] *indagandam*] indigandam, C.
[2] *apud*] ad, A.
[3] *super*] semper, C.
[4] *sequenti*] om. C.
[5] *tota*] om. A.

A.D. 1192. June 23. He proceeds at daybreak and sends on skirmishers to delay the departure of the caravan.

The Turks seeing the main body of Richard's force approaching, draw up their men on a rising ground.

The king attacks the Turks.

ordine ultimo. Rex clamante præcone statuit inhibendum ne quis spoliis intenderet diripiendis; immo potius insisterent viriliter universi ad Turcorum acies penetrandas et conterendas. Igitur, cum jam dies esset, et dum agminibus sollicitius insisterent ordinandis, ecce, præpete cursu adveniens alter[1] explorator indicavit regi, quod a summo diluculo expediebatur carvanna illa inde velocius motura, quoniam custodibus innotuit de regis et suorum irruptione futura. Quo audito, rex statim præmisit balistarios et sagittarios expeditos,[2] quatenus Turcos ad faciendam moram itineris, tanquam ad bellum perfunctorie provocantes, retardarent, ut morosius itinerantes nostri citius assequerentur. Ad quorum frequentiorem infestationem cum Turci moras innecterent, ordinatæ acies nostræ expeditius appropiabant. Quos cum Turci attendissent, in collem quendam vicini montis se recipientes, convenerunt in unum, tanquam habentes ad firmamentum locum illum eminentiorem, et exercitum suum per turmas ordinaverunt dispositum; sed solito minus tunc infremuit fastus eorum. Igitur dum Turci in irruentes acies nostras sagittas et pila emitterent densissime,[3] more roris super faciem terræ decidentis; interim in uno loco quiescente carvanna, rex bipertito exercitu irruit repente super eos, et Turcorum anteriorem aciem potenter cum sequacibus penetrando dissipavit. Tam violento quippe impetu ipsos impetendo prostraverat, undique cadentes ab eo etiam quos non percusserat,[4] sed fugientes oppresserant, ut jam ulterius non superesset qui resisteret, nisi quis forte fugiens pilum remitteret a tergo vel sagittam. Fugiunt perniciter universi, tanquam lepores caventes canes insectantes, in diversa dispersi ante faciem persequentium. Carvanna restitit relicta, et

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[1] *alter*] om. B.

[2] *expeditos*] expeditissimos, A.

[3] *pila emitterent densissime*] tr. A.B.

[4] *percusserat*] percusserant, C.

A.D. 1192. June 23. Rout of the Turkish escort. The squires dispatch those whom the knights have unhorsed.

gens nostra infatigabiliter abeuntes jugiter cædendo a dextris et a sinistris, persequi non cessabant, ut in arenti eremo Turci siti passim ruerent extincti. Quotquot autem milites nostri assecutos dejecerunt ab equis, peremerunt armigeri. Ibi viderentur sellæ retorqueri, et superatos miserabiliter pessundari. Eximie dimicant regales; strenuissime Franci, utpote præliis exercitati. Porro, rex Ricardus gloriosiori præ cæteris omnibus enitet magnificentius prærogativa, nulli comparandus; sublimi subvectus equo, singulariter agitur in hostes, in ictus rigidissimos fraxinus librata jam frequentioribus in hostes vexata percussionibus defecerat, et plurimas infecta multo cruore dissilierat in particulas; nec mora, gladium vibrans exsertum, fugientibus imminet, comprehendit, prosternit, demetit posteriora, abradit extremos, ignavi domitor vulgi, fulgurat incedens, laniat fugitivos, quemcunque consequitur, non obstante cujuscunque genere armaturæ, a capitis vertice acumen stricti gladii usque in dentes infligit, ventilat, exagitat dissipatos, quasi lupus fugientes bidentes insectando. Verum rege sic infatigabiliter Turcos ventilante, in diversa disperguntur universi qui supererant; quorum quidam, quia rex jam cursu velociori etiam fugientium per montana præoccupaverat anteriores,[1] fuga directa a manibus regis elabi desperantes, arcuato recursu declinantes ab eo, reversi sunt versus nostros extremos, per quandam a latere semitam. Speraverant enim se nonnihil profecturos potius versus alios quoscunque in regis absentia,[2] cujus ab aspectu quoque contabescebat virtus eorum; regem quippe non immerito reveriti sunt usque ad mortem; mors enim hostium in manibus ejus. Turcorum igitur quasi triginta fugiendo regyrantes impetu magno ferebantur in Rogerum de Toony,[3] cujus equum statim peremerunt

Exploits of Richard.

The fugitives finding themselves overtaken by Richard, double, and return by a side route on the rear of our force.

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[1] *anteriores*] interiores, C.

[2] *absentia*] absentiam, B.

[3] *Toony*] Tony, B.

A.D. 1192. June 23.

Roger de Toony is rescued by Jocelin the Manceau, who is saved by him in turn.

Arrival of the English knights, Earl of Leicester, Gilbert Malmain, Alexander Arsic, and Stephen Longchamp.

sub eo, ipsumque[1] propemodum comprehenderunt. A quorum manibus cum ad Rogerum excutiendum adveniret quidam socius Jokelinus[2] Cenomannensis, et ipse absque mora dejectus est ab equo, quem tamen Rogerus de Toony, se quoque constanter defendens pedes, accedens liberavit. Interim accurrit gens nostra, comes etiam Legecestriæ[3] prosternens a dextris et a sinistris, venit quoque Gilebertus Malemanus cum quatuor sociis; venit et Alexander Arsic,[4] et alii milites ferme viginti; Stephanus quoque de Longo Campo, qui Rogero de Toony præstans liberaliter obsequium, a medio Turcorum belligerantium, equum exhibuit ut scanderet. Ibi cædes renovantur, cœlum Marte tonat, gladiis scintillantibus splendescit aer; madet humus cruore, tinniunt arma armis collisa, membratim laniantur cadavera; sparsim[5] jacent abscissa brachia, manus, pedes, et capita, quorum quidam[6] in impetu ferientium fuerant detruncata usque ad oculos vel ora vel guttura, secundum quod sors vel congredientium fervor administraverat virtutem. Ex occisorum igitur Turcorum cadaveribus, densissime per arva jacentibus, nostri ambulantes impediebantur, et[7] corpora, quæ modo detruncaverant, offendunt eos usque ad lapsum. Egregie se gerebant Pictavenses, Franci, Normanni, et Andegavenses. Rex autem Ricardus, flos virtutis et vertex militiæ, universis eminentius omne tulit punctum,* a cujus virtute laus omnis inferior est. Tantam quidem ibi videres Turcorum stragem, quantam nullus antecessorum unquam prius viderat; tanta quippe tabescebant confusione, et defecerant oppressione, ut puer, quantumlibet invalidus, potuisset[8] sic affectorum decem vel quot offenderet

Preeminence of Richard.

* Horace, *Ars Poetica*, 343.

Frightful slaughter and dismay of the Turks.

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[1] *ipsumque*] ipsum quoque, A.

[2] *Jokelinus*] Jukel, A.; Jukelinus, B.; Jokel, C.

[3] *Legecestriæ*] Leicestriæ, B.

[4] *Arsic*] Arsi, A.

[5] *sparsim*] sparsa, B.

[6] *quidam*] quædam, B.C.

[7] *et*] om. B.

[8] *potuisset*] potuit, C.

A.D. 1192. June 23. The camel, drivers and waggoners surrender the merchandize of the caravan.

* Jeremiah xvi. 5.

Contents of it: camels, horses, mules, spices, gold, silver, silk, purple, stuffs, arms, embroidery, tents, biscuits, bread, flour, drugs, vessels, chess boards, plate, pepper, cinnamon, sugar, and wax.

perimere. Ibi retunsa est prorsus Turcorum superbia, et fastus abolitus, et audacia repressa; ibi carvanna potenter[1] a nostris est mancipata. Ibi Turci jumentorum onerariorum carvannæ custodes et veredariorum, se gratis dedebant captivandos militibus nostris et armigeris, et manus supplices protendentes[2] implorabant misericordiam et miserationes,* cætera quodammodo levia reputantes, dummodo vitæ parceretur.[3] Per capistra jugales equos et camelos cum sarcinis offerebant, et mulos et mulas portantes diversi generis species pretiosas, aurum et argentum multum nimis, pallia holoserica,[4] purpuram, cyclades, et ostrum, et multiformium ornamenta vestium; præterea arma varia, tela multiplici insutas loricas, vulgo dictas Casigans,[5] culcitra acu variata operosa, papiliones et tentoria pretiosissima, panes biscoctos, frumentum,[6] hordeum et farinam, electuaria plurima et medicinas; pelves, utres, et scaccaria; ollas argenteas et candelabra, piper, cynimum,[7] zucarum, et ceram, aliasque diversorum generum species electas; pecuniam infinitam, et rerum copias[8] innumerabiles, quod, sicut dicebatur, nullorum unquam temporibus præliorum[9] tanta simul et semel fuerant acquisita, vel præda consimilis, tam multiplex, tantarum opum opima variarum.

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[1] *carvanna potenter*] tr. A.

[2] *protendentes*] protendebant et, B.

[3] *parceretur*] pateretur, B.

[4] *holoserica*] oleserica, A. C.; olesserica, B.

[5] *Casigans*] Gasigans, A.; Casingans, B. This word occurs in Bohadin, 249; kesagenda, a coat of mail. Wilken (iv. 518) gives the following definition of it from Meninsky's dictionary; "Thorax, "multo cotto seu gossypio, et se-"rico crudo infarctus, quo in bello "sub lorica uti solent."

[6] *frumentum*] et, ins. B.

[7] *cynimum*] ciminum, B.

[8] *copias*] infinitas et, ins. B.

[9] *temporibus præliorum*] tr. A.

[CAPITULUM V.]

Quot cameli et dromedarii fuerunt[1] *capti, et quot Turci occisi.*

A.D. 1192. June 23.

The difficulty that our men had in collecting the camels and dromedaries.

Perfidorum cæde completa et comprehensa carvanna, novo cœperunt nostri sollicitari labore pro coadunandis camelis cursariis et dromedariis; unde totus turbatur[2] exercitus, adeo quippe velociter comprehendendi fugiebant equites nostros[3] insequentes, quod nunquam animal aliud tantæ videbatur velocitatis, quorum comparatione cervus, aut damula, vel quodcumque alterius fugitivi generis animal, pigrescere videretur et morosum, dummodo paululum arrepto spatio promoverentur ad cursum. Denique vero utcunque adunari[4] æstimabantur, sub incerto tamen numero, quatuor millia et septingenta[5] camelorum et dromedariorum. Tot præterea comprehendebantur mulorum et mularum et[6] asinorum onerariorum, quod sub numero non cadebat multitudo, ut etiam tantorum copia oneri potius videretur. Præterea Turcorum equitum ea die diversis in locis peremptorum, numerus excreverat ad mille et septingentos,[7] exceptis peditum quampluribus ad internecionem contritis.

Four thousand seven hundred are at last got together.

Seventeen hundred Turks slain.

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[1] *fuerunt*] fuerint, A.

[2] *turbatur*] turbabatur, B.

[3] *nostros*] eos, ins. B.

[4] *adunari*] adunati, A.

[5] *septingenta*] lxx., C.

[6] *et*] om. A.

[7] *septingentos*] lxx., C.

[CAPITULUM VI.]

Dum redit rex cum spoliis Betenopolim, unde egressus fuerat, occurrit ei comes Henricus ab Achon veniens, cum exercitu pro quo missus fuerat.

A.D. 1192. June 23. Richard on his return marches to Bethaven (June 24), divides the spoil there (June 25), and proceeds to Ramlah (June 26. *Bohadin*, 234), where Count Henry joins him. From Ramlah the party returns to Beit-Nûba.

His itaque [1] peractis, et sarcinis ad reditum aptatis, cum spoliis multis passibus æquis revertens rex et exercitus, juxta prædestinatas mansiones regressi sunt usque juxta Bethaven,[2] quæ distabat quatuor milliariis a Joppe. Ibi partiti sunt spolia sua cum præda. Inde procedentes altera die profecti sunt usque Ramulam. Interea venit Ramulam ab Achone comes Henricus, cum ea quam inde adduxerat gentem,[3] ad exercitum. A Ramula profecti sunt omnes usque Betenopolim, unde primo moti fuerant. Ibi ergo renovatur lætitia, congaudentibus universis et admirantibus super copia jumentorum, quibus replebatur exercitus. Ibi rex magnificus camelos suos, quibus nunquam visi sunt aptiores, distribuit militibus illis, etiam qui resederant ad exercitum tuendum, æqua proportione qua et iis qui in expeditionem profecti sunt; regem David bel-

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[1] *itaque*] ita, A. B. We must refer to Bohadin, 234, for the dates of the movements described in this chapter. According to him, the king having stayed for water at Khewelfeh, returned with his booty to El-Hessy, and proceeded thence towards his camp, where he arrived on the Friday following (the 26th); and then marched to Beit-Nûba. The camp of which Bohadin speaks was probably at Ramlah, whence, according to the text, Richard moved to Beit-Nûba. What the place was which our author calls Bethaven, does not appear. It would seem from the context that it was in the direction of Joppa, and so not on the direct line of march from El-Hesşy to Beit-Nûba. Possibly Richard avoided the direct road, as his force was small and greatly encumbered, and he would be in danger of a rescue. Khan Ebneh, or Beit Uneh, on the road from Ascalon to Yebna, may be the place intended; they are both about five hours from Joppa.

[2] *Bethaven*] Betaven, B.

[3] *gentem*] gente,

A.D. 1192. June.

Richard's munificence in dividing his booty.

latorem fortissimum in eo imitans eleganter, ut æquam scilicet acciperent portionem et pergentes[1] ad bellum et sedentes ad sarcinas.* Asinos etiam[2] universos servientibus divisit. Tot igitur repletus est exercitus camelis et asinis, aliisque jumentis, ut vix tanta multitudo cohiberetur. Juniorum camelorum carnes assas lardo saginatas libenter manducabant; candida quippe caro fuit et satis grata.

*1 Sam. xxx. 24.

[CAPITULUM VII.]

Populus lamentatur, quod tam ratione quam sapientiorum[3] consilio prohibentur ire versus Jerusalem.

Immediate change in the feelings of the pilgrims: their murmurs against the decision of the council.

Nec multa[4] in medium mora; super distributorum multitudine jumentorum, populus fastiditus conqueritur, quod hordeum et nimiam consumerent annonam; quorum jam occasione pluris quam prius venundabantur. Tunc nihilominus repetitur querela et planctus in populo, quod non ut optabant expediretur progressus ad obsidendam Jerusalem, renitentibus illis viginti, qui, sicut prædictum est, super hoc ipso decernendo juraverant, et ratiocinantibus quod id foret gravissimum fieri,[5] vel impossibile, propter aquarum penuriam, quibus homines et jumenta carere non possent; præsertim tunc instante festivitate Sancti Johannis,[6] quando

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[1] *pergentes*] progredientes, A.

[2] *etiam*] et, B.

[3] *sapientiorum*] sapientiori, A.

[4] *multa*] multum, B.

[5] *foret gravissimum fieri*] tr. A.B.

[6] *instante festivitate Sancti Johannis*] The feast of S. John was certainly past before this: and the murmurings of the people had begun long before. Bohadin, 237, 238, who seems to have been well acquainted with all that went on in the Christian camp, informs us that the discussion on proceeding to Jerusalem took place on the Friday: Richard opposing it on account of the want of water. The matter was referred to a council of three hundred, and by them to a committee of twelve, who decided against the expedition. The retreat began early on the Saturday morning, July 4.

A.D. 1192. June. Reasons for not besieging Jerusalem, especially the scarcity of water.

omnia naturaliter arescunt, æstatis invalescente fervore, maxime circa Jerusalem, quæ in montanis sita est. Et præterea Turci obturaverant universas cisternas ex omni parte civitatis, ut infra duo milliaria non inveniretur aqua potabilis,[1] unde nimis angustiaretur exercitus. Nec enim ab inchoata obsidione remotius aquas quæritare tutum fuisset; minimus quidem aquæ rivulus, ad radicem Montis Oliveti decurrens, tanto non sufficeret exercitui; hæc est aqua Siloæ.[2] His de causis tunc temporis obsidere Jerusalem dissuasum est. Quod cum in exercitu factum esset notorium quod non procederent ad Jerusalem, immo jam reversurus inde fuisset exercitus, ex nimia desolatione et vehementiori tristitia cœperunt maledicere moram suam, et spem progrediendi conceptam; nec se optasse dicebant ulterius vivere quam usque obtinerent Christiani Jerusalem, et sancta non darentur in manus alienorum. Deus autem justus judex,* sensibus humanis investigabili dispensatione opera moderatur et tempora, Cujus etiam esse propitiationis creditur et misericordiæ, quod vitia persequitur errantium "ulciscens in omnes adin-"ventiones eorum."*

Despair of the pilgrims.

* 2 Tim. iv. 8.

* Psalm xcix. 8.

[Capitulum VIII.]

De invidia Francorum qua seipsos laniant et detrahunt, et a nostris se dividunt, et Henricus[3] *dux Burgundiæ invectionis carmen in regem Ricardum componit.*

The fickleness and quarrelsomeness of the French.

Nec mirandum peregrinos tanquam inefficaciter fuisse vexatos, et quod pro voto sibi dolebant non succedere, quoniam inter ipsos invaluerat nimia dissensio, et propositi Francorum vaga levitas,[4] ab aliis inconstantia

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[1] *inveniretur aqua potabilis*] invenirentur aquæ potabiles, A.

[2] *Siloæ*] Syloæ, B.

[3] *Henricus*] So the MSS. read wrongly, for Hugo.

[4] *levitas*] et, ins.

A.D. 1192. June. They separate themselves from our camp, and then quarrel among themselves.

The Duke of Burgundy has a shameful song sung in the camp, about King Richard.

The king replies in the same fashion, and has no difficulty in finding materials.

discreta. Nam exercitu quoquam procedente, dum advesperasceret, pernoctaturi Franci simul in unum conglobati, ab alio declinantes exercitu frequentius,[1] in aliquam partem semoti sedebant, tanquam aliorum dedignantes consortium. Nec tamen[2] hujusmodi sunt contenti divortio, sed et inter se dissidentes abominationis notam importantia verba jaculabantur irrisoria, salibusque mordaces invectiones, unde nonnunquam obscœna inter ipsos[3] alternabantur convicia, suam singulis jactantibus præstantiam et alterius derogantibus ignaviæ. Et super hæc omnia Henricus[4] dux Burgundiæ, arrogantiæ nequam spiritus instinctu, vel zelo forte ductus livoris inconvenientis plurimum, cantionis instituit verba composita publice cantitari; verba quidem pudenda nec proferenda[5] in publicum, si qua superesset ea componentibus verecundia, non tantum viris, sed et viros ultra rapientibus mulieribus. Quinimmo manifestos se faciebant, qui talibus operam dabant non decentibus ineptiis, sed ex eo quidem patenter innotuit qualis intentio cordis interius fuerit; similes enim sui fontis oportet esse rivulos, turbidos aut claros. Postquam[6] hæc invidiosa adinventio passim per exercitum frequentaretur, rex nimirum[7] super eo commotus, consimili tantum arbitratus est infligendam vindictam talione. Cantavit igitur et ipse nonnulla de ipsis, sed non plurimum laboravit in adinventione,[8] quia superabundans suppetebat materia. Quid enim si qua responderet vera[9] ad tot fictitia et objecta opprobria? Porro, indubitata constat fides super eximie gestis regis Ricardi,[10] cujus virtutem cum æmuli desperarent assequi,

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[1] *exercitu frequentius*] tr. B.

[2] *tamen*] tantum, B.

[3] *obscœna inter ipsos*] tr. A.

[4] *Henricus*] properly *Hugo.*

[5] *proferenda*] proferendum, A.

[6] *Postquam*] Post. C.

[7] *nimirum*] nimium, A.

[8] *adinventione*] adinventionem, A.

[9] *vera*] verba, A.

[10] *gestis regis Ricardi*] tr.

A.D. 1192. June.

How different was all this from the example set by the first Crusaders.

impugnabant qua poterant gratis invidia. Non enim hi fuerant quales olim vere peregrini in Antiochena expeditione, quam gens nostra potenter obtinuit, unde quoque et adhuc recitatur in gestis super tam famosa victoria Boimundi et Tancredi, necnon et Godefridi de Builun, et aliorum procerum præstantissimorum, qui tot præclaris triumpharunt victoriis, quorum opera jam nunc fiunt tanquam cibus[1] ab ore narrantium, qui quia corde non ficto gratuitum Deo præstabant obsequium, reddidit eis Deus mercedem laborum suorum,* et exaltavit magnifica opera sua immortali memoria, ut etiam ipsorum tota posteritas ampliori prædicetur veneratione.

* Wisdom, x. 17.

[Capitulum IX.]

De reversione Christianorum[2] *a Betenopoli in patriam suam.*

After a few days spent at Beit-Nûba, the army begins its retreat. (July 4, *Bohadin*, 238.)

Post comprehensionem carvannæ, aliquot ita diebus sedit exercitus tristis apud Betenopolim,[3] admodum etiam[4] desolatus, quia versus Jerusalem dissuasus est progressus, ut Dominicum visitarent sepulcrum, unde quatuor tantum nunc[5] distabant milliariis. Revertuntur[6] igitur affecti summo mœrore, ut nunquam gens electa consimili contabesceret languore. Dispositis itaque agminibus, cum ordinatus iter aggredi moliretur exercitus, a montanis irruentes Turci invaserunt extremos, et in impetu suo quosdam servientes nostros peremerunt. Equos vero agiles habentes equites, constanter resistentes,[1] ipsos abegerunt. Postea procedentes pervenerunt usque inter Sanctum Georgium et Ramulam, ubi pernoctabat exercitus. Stationem ceperunt Franci a sinistris, rex cum gente sua a dextris. Crastino sequenti nihilominus itinerabant divisi. Nocte proxima, id est[2] pridie nonas Julii, resederunt apud Casellum Medium: inde nonnulli recedentes ab exercitu perrexerunt Joppen, ob fastidium et penuriam quam sustinuerant[3] in expeditione.

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[1] *cibus*] om. B.

[2] *Christianorum*] om. A.

[3] *Betenopolim*] Betenoble, B.

[4] *etiam*] om. A.; et, B.

[5] *nunc*] tunc, A.B. Beit-Nûba is ten English miles or four travelling hours from Jerusalem, in a straight line. A mile in the language of the historians of the Crusades may be frequently interpreted an hour's march, or two and a half English miles.

[6] *Revertuntur*] The retreat began early on Saturday morning, July 4. Bohadin, 238. The army was kept under arms until the camp was completely cleared: hence the men at arms would hardly be able to start before Sunday morning, and might well arrive on the Monday evening at the Casellum Medium, by which we are probably to understand the place called in the fourth book, the Casal of Maen; Medium = Medianum, (cf. R. Diceto, c. 667) = Moyen = Maen.

A.D. 1192. July 4. They are attacked by the Turks.

July 5. They stay for the night between Lydda and Ramlah.

July 6. They arrive at Casellum Medium.

[CAPITULUM X.]

Salahadinus, cognita dissensione et recessione Christianorum, ad expugnandum[4] recedentes, convocat infinitam multitudinem Turcorum.

Igitur cum exercitus nostri status innotuisset Salahadino, quod nostri summa consilii consisteret ad retrocedendum, revixit spes ejus, et gaudio resolutus et lætitia, sine mora nuncios destinat expeditissimos, cum litteris annulo suo signatis, ad omnes admiratos, principes regionum ditionis suæ, et satrapas, et præfectos, notificans ipsis, quod Christianos dissipasset dissensio, et quod jam dissidentes abirent; ideoque quisquis ejus stipendia vellet accipere, sine cunctatione veniret ad eum in Jerusalem. Nec mora, tanta concurrit multitudo Turcorum, ut æstimarentur viginti

Saladin hearing of the proposed retreat, summons his forces to Jerusalem. (July 2, *Bohadin*, 235.)

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[1] *resistentes*] insistentes, A.

[2] *id est*] om. A.

[3] *sustinuerant*] sustinuerunt, A.

[4] *expugnandum*] pugnandum,

A.D. 1192. July.

millia equitum armatorum, excepta peditum infinitate, quæ facile numerari non posset.

[Capitulum XI.]

Rex Ricardus videns suorum defectum, inducias sibi prius oblatas repetit, sed non dantur; unde Darum[1] *diruit, Ascalonem munit, et per Joppen ad Achon transit.*

(July 4-20.) Richard endeavours to procure a truce with Saladin, to allow him to go to England and return.

Interea gens nostra paulatim defluxit, quorum quidam secesserunt in Joppen. Quod cum rex perpendisset, quod ad ipsos cohibendos non proficeret, quia difficile quidem in unam convenirent sententiam; quod potius in illius temporis articulo arbitrabatur agendum, mandavit Safahadino quatenus juxta prius oblatam pacis conditionem in planitiis Ramulæ, conveniret Salahadinum super impetrandis induciis, rebus ut tunc se habentibus, usque ad tempus certum, quo possit a patria sua rediisse; et quid super his proficeret expeditius ei significaret. Salahadinus au-

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[1] The particulars of the negotiations referred to in this chapter are given by Bohadin, 238-243. As soon as the retreat began on the 4th of July, Saladin received a messenger from Count Henry proposing peace: on the 6th he answers that he can only treat with the Count for Acre and Tyre, on the same basis on which he had treated with the Marquis Conrad. The same day the Hadji Youssef arrived with a private message from Richard to Al Meschtoub, proposing that he should mediate for a truce between him and Saladin. Saladin replies that he will not treat with the Count until Acre is in the hands of the latter, and that for the rest of Palestine he will treat with Richard only. The next Friday (July 10) the envoys return, offering Saladin Count Henry's homage for Palestine, and asking for an establishment in the Holy City. The Sultan answers; "Count Henry shall be "as a son to me, and the Basilica "of the Resurrection shall be given "you. The rest we will divide, "you shall have the shore and the "plain, we will hold the mountain "fortresses already in our hands. "Ascalon must be destroyed, but "we will let you retain its dependencies." This answer is given on the 11th of July. The next

A.D. 1192. (July 4-20.)

Saladin insists on the dismantling of Ascalon.

tem, quem nostri status summa non latuit, et vires nostras paulatim infirmari præsensit, nequaquam consensit nisi diruta solotenus Ascalone.[1] Quod cum regi nunciis referentibus innotuisset, nihil[2] visus est moveri, nec vultus ejus vel in modico mutari; immo statim imperavit equos ascendere Templarios et Hospitalarios, et cum ipsis quosdam alios, ut simul omnes essent trecenti milites, qui pergerent diruere et dissipare castrum Darum, et ut impositis custodibus firmissime munirent Ascalonem. Regia præcepta jussi accelerant, et castro Darum æquato solo, revertuntur ad exercitum. Exercitus igitur regreditur usque Joppen gravi corde et conturbato; inde quoque sine mora profecti sunt Achonem; rex quoque cum cæteris. Porro, quam plurimi resederant in Joppen incolumes et infirmi. Et sic Achonem reversus est exercitus, ineffabiliter desolatus, et adversitatis immensitate consternatus, quos nimirum adhuc pro meritis suis Deus[3] minus dignos reputaverit benigniori gratia donari.

The king demolishes Darum, but strengthens Ascalon.

Richard returns to Acre. July 26.

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day Youssef returns with an envoy from Richard, named Godfrey, and two falcons for the Sultan; Richard is grateful for the terms offered, but asks to have twenty men admitted into the citadel of Jerusalem. The Sultan replies the next day, July 13, "You shall have no rights "in the Holy City, except those of "pilgrims; Ascalon must be dis"mantled, but you may have for "the expenses of the fortifications "the territory round it. Darum "must be destroyed; but you will "have the coast and its fortresses "from Joppa to Tyre." The messenger returns on the 14th to Richard, and on the 16th arrives with his reply: "If the Christians "are content with one single church "in the Holy City, surely three "fortresses are not too much for "them to ask; let them retain "what they have from Darum to "Antioch." The Sultan answers, "Let the people of Antioch nego"tiate for themselves, they are not "included in our negotiations. The "towns you ask for cannot be "given up, but you may have "Lydda as compensation for the "expenses of Ascalon." On the 20th the Hadji Youssef returns with Richard's ultimatum, "We "cannot displace one stone of As"calon." The Sultan immediately prepares for a renewal of the war.

[1] *Ascalone*] Askalone, C.

[2] *nihil*] inde, ins. A.

[3] *pro meritis suis Deus*] tr. A.

[Capitulum XII.]

Cum quali exercitu Salahadinus venit Joppen.[1]

A.D. 1192 (July 23-28.) Saladin marches on Joppa.

Audiens Salahadinus Joppitas jam regis carere præsidio, eo versus progressurum disposuit exercitum, de facili sperans civitatem posse comprehendi in absentia regis Ricardi. Movit itaque exercitum gentis coadunatæ quam plurimum: numerus equitum viginti millia. Aderat etiam[2] admiratus potentissimus de Bila et filius Arcissi; præterea admirati[3] ferme centum et septem;[4] peditum nihilominus a montanis innumerabilis multitudo, qui cooperuerunt faciem terræ, sicut locustæ. Exiens igitur exercitus ab Jerusalem descendit in plana Ramulæ cum fastu maximo[5] et fremitu. In turmas ruunt, tanquam furiis agitati, et cohortes, et Christianos conjurant omnino delendos.

Numbers and enthusiasm of his forces.

[Capitulum XIII.]

Salahadinus tanta virtute oppugnavit[6] *Joppen,*[7] *quod eam jam cepisset, nisi obsessi inducias petiissent usque*[8] *in crastinum.*

July 26. Saladin before Joppa.

Eadem Dominica, proxima ante Ad vincula Sancti Petri, qua rex Ricardus cum exercitu[9] pervenit

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[1] The dates of Saladin's movements are given by Bohadin: on the 23rd of July, the Sultan hearing that the Franks are marching northward, moves from Jerusalem to El Jib, the ancient Gibeon, thence to Beit-Nûba on the 24th, where he is rejoined by Saphadin and Bohadin himself; on the 26th he moves from Beit-Nûba to Ramlah, and encamps between that place and Lydda. On the 27th he advances to Yazour, and views Joppa from a distance; the next day he invests the city. Bohadin, 243, 244.

[2] *etiam*] autem, A.

[3] *præterea admirati*] tr. A.B.

[4] *septem*] sex, A.

[5] *maximo*] magno, A.

[6] *oppugnavit*] oppugnat, A.

[7] *Joppen*] om. B.

[8] *usque*] om. A.

[9] *exercitu*] suo, add. B.

Achonem;[1] accessit Salahadinus cum exercitu suo ad obsidendam Joppen. Die Lunæ sequenti cœperunt oppugnare castrum. Exsilientes autem ii, qui fuerant in civitate, in pomœria suburbana, viriliter eis restiterunt tota die, ut nequirent appropiare muris; sed nec die Martis, cum in idem convenissent certamen, nec die Mercurii, se potenter defendentes appropiare sustinebant,[2] facientes[3] de necessitate virtutem. Die vero Jovis, Turcorum improbitas, se dolentium a paucissimis repelli, minusque proficere, magis invaluit et confirmata est obsidio. Ad imperium Salahadini, quatuor eriguntur petrariæ graves nimis et efficaces, duo quoque[4] mangunelli ad jaculandum habiliores. O quantam obsessorum tunc esset audire querelam! quorum numerus excedebat quinque millia, cum iis qui infirmabantur, lamentantium et dicentium, "Domine Deus virtutum,* quid ulterius "refugii erit nobis? Heheu, O rex Angliæ, dux "noster et protector, ad quid quæritandum profectus "es Achonem? O deficiens Christianitas, jam peristi!" Interea Turcis insistentibus ferocissime, civitas oppugnatur cum virtute maxima, resistunt viriliter obsessi, quos qui videret sic perplexos expeditius conscendere in propugnacula et descendere, et pro agendorum varia necessitate agiliter in diversa raptari, nimia pietate flecteretur in lacrymas. Petrariæ sine intermissione jaciebant: mangunelli non cessabant. Interioribus quidem fuerunt petrariæ, sed minus periti fuerant[5] ad utendum. Denique ad instantiam jugem Turcorum ad jactus crebros petrariarum, porta quædam respiciens ad Jerusalem, die Veneris, dissipata est, et murus etiam a parte dextra ad mensuram duarum perticarum conquassatus.[6] O quam acerrimus fit conflictus, dum Turcis obsessi resisterent, et repugnarent intrantibus! Accrescens autem

A.D. 1192, July 26.
He reaches Joppa.
July 27.
He begins the assault.
July 28, 29.
He is repulsed.
July 30.
He erects his engines.
Despair of the inhabitants: they cry for Richard.
* Psalm lxxx. 4.
July 31.
The Jerusalem gate broken down and two perches length of the wall.

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[1] *cum exercitu pervenit Achonem*] tr. A.

[2] *appropiare sustinebant*] om. A. B.

[3] *facientes*] que, add. A. B.

[4] *quoque*] quippe, B.

[5] *periti fuerant*] tr. A.

[6] *conquassatus*] est, ins.

A.D. 1192. July 31.

The defenders take refuge in the tower of the Castle: the sick are slaughtered.

Alberic of Rheims, the warder of the Castle, flies to a ship, but is brought back.

The new patriarch was at Joppa.

jugiter Turcorum multitudo convaluit, et repulsis ab introitu Christianis, introeuntes Turci persecuti sunt nostros usque in turrim castri. Heheu, quam miseranda fit ibi cædes ægrotantium, quos in domibus passim, in grabatis languentes, modis horrendis[1] Turci cruciabant usque ad mortem, quorum profecto perempti sunt innumeri merito martyres reputandi. Quidam nostrorum imminentium Turcorum gravissimam sævitiam[2] fugerunt usque[3] in littus maris. Interea Turci crudelissima invasione domos perscrutantur subtilius, annonam diripiunt, sed et universa vina, doliis conquassatis effundunt; pars hostium turrim castri principalem oppugnat, pars insectatur fugientes ad naves ut salvarentur. Ibi quam plurimi perimuntur extremorum, ibi confugerat in navem Albericus de Remis,[4] cujus erat castrum custodire, ut fuga navali mortem evaderet. Proh pudor! degenerem nimius timor arguebat; cujus socii qui restiterant redarguentes[5] ignaviam, et ad virtutis constantiam animantes, virum revocaverunt, et quodammodo violenter in castri turrim impulerunt. Qui cum nonnisi periculum cerneret[6] imminere, ait, "Hic ergo pro Deo moriendum nobis est,[7] cum aliud "fieri nequeat." Undique pertinaciter insistunt Turci turri demoliendæ; volant pila cum sagittis, grandinum more,[8] densitate texitur aer. Qua parte se potius defenderent ignorant obsessi; sine cessatione perseverat insultus tota die; cujus vehementiæ forte cederent obsessi superati, nisi Deo dispensante præsens adesset nuper creatus patriarcha, qui nec est fractus mortis formidine, nec imminentis mole discriminis dissolutus. Ipse nimirum, quem ad argumenta fecit argutum necessitas, mandavit Salahadino; ejusdemque fratrem Saphadinum[1] interpellavit, ut impetraret super oppugnanda turri inducias liberaliter, saltem usque in crastinum, ea conditione ut si forte ante horam nonam non venisset[2] obsessis undecunque auxilium, pro redimendis tanti temporis induciis, quilibet eorum qui in turri supererant, solveret Salahadino decem bizantia auri; mulieres singulæ quinque bizantia, puer tria; et super his fideliter observandis se ipsum patriarcha contraderet obsidem, cum aliis viris nobilioribus, alligandis in compedibus usque in crastinam horam nonam. Annuit Salahadinus; et ritu eorum confirmata securitate super observanda dilationis conditione, contraduntur obsides cum patriarcha, Albericus Remensis, Theobaldus[3] de Treies, Augustinus de Londoniis et Osbertus Waldinus, et Henricus de Sancto Johanne; alii quoque quidam quorum nomina non tenemus. Qui postmodum ducti sunt omnes captivi in Damascum; jam enim obsessi spem aliquam conceperant per regem sibi succursum venturum, pro quo ab initio adventus Salahadini ad Achonem miserant.

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[1] *horrendis*] oriendis, C.

[2] *gravissimam sævitiam*] sævissimam sævitiam, B.; gravissimam sævissimam, C.

[3] *usque*] om. A.

[4] *Remis*] Reins, A.

[5] *redarguentes*] arguentes, A.

[6] *cerneret*] cernerent, B.

[7] *moriendum nobis est*] tr. A.

[8] *grandinum more*] tr. A.B.

A.D. 1192, July 31.

He sends to Saladin and Saphadin to ask for a truce until noon the next day.

Saladin agrees, and takes hostages for the surrender of the city, if it is not relieved on the morrow.

[CAPITULUM XIV.]

Rex Ricardus, licet jam naves ascensurus,[4] repatriandi gratia, licet Franci denegarent subsidium, tamen a Joppitis per nuncios revocatus, festinanter per galeas ad Joppen venit, militibus[5] per terram missis.

Interea dum rex Ricardus ad repatriandum expeditius reditum acceleraret ab Achone, jam se navibus

Richard was at Acre.

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[1] *Saphadinum*] om. A.

[2] *venisset*] veniret, B.

[3] *Theobaldus*] Theodbaldus, B.; Teobaldus, C.

[4] *ascensurus*] om. B.

[5] *militibus*] multis, B.

A.D. 1192. July 29.

He had made preparations for departure.

commissurus plenius instructis, (licentiam acceperat et benedictionem a Templariis et Hospitalariis; præmiserat quoque[1] septem galearum suarum cum armata gente usque Baruth,[2] qua transiturus erat, ut eos qui in castro resederant turbarent, quasi provocantes ad congressum, qui timore exterriti a castro fugerunt. Dum rex, inquam), in tentorio suo cum suis de reditu conficiendo conferret, quasi jam[3] in crastino recessurus; ecce! apparuerunt properanter applicantes[4] missi nuncii obsessorum in Joppen; qui cum coram regem scissis vestibus astitissent, indicabant Joppen a Saracenis occupatam cum omnibus quæ in ea erant, gentem quoque quæ supererat in turri castri obsessam, et nisi per ipsum, in quo solo mors cunctorum pendebat et salus, maturius obsessis proveniret auxilium, una de omnibus superesset sententia proculdubio pereundi, juxta pactam memoratam conditionem. Audiens rex obsessorum discrimen pereuntium, miseratus perditionem, verba nunciorum, causam adhuc prosequentium,[5] intercipit dicens: "Vivit Dominus,* Deo duce proficiscar "facturus quod potero;" et confestim clamante præcone divulgatur edictum, ut ad iterandam expeditionem exercitus excitetur.[6] Sed nec regem honorare responso dignati sunt Franci, hoc solum vultuosi repetentes, quod nusquam ulterius cum ipso[7] procederent; revera quidem nec cum ipso, nec cum quolibet alio uspiam amplius profecturi[8] sunt, quos nimirum in brevi contigit miserabiliter mori.[9] Verum tamen cujuscunque regionis oriundi, quorum Deus corda tetigerat,† et tribulatio proximorum flexerat ad pietatem, accelerabant

Messengers arrive from Joppa.

He determines to go to the rescue of Joppa: the French refuse to join.

* Jeremiah iv. 2.

† 1 Samuel x. 26.

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[1] *quoque*] enim, A.

[2] *Baruth*] Saladin received the news of the expedition to Baruth on the 23rd of July. Bohadin, 243.

[3] *jam*] om. A.

[4] *properanter applicantes*] properantes, B.

[5] *prosequentium*] persequentium, B.

[6] *exercitus excitetur*] tr. A.B.

[7] *ipso*] eo, A.

[8] *profecturi*] profecti, A.C.

[9] The Duke of Burgundy, the Sire de Coucy, and the Vidame de Pinkeny, died a few days after at Tyre. R. Coggeshall, 823. Hoveden, f. 408.

A.D. 1192. July 29. The land forces proceed to Cæsarea: the king by sea to Joppa.

* 1 Samuel xix. 5.

The land forces stop at Cæsarea for fear of ambuscades.

The king is detained three days off Haipha by contrary winds, and reaches Joppa on the night of July 31.

cum eo[1] processum, videlicet, Templarii et Hospitalarii, aliique milites validissimi quamplures, qui festinato itinere terreno profecti sunt Cæsaream. Rex vero magnificus, ponens animam suam in manibus suis,* in galeis instructione munitissimis navigio processit, et cum eo comes Leicestriæ, Andreas de Chaveyny,[2] Rogerus de Sathya,[3] Jordanus de Humeth,[4] Radulphus de Malo Leone, Achus de Fay, milites quoque de Pratellis, socii regis, alii etiam viri famosi,[5] plurimi Genuenses et Pisani. Qui vero perrexerant[6] Cæsaream, propter imminentes insidias, quas didicerant a Salahadino procuratas transeuntibus per viam, ibi aliquamdiu restiterunt velut obsessi, quibus progrediendi transitus non patebat alias liberior propter filium Assasisi,[7] qui maritimos transitus observabat inter Cæsaream et Arsurum. Præterea ventus contrarius irruens e regione naves regis triduo sistit immobiles subtus Caypham quo pervenerant. Rex moram importunam ægre ferens, graviter suspirans ait, "Domine Deus! ut quid nos "detines? Attende quæsumus causam necessitatis et "devotionem voluntatis."[8] Nec mora, Deo annuente, secundus afflavit ventus a tergo, classem cursu prospero deducens in portum Joppen nocte jam profunda, sequente diem[9] Veneris. Ad ipsius sequentis Sabbati nonam præfatæ redemptionis solvendæ terminus instabat, et conditionaliter gens erat tota distrahenda. O fides infida et perfidorum perfidia! ab ipsius mane Sabbati, scilicet die Ad vincula Sancti Petri,[10] ad Turcorum instantiam importunam, angariati sunt obsessi pactam

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[1] *eo*] ipso, A.

[2] *Chaveyny*] Chavegny, A.; Cavenny, B.

[3] *Sathya*] Saroy, C.

[4] *Humeth*] Humez, A. B.

[5] *famosi*] famoso nomine, A.

[6] *perrexerant*] perrexerunt, B.

[7] *Assasisi*] Arsasisi, A. B.

[8] *devotionem voluntatis*] devotionis voluntatem, B.

[9] *diem*] die, A.B.

[10] *scilicet ... Petri*] B. reads these words above, after *distrahenda*.

A.D. 1192. August 1.

The day fixed for surrender having arrived, the besieged are compelled to pay their ransom before the hour agreed on: and seven of them are murdered.

solvere redemptionem. Qui cum a mane jam ex parte promissa bizantia ad nonam solvere cœpissent coacti,[1] Turci nequissimi, bestiis immaniores, humanitatis respectu carentes, capita solventium amputabant. Jam sic septem decollatos in fossam quandam congesserant, cum hoc comperientes, ii qui superfuerant adhuc[2] in turri, nimio confracti terrore et horrore confusi, lamentari cœperunt et lacrymabiles voces emittere. O quantus ibi luctus omnium inevitabiliter mortem[3] imminere cernentium! singuli cum fletibus ad orationem flectunt genua, super commissis sese reos confitentes; tundunt pectora, et qui jam se credunt decessuros, de salute corporis desperati, vel animarum curam habebant, hoc solum superesse videntes; singuli quo poterant remotius fugerunt, quatenus vel brevissimi temporis mora vitam redimerent. Quem nimirum vel constantissimum non concutit imminentis metus mortis? Certatim itaque se singuli ingerunt in interiorem castri munitionem, ut vel modicum mortem differrent. Illic opperiebantur lictorum manus, ut eorum vita martyrio[4] consummaretur;

Dismay and confusion.

"—— imis vibrat tremor ossa medullis;" *

* Claudian, *De raptu Proserpinæ*, iii. 152.

fluunt ubertim lacrymæ amarissimæ, ab intimis erutæ visceribus; divinam impetrantes clementiam. Quibus hostiis in brevi placata, propitia Divinitas jam misit eis propugnatorem † qui liberaret eos; et ecce! jam classis regia[5] videbatur in portu, et sollicite egressuri milites armantur.

The king's fleet comes in sight.

† Isaiah xix. 20.

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[1] *cœpissent coacti*] tr. A.

[2] *adhuc*] om. B.

[3] *inevitabiliter mortem*] tr. A. B.

[4] *martyrio*] necessario, C.

[5] *classis regia*] tr. A.

[CAPITULUM XV.]

Cum quantis prœliis rex littus occupaverit, castrum Joppæ et inclusos liberaverit.

A.D. 1192.
August 1.
As the king's galleys near the shore the Turks prepare to prevent his landing.

Interea regis galeas cum navibus applicantes dum Turci comperiunt, ruunt catervatim in littus parmas habentes, et ancylia, et ne qua parte liber pateret ascensus applicantibus, Turcorum resistentium pluunt densissime spicula, jacula cum pilis et sagittæ. Fervet littus obsitum hostium multitudine, ut jam non superesset locus; nec jam expectant egressos excepturi, immo in ipsas naves et galeas procul in pelagus jaciunt missilia: equites eorum, qua poterant profundius, in mare se agebant, efficacius missuri certatim sagittas, ne quando possent occupare littus appulsi. Rex contractis in unum navibus,[1] sciscitatus est dicens! "Eja! commilitones optimi, mecum omnia communicati, quid igitur restat agendum? Numquid in hoc vulgus ignavum littus obsidens non applicabimus? An animas nostras reputabimus pretiosiores animabus jam in absentia nostra pereuntium? Quid potius censetis?"[2] Ad hoc cum nonnulli respondentes dicerent, frustra quid ulterius esse tentandum, cum non crederentur qui liberarentur esse superstites, et inter tot hostium millia littoris aditus difficillimus; rex curiosius oculo vagante cuncta perscrutans, vidit presbyterum quendam, se in mare de terra dejicientem,[3] ut ad regem natans veniret. Qui regiam admissus in galeam, spiritu fatigato et palpitante[4] corde, dixit, "O rex magnifice, jam gens residua, quæ tuum suspirat adventum, enses lanistarum vibratos op-

Richard exhorts his companions, who think that all is over.

A priest swims off with news from the shore.

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[1] *navibus*] manibus, B.

[2] *censetis*] censens, C.

[3] *dejicientem*] ejicientem, C.

[4] *palpitante*] palpante, C.

A.D. 1192. August 1.

His conversation with the king.

* Psalm xliv. 22.

" peritur, cervicibus exsertis, sicut oves occisionis;* " jam jam profecto peritura, nisi, te cooperante, di" vinum adsit adjutorium." Cui rex, " Num superest " quisquam? aut ubinam loci?" Cui presbyter, " Etiam, " Domine, coram turri illa coarctantur jam finiendi." Quo audito, rex ait, " Si sic ergo Deo complacet, in " Cujus obsequium, Ipso duce, huc advenimus, ut hic " cum fratribus nostris moriamur,[1] pereat modo qui " non processerit." Galeis igitur regis ad imperium versus littus propulsis, ipse primus, tibias inermis, se misit in mare pube tenus, sicque potenter littoris aridam adeptus est. Post regem erant primi vel proximi Galfridus de Bosco, et Petrus de Pratellis: hos sequebantur omnes alii prosilientes in mare, ut pedites procederent. Turcos igitur obsistentes in littore pertinaciter invadunt audacter, quorum multitudine totum littus tenebatur: quos rex singularis præstantiæ cum balista, quam[2] manu gestabat,[3] passim prosternit, cujus etiam comites electi, per littoris ampla Turcos cædentes persequebantur fugientes, nec enim ulterius, viso rege, erat eis[4] spiritus; nec eidem audebant appropiare. Quos rex insectans, exsertum vibrans gladium, vehementius exagitabat,[5] ut nec ipsis vacaret se defendere: ictus ejus subterfugiunt gravissimos; socii nihilominus regis constanter afficiunt fugientes, propellunt, conterunt, lacerant, detruncant, ventilant, ut jam littus evacuaretur a Turcis violenter expulsis. Comportatis postea fustibus et doliis, et undecunque raptis roboribus et amplis asseribus, navium quoque et galearum antiquarum materiis aptatis in littore, quasi munitionem sic sibi construxerant adversus hostiles irruptiones; ubi et constituit rex milites et vernaculos et balistarios ad custodiam, et ad arcendos inde remo-

Richard is the first to disembark: followed by Geoffrey du Bois, and Peter des Préaux.

They put the Turks to flight.

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[1] *moriamur*] commoriamur, A.B.
[2] *quam*] in, ins. A.
[3] *gestabat*] tenebat, A.
[4] *eis*] ei, C.
[5] *exagitabat*] agitabat, A.

tius Turcos, qui cum aliter nostris obesse non possent, importunis ululatibus et clamoribus totum littus replebant, cum inde recederent. Tunc rex per cochleam quandam, quam forte perspexerat in domibus Templariorum, solus primus introivit[1] in villam, in qua amplius quam tria millia Turcorum invenit omnia diripientium, domorum interiora perscrutantium, et spolia asportantium. O invicti regis animositas! qui, ut infra civitatis se intromiserat muros,[2] statim explicitas banerias suas eminentius exposuit videndas Christianis, qui in turri obsidebantur. Quibus visis ineffabiliter exhilarati, concepta fiducia, sumptis armis descenderunt a turri, ut convenirent ad regem. Quo cognito turbatur Turcorum exercitus. Rex cum evaginato gladio incedens insequitur, perimit, detruncat; ante faciem ejus fugientes cadunt a dextris et a sinistris densissime ab eo: aliis etiam a turri ingredientibus,[3] fit Turcorum cædes horrenda, quorum et plateas detruncata jam occupant cadavera. Quid singulis[4] immorer? sine dilatione trucidati sunt universi qui in castro erant, nisi quos forte fuga velocior eripuit; sicque condignam prius victores in suum exitium excipiunt talionem. Quos et rex in spiritu vehementi conterens,* insequitur etiam exeuntes a villa, successibus arbitrans insistendum, ne forte pepercisse argueretur inimicis crucis Christi, quos Deus tradidit in manibus ejus. Cæterum nemo unquam ipso magis abominabatur ignaviam.

A.D. 1192. August 1.

The king enters the city near the houses of the Templars.

He displays his banner on the walls and encourages the besieged in Castle; who now sally out and join the king.

Slaughter of the Turks.

* Psalm xlviii. 7.

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[1] *introivit*] intravit, A.

[2] *se intromiserat muros*] tr. A. B.

[3] *ingredientibus*] egredientibus, B.

[4] *singulis*] singularis, C.

[Capitulum XVI].

Item quibus prœliis rex Salahadinum ab obsidione fugaverit, et tentoria sua, ubi ejus fixa fuerant, fixerit.

A.D. 1192. August 1. The king had only three horses. Verum tres solummodo rex[1] tunc equos habebat. Quid tres tantum inter tantos? Porro, nec ex gestis antiquorum, vel ex traditione narrantium, vel ex lectione scriptorum, a longe retroactis temporibus, unquam alter cujuscunque credulitatis tantæ virtutis prærogativa bellator eximius enituit, quanta rex Ricardus, omni carens exemplo, ipso[2] die se gerebat. Cujus exeuntis a muris cum Turci perspexissent eminentius clara vexilla, fit fremitus horrisonus a dextris et a sinistris regis prodeuntis in hostes. Panic of the Turks. Nunquam nimirum[3] densitate tanta vel pluviarum guttis aer texebatur, ut Turcorum jaculis tunc per inane volantibus, licet sole radiante,

"—— emissa noctescit arundine cœlum."

Salahadinus, audito regis adventu, et ejusdem tam eleganti cum suis Turcis congressu, et quod indifferenter quoscunque factos obvios trucidasset; irruerunt in ipsum timores subiti; Saladin flies and removes his camp. fuit quippe, more leporis fugitivi, animal timidissimum; et avulsis properanter a loco tentoriis,[4] subditis equo calcaribus, fugit a facie regis Ricardi, ne vel ab eo videretur. Rex constanter cum suis commilitonibus insequitur, cædens[5] jugiter et prosternens. Balistarii quoque regis fugientium equos tanta perimunt strage, ut et ultra duorum spatium milliariorum pernicius aufugerent Turci. Rex igitur, paris nescius, figi jussit[6] papiliones suos in eodem loco,

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[1] *rex*] om. A.B.

[2] *ipso*] ipsa, B.

[3] *nimirum*] nimium, A.B.C.

[4] According to Bohadin, Saladin retreated this day to Yazour; p. 251. According to Oliverius Scholasticus ap. *Eccard, Corpus Hist. Med. Ævi.* ii. 1394, to the Casal of Plains.

[5] *cædens*] sequens, C.

[6] *figi jussit*] figit,

A.D. 1192. August 1.

Richard encamps on the very spot where Saladin had encamped the same day.

Saladin takes council with his Emirs: they plan to seize Richard in his tent.

a quo[1] Salahadinus, præ timore avulsis[2] tentoriis, paulo ante recesserat. Sic, opitulante Deo, a tantilla gente Turcorum exercitu repulso, Salahadinus convocatos Admiratorum suorum nobiliores affatus est, ore querelante dicens, "Quis ergo nos agitat? numquid Christianorum " ab Achone reversus exercitus ita gentem nostram " afficit, confundit, et debellat? Cujusmodi instructi " apparatibus, quicunque fuerint, tanta vel potuerunt " præsumere? equites an pedites incedentes, quibus " noster non prævalebat exercitus resistere?" Ad hæc quidam perversæ mentis, nostri nimirum status conscius intulit: "Domine," inquit, "non est ut æstimatis: equos " non habent, vel cujuscunque generis jumenta, exceptis tribus tantum equis, quos ille vir mirandus, rex " magnificus invenit in Joppe. Ipsum autem opera " faciliori arbitror posse comprehendi, quia pene solus " in tentorio suo decubat fatigatus, quem qui apprehenderit terminum acquiret laborum et omnis finem " consummationis." Exiit ergo sermo* infra Turcorum exercitum dicentium, quod in opprobrium sempiternum ipsis verteretur et scandalum, tantum exercitum, tot millia Turcorum a gente paucissima dissipatum, et Joppen violenter adeptam. Murmurant igitur in[3] invicem super patratis fremuntque[4] confusi.

* S. John xxi. 23.

[CAPITULUM XVII.]

Quid factum sit de[5] Christianis, Turcis, porcis in urbe occisis.

The Turks had killed all the pigs in Joppa.

Sane Turcorum gens execrabilis in comprehensa Joppe,[6] innumeram fecerat cædem infirmorum, porcorum etiam stragem non minimam, universorum scilicet

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[1] *quo*] qua, B.

[2] *avulsis*] revulsis, A.B.

[3] *in*] om. B.

[4] *fremuntque*] firmiterque, B.

[5] *de*] om. A.

[6] *comprehensa Joppe*] tr.

A.D. 1192. August 1. Turkish superstition about pork.

quos invenerant. Superstitionis nimirum Mahumeticæ est non[1] manducare porcos, unde naturaliter ut immundos abominantur porcos, quia Mahumetum traduntur porci devorasse. In opprobrium igitur Christicolarum, Turci collocaverant porcorum cadavera commixta cum corporibus hominum peremptorum. Corpora denique Christicolarum in pace a Christianis sepulta sunt, Turcorum autem cadavera cum porcis fœtentia ejiciebant.

[CAPITULUM XVIII.]

De reparatione murorum Joppæ.

August 2-4. The walls of Joppa partially repaired.

In crastino, in[2] die Dominica, rex sollicite procuravit murorum diruta reparari; similiter et die Lunæ et Martis, ut jam qualemqualem haberent munitionem, reparatis murorum interruptionibus, sed sine calce et cemento. Verum nimis vicinus Turcorum innumerabilis imminebat exercitus.

[CAPITULUM XIX.]

Turci[3] quidam, vocati Menelones et Cordini, jactitabant se comprehensuros regem dormientem in tentoriis suis[4] vel improvisum.

The Menelones (Mamlukes) and Cordini (Koords).

Interea quædam generis Saracenorum prava generatio, nuncupata Menelones de Halapia, et Cordini; juventus scilicet expedita, convenit in unum super agendis, rerum sic se habentium habitura colloquium. Allegato itaque tantæ multitudinis scandalo, quod a

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[1] *est non*] tr. C.

[2] *in*] om. A. B.

[3] *Turci*] tunc, A.

[4] *in tentoriis suis*] om.

A.D. 1192. August 2-4.

tantillæ gentis facie, quæ equis carebat, deseruerint[1] Joppen; se ipsos damnabant inertiæ, et pudendæ redarguebant ignaviæ. Mutuum itaque sibi fœdus ferientes, jactitabant arroganter, quod regem Ricardum in tentorio suo comprehensum præsentarent Salahadino, a quo gratissimam reciperent remunerationem.

They plan to surprise Richard.

[CAPITULUM XX.]

De adventu comitis Henrici a Cæsarea in Joppen, et de numero suorum.

Venit interim in galea comes Henricus a Cæsarea, cum sociis suis, ubi reliquus invitus noster detinebatur exercitus, propter insidias Turcorum circa transitus viarum et pontium aquarum, incubantium, ita ut rex ex universo suo exercitu non potuerit illius temporis articulo secum obtinere, nisi ferme quinquaginta et quinque milites, et peditum gentem robustissimam, et balistariorum et servientium, Genuensium et Pisanorum et aliorum, usque ad duo millia; equorum etiam vix undecunque acquisitorum fuerant ei quindecim boni et pejores.

Count Henry and his suite arrive from Cæsarea.

Fifty-five knights and two thousand serving men: only fifteen horses.

[CAPITULUM XXI.]

Prædicti Menelones et Cordini, ut jactaverant, regem in tentoriis comprehendissent, nisi quidam Genuensis, callens eos, eum suscitasset.

August 5.

Interea instruuntur hostes ad rapiendum[2] regem incautum et inermem. Hora noctis media, prædicti Menelones et Cordini procedunt armati ad lunæ splendorem

At midnight the Menelones and Cordini approach the royal tent.

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[1] *deseruerint*] deseruerunt, A.

[2] *rapiendum*] capiendum,

A.D. 1192. August 5.

When they are at a little distance they quarrel among themselves.

itinerantes, super agendorum modo quo commodius fieret, conferentes ad invicem. O invisus perfidorum adventus! tractant hostes sollicitius de comprehensione officiosi militis Christi, et ipse dormit. Irruunt armati multi ad comprehendendum[1] unum inermem et nihil periculi timentem. Jam a regio tentorio non procul aberant, se coaptantes[2] ad apprehendendum incautum. Et ecce! Deus misericordiarum, Qui miris modis etiam cum ignorantibus dispensans, in Ipsum sperantes non negligit, spiritum immisit contentionis in[3] prædictos Cordinos et Menelones. Dicebant Cordini, "Vos "pedites intrabitis ad regem et gentem ejus tenendam, "et nos in equis observabimus, ne forte in castrum "aufugiant." Quibus Menelones, "Vestrum,"[4] inquiunt, "potius est pedites incedere, quia nos potiores[5] dig"nitate. Nobis quidem ab officio competit militia, "vos hoc pedestre ministerium aptius respicit." Sic pertinaciter singulis contendentibus, quis eorum videretur esse major,* diutius alternata verbositate, procedendi moras innectunt. Qui cum denique super aggredienda proditione vix consensissent in unum, dum præcipites proruunt, diei præambula apparuit aurora, diei videlicet Mercurii proxime post festum Sancti Petri ad vincula.[6] Cæterum ut Deus providerat,[7] ne Suum tantum athletam, Suis devotum obsequiis, degeneres increduli dormientem opprimerent, suscitaverat spiritum* cujusdam Genuensis, ut egrederetur in campestria loca vicina diluculo: qui cum reditum accelleraret, ex concepto tanquam itinerantium

* S. Luke, xxii. 24.

They come to agreement about dawn.

A Genoese overhears them.

* 2 Chronicles xxxvi. 22.

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[1] *comprehendendum*] apprehendendum, B.

[2] *coaptantes*] captantes, B.

[3] *in*] inter, B.

[4] *Vestrum*] Verum, B.

[5] *potiores*] fortiores, B.

[6] This date of the battle is confirmed by Bohadin, 254, who mentions, p. 251, that the place where the king's tent was, was the site of Saladin's encampment of the week before. Ralph of Coggeshall places it in the plain near S. Habakkuk; see note on lib. iv. c. xxvii.

[7] *diei . . . providerat*] om. C.

fremitu et ambulantium strepitu equorum obstupescens, capite demisso, vidit eminus contra cœlum scintillare vertices galearum vernantium. Quo viso, cursu concito revertens ad castra, non cessabat exclamare voce vehementi, idem repetens, ut confestim armarentur universi. Exaudito clamore, rex excitatus exsiluit a stratu suo perturbatus nimis, et loricam induit indissolubilibus nexibus concatenatam,[1] et sine mora suos jussit excitare[2] commilitones.

A.D. 1192. August 5. He rouses the camp.

The king arms.

[Capitulum XXII.]

De admiranda et omnibus sæculis obstupenda regis pugna.

Domine, Deus virtutum!* Quem non afficeret tam[3] subitaneæ commotionis conturbatio? dum ruunt hostes super improvidos, armati super inermes, innumeri super paucissimos, quibus nec temporis angustia sufficit ad vestiendum, sicut nec ad armandum. Unde rex ipse et alii quam plurimi ex urgentis articuli conturbatione consternati, nudis tibiis procedebant ad bellum, nonnulli etiam sine feminalibus, utcunque raptim armati sunt, tota die sic permansuri dimicantes. Nostris igitur se sollicitius armantibus, jam propinqui facti sunt Turci. Rex equum processurus ascendens,[4] decem tantum socios habebat equites, quorum hæc sunt nomina: Comes Henricus, Comes Leicestræ,[5] Bartholomæus de Mortuo Mari, Radulfus de Malo Leone, Andreas de Chavyngny,[6] Girardus de Furnival,[7] Rogerus de Sacy, Willelmus de Stagno,[8] Hugo de Nova Villa serviens probissimus, Henricus Teutonicus, regis signifer. Hi

Hurry and alarm.

* Psalm lxxx. 4.

The king's ten companions.

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[1] *concatenatam*] exconcathenatum, B.

[2] *excitare*] excitari, A.B.

[3] *tam*] causa, C.

[4] *processurus ascendens*] tr. A.

[5] *Leicestræ*] de Leicestria, A.B.

[6] *Chavyngny*] Cavegni, A.; Cavigny, B.

[7] *Furnival*] Finival, A.; Funival, B.

[8] *Stagno*] Stangno, B.

A.D. 1192. August 5. tantum equos habebant, et quidam equos quidem[1] ignobiles et debiles, armis inassuetos. Per ordines igitur et turmas provida[2] dispositione collocantur acies et agmina, singulis castigandis assignantur præfecti, locis maritimis destinantur milites propiores, non procul ab Ecclesia Sancti Nicholai a parte sinistra, quoniam eo versus se Turci præcipitarant agmine densiori. Item extra hortos suburbanos assignantur Pisani et Genuenses cum commixta gente diversa. O quis sufficeret ad plenum gravissimas enarrare perfidorum invasiones? Irruentes imprimis Turci clamoribus horrendis ululare cœperunt, et jacula creberrima mittere cum pilis et sagittis. Ad quorum impetus improbissimos excipiendos, nostri se prout poterant aptabant, genu dextrum singuli solo figentes, ut sic firmius cohærerent, et persisterent immobiles, dum pedum dextrorum articulos fixissent in terra, pedes vero sinistros sinuato poplite habebant; manus sinistræ clypeos protensos tenebant,[3] et parmas, et scuta, et ancylia: dextræ lanceas, in terra fixis posterioribus capitibus, anterioribus vero partibus oppositis, ferrata cuspide, perniciter irruentibus adversariis. Rex, armorum peritissimus, inter quoslibet duos sic se clypeis protegentes unum statuit balistarium, et alterum juxta ipsum, qui protensam expeditius jugiter aptaret balistam, ut videlicet unius esset officium balistam tendendi,[4] et alterius jugiter pila jaciendi. Hoc quidem non modicum profuit nostris et multum obfuit adversariis. Sic aptatis singulis, ut temporis angustia simul et paucitas hominum suppetebat, rex inter singulos discurrens, impiger consolator persuadebat constantiam, damnans languescere degeneres animos, formidine vel ignavia flecti. "Adversis," inquit, "mentis imperterritæ rigorem opponite. Convalescat "virtus solidati pectoris obvia hostium asperitati, eva-

The king draws up his little force.

Onset of the Turks.

How our men resisted them.

The king himself arranges the men.

He encourages them with a speech.

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[1] *quidem*] quidam, C.
[2] *provida*] providi, C.
[3] *tenebant*] habebant, A.
[4] *tendendi*] tendendam, A.

A.D. 1192. August 5. Richard's speech.

“ sura profecto fortunæ procellas. Scitote adversa pati, quoniam omnis fortuna tolerabilis accidit animo[1] virili; quinimmo virtutibus, sicut umbram prospera, sic adversa præstant lucernam. Cæterum,[2] ad fugam non patet locus. Cum cuncta loca jam hostes occupaverint,[3] fugam tentare est mortem adsciscere. Durate igitur, et sævius urgens necessitas fiat materia virtutis. Virorum nimirum est aut fortiter triumphare, aut gloriose mori. Martyrium imminens animo gratanti est excipiendum.[4] Sed antequam moriamur, vita comite, mortem nostram ulciscamur, gratias agentes Deo, quod qualem quæsivimus per martyrium mortem nos invenire contingit.[5] Hæc est merces laborum, et finis vitæ simul et præliorum.” Vix sermone finito, ecce, præceps irruit[6] cum fastu maximo hostilis exercitus, per septem ordinatus acies et turmas, quarum quælibet quasi millenis constabat equitibus. Ad quorum impetum se nostri coaptantes excipiendum, infixis ad renitendum sabulo pedibus dextris, perstant solidius immobiles contra irruentes, lancearum cuspide protensa. Quos nimirum Turci tunc penetrassent, si nostri[7] aliquatenus cessissent. Turcorum acies prima appropians, cum jam immineret irruitura, quia[8] nostros attendit immobiles, subito resilivit divertens in partem ab eis; Turcos autem recedentes balistarii nostri densissimis prosequuntur missilibus, homines quam plurimos transfodientes et equos. Nec mora, succedit et acies altera,[9] nostrosque perpendens impenetrabiles, quoniam immobiles, consimili priorum schemate divertit in partem. Simili modo pluries Turci tanquam turbine veniebant adacti, ut imaginata[10] inva-

The enemy attack in seven divisions.

The first division comes up to our men and then retires.

The second does the same.

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[1] *animo*] animæ, C.
[2] *Cæterum*] om. A.
[3] *occupaverint*] occupaverunt, B.
[4] *excipiendum*] accipiendum, A.
[5] *contingit*] contingat, B.
[6] *irruit*] ruit, A.
[7] *nostri*] nulli, B.
[8] *quia*] qui, B.
[9] *acies altera*] tr. A.
[10] *imaginata*] ymanata, C.

A.D. 1192. August 5.

The other divisions do the same.

sione nostri gratis dissiparentur, et congrediendi suppeteret facultas; et cum jam cominus viderentur præliaturi, versuta calliditate in partem alteram, flexis loris, equos regyrabant. Quos cum rex et gens sua æstimarent non aliter acturos, super ipsorum ulteriori perfunctorio subterfugio ægre ferentes, rex cum iis qui equos habebant, subditis equis calcaribus et lanceis demissis, vehementius agebantur in hostium turbam densiorem, prosternentes a dextris et a sinistris, sellas sessoribus evacuantes et nonnullos transfodientes. Tanto quippe impetu se primitus in ipsos impegerant, ut[1] Turcorum acies universas penetrantes, in spiritu vehementi, tandem in posteriori acie persisterent. Et ecce! rex in partem respiciens vidit eminus equo dejectum nobilem comitem Leicestriæ, quem cum[2] egregie dimicantem rex invictus cerneret, ipsum a manibus improborum opprimentium vivaciter eripuit, et ad equum scandendum opem præstitit et obsequium. O quam gravis ibi pugna conseritur! confluit turba Turcorum plurima, et[3] toto conamine insistunt tam paucos opprimere; nostrorum dolent successibus; pertinaciter irruunt usque ad regium cum leone vexillum, solius regis animam pro mille quærentes. Nec mora, et ecce, in illo conflictus pondere vidit rex Radulfum de Malo Leone jam a Turcis distrahi captivum; ad quem a manibus ipsorum excutiendum, rex ocior advolat equo admisso, et potentissime Turcos abigens,[4] sibi ipsi restituit Radulfum. Rex, ut gigas in prælio, prærogativa virtutis insignis, inter tot hostium millia tam vivaciter in diversas se partes torquebat, tam eleganter se pene solus agebat, singulariter sine quolibet præcedentium exemplo, ut cujuscunque vir præstantiæ, vel princeps virtutis aut potentiæ, non immerito multo reputaretur

The king and his few horsemen charge: and cut through the whole Turkish force.

The king rescues the Earl of Leicester.

He rescues Ralph de Malleon:

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[1] *ut*] in, B.

[2] *cum*] om. C.

[3] *et*] in, ins. B.

[4] *abigens*] ambigens

A.D. 1192. August 5. Prowess of Richard.

Saphadin sends Richard three horses.

Richard does not refuse them, and says that he would gladly accept more like them, even from a worse foe than Saphadin.

inferior. Ea quidem die in frementium turbam Turcorum ita[1] se viriliter ingessit, et gladio fulminante innumeros trucidavit, hos a capitis vertice usque in dentes proscindens, illis vel caput vel brachia vel quodlibet membrorum amputans, adeo jugi vexatus est exercitio, ut vibrantis gladium dextræ cutis rumperetur. Et ecce, rege sic[2] incredibiliter in certando laborante, eo versus rapido[3] cursu Turcus quidam ferebatur, spumanti vectus equo sublimi. Ipse fuit ex parte Saphadini de Archadia, fratris Salahadini, viri quidem liberalissimi et munifici, et viris optimis comparandi, si tamen Christianæ relligionis non respuisset credulitatem et fidem. Hic igitur Saphadinus duos equos nobilissimos Arabicos regi propter ipsius notam probitatem destinavit, rogans attentius quatenus equos gratanter acciperet et ascenderet, quibus videbatur tunc temporis egere, et si gratia divina ipsum ab imminenti periculo sanum eruisset et incolumem, illius quandoque[4] reminisceretur obsequii, prout animo sederet recompensaurus. Quos rex suscipiens magnifice postmodum remuneravit. O virtus et in hoste laudabilis! Sic Turcus et hostis, ob eximiam regis virtutem, ipsum sic judicavit honorandum. Rex oblata non respuens, præsertim in angusti temporis articulo, protestatus est, quod plures consimiles susciperet tunc equos ab inimico etiam severiori, in tali tam necessarios negotio. Et ecce, gravissimum conseritur bellum; confluunt in paucissimos innumeri; contegitur universa terra pilis et sagittis perfidorum, ut jaculorum multitudo unico raptu complectentium sarcinam efficeret, quibus et sauciantur innumeri, et importabiliter aggravatum est in nostros pondus prælii; cedunt galeatores fugientes in galeis, quibus eo advenerant, proh pudor! soli fugiendo captantes salutem, soli virtutis amiserunt constantiam.

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[1] *ita*] om.

[2] *rege sic*] tr. A.

[3] *rapido*] rapidissimo, A.

[4] *quandoque*] quoque,

A.D. 1192. August 5.

The Turks enter Joppa: and are shut in by the king.

Interea factus est clamor magnus a facie Turcorum jam villam certatim occupantium; sperantes enim nostros opprimere repertos, villam undique introibant. Quo audito rex impiger accurrit, duobus tantum comitatus militibus, sed secum ducens balistarios. Qui cum in una villæ platea nobilissimi apparatus tribus Turcis obviaret, insigniter irruens in ipsos more regali trucidavit sessores, et equos duos lucrifecit. Cæteros Turcos universos, in villa repertos resistentes, gladio transverberans[1] exagitabat, ut ab eo exterriti, et in diversa dispersi, quæritarent exitum, etiam ubi non patuit.

He orders the breaches to be stopped.

Murorum interrupta statim mandavit rex obturari, et constituit custodes, qui custodirent civitatem ab incursione Turcorum.

[Capitulum XXIII.]

Item de admirandis et omnibus sæculis obstupendis regis prœliis, in quibus divina virtute multipliciter hostes stravit, et de medio eorum incolumis ad suos rediit.

Richard now goes to the shore to fetch the fugitive Crusaders back.

His itaque[2] dispositis, raptim fertur rex in littus maris ad galeas, quibus jam plurimi corde pavitanti fugam tentabant, quos rex revocatos efficacissimis ad bellum animavit rationibus; ut in sorte communi simul cum cæteris vita comite perseverarent. Ad cujus exhortationem redeunt ad certamen universi, gratanter jam excepturi quamcunque Deus sortem destinaverit. Singulis galeis quinque tantum[3] deputatis custodibus, cum residuis rex recurrit ad pugnam, ad auxiliandum plurimum[4] laborantem exercitulum suum. Ad quem

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[1] *transverberans*] subverberans, A.

[2] *itaque*] ita, B.

[3] *tantum*] om. A.

[4] *plurimum*] populum, B.

A.D. 1192. August 5.

He returns to the scene of battle.

Our men in the mean time had lost sight of him and were in dismay.

cum pervenisset spiritu tam vehementi, et impetu ferocissimo, in dimicantium Turcorum se turbam ingessit, penetrans omnia et dissipans, ut etiam intacti ab eo corruerent eminus impulsu cadentium. Nunquam enim ab uno quocunque milite talis celebrata invasio narratur.[1] Penetrans siquidem interiora hostilis exercitus, bellatoris inclyti se more gerebat. Quem Turci sine mora circumvallantes conclusum conabantur opprimere. Nostri regem interea[2] perpendentes nusquam comparere, pavido corde augurabant infausta, ne forte perisset, quem non viderent. Quem cum nonnulli arbitrarentur quærendum, vix se cohibuerunt acies nostræ. Verum si quomodo dispositorum agminum nostrorum series ordine rupto dissolveretur, proculdubio tota gens nostra penitus interisset. Quid autem de rege sentiendum circumsepto multis millibus hostium uno? super quo quidem[3] rigescit articulus scribentis, et animus meditantis obstupescit. Quinimmo, quis ejus similem audivit? Cujus animositas semper rigida,

"—— adversis rerum immersabilis undis" *

* Horace, *Epist.* I. ii. 22.

Our author compares him with Antæus, Achilles, and Alexander.

constantia, virtus jugiter florens, et ut paucis multa pateant, bellis semper recens et infatigabilis. Quid igitur? fabulosi quidem illius Antæi[4] virtus casu reparabilis, et terræ contactu fuisse narratur invincibilis;[5] sed hic Antæus a terra suspensus longo luctamine sublevatus interiit. Sed et Stygiis intincta fluentis domitoris Hectoris Achillis caro fertur armis impenetrabilis; hic vero[6] cuspide supplantatus, qua solum parte potuit defecit. Alexander Macedo, cujus præcipites animos in totum orbem[7] subjugandum armavit ambitio, difficilia quidem ausus est, et in-

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[1] *invasio narratur*] tr. A.B.

[2] *regem interea*] tr. A.

[3] *quo quidem*] om. C.

[4] *Antæi*] Anthei, MSS.

[5] *invincibilis*] immobilis, B.

[6] *vero*] ergo, A.

[7] *orbem*] mundum,

A.D. 1192. August 5.

He is compared with Judas Maccabæus; is superior to Roland.

His strength and energy.

He slays men and horses.

numera electorum militum manu bella peregit, cujus et in gente plurima virtutis summa stabat. Vir fortissimus Juda[1] Machabæus, de cujus præliis narrabant omnes gentes, multa quidem et in sæculis revera miranda gessit bellorum insignia, quem quoniam in belli discrimine sui deseruerant, raro agmine cum multis millibus[2] alienigenarum[3] congrediens, non procul inde cum fratribus peremptus cecidit. Rex autem Ricardus bella pati teneris indurescens ab annis, ad cujus virtutem Rollandus reputaretur invalidus, nescio quo pacto, immo munere divino, inter quoslibet hostes perdurabat invincibilis[4] et impenetrabilis; caro tanquam aenea nullorum cedebat generibus armorum;[5] ensem dextra vibratum motu circumducens citatiori, irruentes transverberat hostes; nunc hos appropiantes, nunc obvios dissecat[6] illos. Ineffabili quidem vivacitate in illa Turcorum multitudine se agebat, trans ausus hominum, ad nullius pavens occursum,* quemcunque factum obvium dissipans, conterens, "ut quis "messem falce, sic hostes demetit ense," cujus merito memorandos[7] quis digne referat ictus, quorum quemcunque contigisset unum experiri, non opus erat secundo. In ipso denique fervore animi,[8] virtus erecta quodammodo se gaudebat invenisse[9] exercitii materiem: quocunque se vertit ensis devorans carnes,† adactus potenti dextra, a capitis vertice sessores indifferenter abscidit, vel equos etiam usque deorsum, et quanto se comperit sociis destitutum, tanto sese ferventius urget ad pugnam: quem quo acrius insistunt hostes telis emissis opprimere, eo virtus irritata impetu regnat ardentiori. Ibi inter cætera[10] plura præclara,

* Proverbs xxx. 30.

† Deuteronomy xxxii. 42.

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[1] *Juda*] Judas, A.

[2] *millibus*] militibus, C.

[3] *alienigenarum*] om. B.

[4] *invincibilis*] immobilis, B.

[5] *generibus armorum*] tr. A.

[6] *dissecat*] desecat, A.

[7] *memorandos*] mirandos, A.

[8] *animi*] cum, B.

[9] *invenisse*] om. C.

[10] *Ibi inter cætera*] tr.

A.D. 1192. August 5.

He cuts off with one blow the head, shoulder, and arm of an Emir.

quæ in tali articulo constat ipsum egisse, Admiralium quendam cæteris eminentiorem, et insigni cultiorem apparatu, unico sed admirabili vulnere peremit; qui cum in gestu tanquam quid magnum jactitans, et alios velut desides redarguens et ignavos, subditis equo calcaribus, rapido cursu venisset [1] e regione obvius regi [2] dejiciendo, rex gladium objiciens irruenti, multipliciter armati caput amputavit, cum scapula et brachio dextro.[3] Quo viso, cæteris Turcis non supererat spiritus, sed undique viam spatiosam cedentes, vix ulterius a longe sagittas in ipsum emittere satagebant. Ab hostium itaque medio liber rediens et incolumis, ad suos animandos celerius evehitur. O quam a profundæ desperationis abysso emergunt animi, cum regem vidissent ab hostibus emersum! cui quid evenisset hæsitantibus mentibus ambegerant,[4] sine quo nimirum superstite prorsus inanis Christicolarum foret conatus. Regis autem corpus circumquaque fuit obsitum pilis creberrimis, infixis sicut ericius [5] aculeis, similiter et ejus equus in ejus phaleris hærentibus horrebat sagittis innumeris. Sic miles eximius a certamine regressus est, certamine inquam crudelissimo, pugna gravissima, a mane commissa usque ad vesperam: miranda quidem relatu fideque forte censebuntur indigna, tam longe impari numero perdurasse certamina, sed revera Dei miserantis opitulatione non ambigendum hoc esse patratum, cum in illa tam funesta die nostrorum unus corruerit vel duo tantum. Turcorum autem equorum numerus, qui perempti passim per arva jacebant,[6] mille et quingentos excessisse fertur: ipsorum nihilominus Turcorum amplius quam septingenti perempti sunt, nec tamen regem, ut jactitaverant, mancipave-

He rejoins his men.

He is covered with darts, like a hedgehog.

This victory was won with God's help.

Fifteen hundred horses and seven hundred Turks killed.

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[1] *venisset*] veniebat, C.

[2] *obvius regi*] tr. A.

[3] *brachio dextro*] tr. A.

[4] *ambegerant*] ambigerant, MSS.

[5] *ericius*] hericius, MSS.

[6] *jacebant*] jaciebant, C.

A.D. 1192. August 5. His enemies were disappointed and put to shame.

rant offerendum Salahadino, sed et in oculis ipsorum, hinc ipse, inde socii sui commilitones militaris exercitii præclarissimi, tot et tanta perpetraverant insignia, ut et inspicientium inhorrerent hostium pili.

[CAPITULUM XXIV.]

Irridet Salahadinus suos jactitantes de comprehensione regis Ricardi; qui suam arrogantiam defendentes, responderunt se nunquam tam strenuum militem vidisse.

Saladin derides his men, who had promised to take Richard captive.

Interea, dum a nostris, quos divina clementia sic conservarat indemnes, Turcorum declinasset exercitus, fertur Salahadinus tanquam arrogantium improperans ignaviam, quæsisse dicens, "Ubinam sunt qui Melech "Ricardum adducunt captivum? quis igitur ipsum[1] "primitus[2] apprehendit? Ubi est, inquam? numquid "non producetur?" Cui de ultimis terræ finibus oriundus, quidam Turcus ait, "Revera, domine, non "est hic Melech de quo quæritur, sicut cæteri homi"num. A sæculo non est auditum* talem militem "apparuisse, tam constantem, probatum, armis exer"citatum. In singulis argumentis primus invenitur, "in negotiis singularis, in congressibus anterior, in "regrediendo posterior; quem quidem comprehendere "sollicite sed frustra sategimus. Non est enim qui "gladium ejus sustineat incolumis; cujus impetus hor"ribilis, lethifer congressus, et gestus ultra humanum "modum."

He is answered by a Turk; that there never was a hero like Richard.

* S. John ix. 32.

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[1] *ipsum*] om. C.

[2] *ipsum primitus*] tr. A.

[CAPITULUM XXV.]

Rex ex labore et fatigatione prœlii infirmatur. A.D. 1192. August.

Porro, ex illius pressura diei et certaminis gravamine rex Ricardus et gens nostra plurimum vexata, decidit in languorem, tum ex prælii fatigatione, tum ex cadaverum fœtore, unde locus corruptus est, ut cuncti pene morerentur. Richard falls ill with weariness and the bad air.

[CAPITULUM XXVI.]

Salahadinus mandat regi ægrotanti se ad eum comprehendendum venturum. Rex mittit ad Cæsaream pro Francis, qui venire renuunt.

Interea mandavit regi Salahadinus, quod ipse cum Turcis suis ad ipsum descenderet comprehendendum, si tamen adventum ipsius expectare præsumeret; cui rex incunctanter remandavit, quod proculdubio ipsum ibi expectaret, ut qui scilicet nullo pacto, vita comite, dum pedibus vel certe genibus resistere suppeteret facultas, nec pedis[1] ad passum ab eo refugeret. Regia siquidem animositas nec adversis sustinuit confringi; verum sentiens rex se morbo gravari,[2] pensans[3] temporis articulos et rerum statum, nec tutam fore[4] quietem vicino serpente, destinavit comitem Henricum Cæsaream, mandans iis qui prius eo venerant Francis, Saladin warns the king that he is coming to seize him: Richard refuses to retire. He sends Count Henry to

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[1] *pedis*] pedes, B.

[2] *gravari*] gravatum, A.B.

[3] *pensans*] pensant, C.

[4] *fore*] forte, B.

A.D. 1192. August.

Cæsarea for the French, who refuse to come.

He would have perished if he had not made a truce.

ut ad ipsum venissent, et terræ tuendæ præsidio fuissent. Significavit etiam quanto laboraret morbi[1] incommodo, et super prædicto Salahadini mandato. Franci vero[2] nullatenus vel in modico[3] eidem volebant succurrere,[4] immo, quantum in ipsis erat, ipsorum destitutus auxilio hostium expositus multitudini periisset, nisi procurasset inducias quamvis a nonnullis eorum[5] reprehensibiles. Quid igitur? Inter tot Turcorum examina quis tam paucis, nedum infirmis, locus tutus? Ascalonem potius dirui tunc temporis fuit consilii, quam ancipiti vicissitudine jactari. Nam si regem languidum, grabato decumbentem, hostes nullo resistente comprehendissent, tunc nimirum libere occuparetur Ascalon, nec[6] consequenter tuta maneret Tyrus vel Achon.

[CAPITULUM. XXVII.]

Regi volenti redire in Achonem gratia curationis, sui viriliter contradicunt, unde rex petit et recipit inducias trium annorum.

He lays the state of affairs before Count Henry and the military orders.

Interea, rex super importuna[7] corporis valetudine sollicitus, examine subtiliori libratis rerum articulis, mandavit exhiberi præsentes cognatum suum Henricum comitem, et Templarios et Hospitalarios, quibus exposito corporis incommodo, se protestatus est propter loci corruptionem et minus securam munitionem, inde recessurum; quorum etiam quibusdam injunxit, proficisci ad observandam Ascalonem, aliis autem ut ibi residen-

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[1] *laboraret morbi*] tr. A.B.

[2] *vero*] This word is misplaced in B., coming after *modico*.

[3] *et super . . . modico*] om. C.

[4] *volebant succurrere*] tr. A.

[5] *eorum*] om. A.

[6] *nec*] vero, A.

[7] *importuna*] opportuna, C.

A.D. 1192. August 5.

They refuse to undertake the charge of Ascalon and Joppa in his absence.

tes præessent Joppæ custodiendæ; ipse vero reverteretur Achonem, ut acceptis potionibus curaretur, nec aliter fieri posse dicebat. Cui cum universi uno[1] animo et voce consimili contradixissent, se prorsus asserentes nulla conditione quamcunque munitionem ipso absente observaturos, in[2] hac constantes perstiterunt sententia, quorumcunque castrorum abominantes custodiam; et his dictis abierunt retro, et jam cum illo non ambulabant.* Hujusmodi responso turbati regis angustiabatur animus æstuans, et suorum aversio eum in acerbissimum traxit dolorem, quia jam neminem reperisset suis propositis consentaneum vel votis. Super agendis itaque diutius vacillando, fluctuans cui potius insisteret operæ,[3] cogitationes mentis agens in diversa, ab hoc recidebat in illud, quia non invenisset qui[4] doleret vices ejus.† Attendens denique jam universos defluxisse, neminemque vel tenuissima cura sollicitari super communi causa, promulgari jussit edictum, ut quicunque regis stipendia voluissent conducti recipere, convenissent ad succurrendum. Nec mora, confluunt duo millia peditum et milites quinquaginta. Verum jam invalescente nimium ægritudine, rex de recuperanda sanitate desperatus est: unde tam pro aliis quam pro se ipso nimis anxius, inter plura quæ mentis ejus sagacitas non præteribat intacta, maluit minus inconveniens præeligere ut inducias exigeret, quam si infecto negotio recedens, terram depopulandam omnino desereret, sicut et omnes[5] alii fecerant, jam catervatim abeuntes in navibus. Sic[6] rex perplexus et ignorans quid potius aliud fieret, mandavit[7] Saphadino fratri Salahadini, ut, ipso mediante,

* S. John vi. 67.

Despair of Richard.

† 1 Samuel xxii. 8.

He offers pay to those who will come to his assistance, and gets together fifty knights and two thousand men-at-arms.

Finding his illness increase, he determines to ask for a truce.

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[1] *uno*] uni, C.

[2] *in*] ut, A.

[3] *operæ*] operi, A.

[4] *qui*] om. B.

[5] *omnes*] om. A.

[6] *Sic*] autem, ins. B.

Richard resumed his negotiations with Saladin on the very day of the relief of Joppa. On the Saturday evening, August 1st, Abubeker the gatekeeper came to the Sultan with a proposition of

A.D. 1192. August.

Saphadin undertakes to mediate.

quam [1] potuisset honestioris conditionis inter ipsos impetraret inducias. Saphadinus, vir eximiæ liberalitatis, qui et regem ob ejus singularem probitatem crebris duxerat venerandum argumentis, sollicite tales sub hac forma procuravit inducias; videlicet, ut Ascalon, quæ superstes Salahadini terrori semper exstiterat imperio,

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peace from Richard; Saladin answered that as the great obstacle to peace hitherto had been the maintenance of Jaffa and Ascalon, and the former was now in ruins, the Franks might have the coast from Tyre to Cæsarea. Richard now sent an envoy with Abubeker, replying that if the Sultan would give up Jaffa and Ascalon, their garrisons should always be at his disposal as allies. Saladin answered that as the king was so generous, he would be not less so; Richard might keep Jaffa, he would have Ascalon. The next day (Aug. 2) Abubeker and his companion went to Saladin at Ramlah, with Richard's answer, begging that Ascalon may be allowed him, and that he may not be detained all the winter in Palestine. Saladin answered that Ascalon could not be given up,—and upon this the messenger asked for an interview with Saphadin. Saladin was now beginning to retire from before Jaffa, but was tempted by the opportunity of taking Richard in his tent, to the attack which ended in the battle of the 5th. The Frank envoy bearing a message from Saphadin returned to Jaffa on the 8th, but Abubeker was not allowed to enter the city, and came back to Saladin (who was now at Latroon) with Richard's message, that he would not now return home, and would treat no more of peace. No intercourse seems to have taken place from the 8th to the 26th, on which day Richard sent to Saladin to tell him how ill he was, and to ask for snow, and fruit, pears, and Persian apples. Saladin took the opportunity of this renewal of negotiations to spy out the enemy's condition, which was bad enough. Richard requested also another visit from Abubeker. By this messenger (on the 27th) he entreated Saphadin, who was ill at the well of Samuel, to procure him a truce with the Sultan, and begged that, if Ascalon must be surrendered, a recompense for the money he had laid out upon the fortifications might be allowed him. The king did not, however, wait for Abubeker's return, but on the following day, opened a new negotiation with Bedreddin Duldern by his minister Hovat, who was probably Bishop Hubert Walter; Bedreddin having first assured himself of Richard's good faith, reported the proposition to Saladin, at Ramlah, by whom it was accepted on the 29th of August. The boundaries of the Frank possessions were arranged on that day, and on the 2nd of September the treaty was signed. Bohadin, 252-261. Ralph de Diceto erroneously states that the truce began on the 9th of August.

[1] *quam*] qua,

A.D. 1192. August.

dirueretur, a nullo hominum reparanda[1] ante terminum trium annorum, ad Pascha proximum[2] incipientium: sed post tres annos quisquis superiori vigeret potentia, cederet Ascalon eam occupanti. Concessit etiam Salahadinus ut Joppe[3] restauraretur Christicolis libere et quiete inhabitanda, cum universa regione vicina, locis maritimis et montanis. Confirmandam etiam sanxit inviolandam pacem inter Christicolas et Saracenos, salvumque utrorumque libere per omnia esse meatum, et ad Sanctum Dominicum Sepulcrum absque cujuscunque pensionis exactione accessum, et[4] cum libertate transitum deducendarum per omnem terram quarumcunque rerum venalium, et[5] exercenda libere commercia. Harum formam induciarum in scripturam[6] redactam, sibi recitatam, rex Ricardus annuit observandam, quia nimirum sperare non poterat potiorem, utpote æger, et quam modico fretus auxilio, et non prorsus aberat ab inimicorum statione duobus milliariis. Quisquis super hujus pacis contractu contenderit aliter sentiendum, perversi mendacii se noverit incurrisse reatum.

Terms of the truce: Ascalon is to be dismantled; and not to be repaired for three years.

Joppa is to be held by the Christians.

They are to have free access to the Holy Sepulchre.

The truce is signed (September 2, *Bohadin*, 261).

[Capitulum XXVIII.]

Rex Ricardus[7] et Salahadinus ad invicem amicabiliter per nuncios confabulantur.

His ita[8] gestis, in articulo necessitatis, rex cujus magnanimitas semper imitabatur excelsiora, moliens ardua, æmulans summa,[9] missis legatis mandavit Salahadino dicens, audientibus satrapis multis, se tantum

Richard tells Saladin that he will return.

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[1] *reparanda*] præparanda, C.

[2] *proximum*] sequentium vel, ins. A.

[3] *Joppe*] Joppen, C.

[4] *accessum et*] tr. B.

[5] *et*] ad, ins. A.B.

[6] *scripturam*] scriptura, C.

[7] *Ricardus*] om. A.

[8] *ita*] itaque, A.

[9] *summa*] summis, B.

A.D. 1192. September.

In three years he will come and rescue Jerusalem.

ea intentione tales expetisse pro tempore inducias in tres annos, revera ut in terram suam visendam reverteretur; item ut gentem[1] multiplicaret et pecuniam, et reversus terram totam[2] Jerosolimitanam erueret ab ipsius dominio, si tamen[3] eidem quacunque fiducia reputaret resistendum. Cui Salahadinus ad hoc nunciis destinatis respondit, legis suæ sacra contestans et Deum omnipotentem, quod adeo regis Ricardi habuit gratam probitatem, magnanimitatem, et præstantiam, ut ab eo terram mallet in potentia suæ virtutis obtineri, quam ab alio[4] quocunque principum, quem[5] unquam viderat, si tamen diebus suis terram esset amissurus. O quam profunda cæcitate humani caligant oculi? dum in longa tempora metiuntur agenda, prorsus ignorantes quid crastina pariat dies.* Sic rex dubium mentis acumen extendens in longum, animo de futuris disponente, sperabat Dominicum recuperare quandoque Sepulcrum,[6] omnino non sentiens, quod

Saladin replies that if he is to lose Palestine, he would rather Richard should take it than any other prince.

* Proverbs xxvii. 1.

"Omnia sunt hominum tenui pendentia filo." †

† Ovid, *Ep. ex Ponto*, IV. iii. 35.

[CAPITULUM XXIX.]

Rex curationis gratia Cayphas petit.

Richard goes to Haipha for his health. (Sept. 9. *Bohadin*, 263.)

Scriptis et juramentis confirmatis induciis, rex usque Caypham, prout potuit, se procuravit deduci, ut acceptis ibi salutiferis sanaretur medicinis.

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[1] *gentem*] suam, ins. A.

[2] *terram totam*] tr. A.

[3] *tamen*] tum, A.

[4] *alio*] aliquo, B.

[5] *quem*] quam, B.

[6] *quandoque Sepulcrum*] tr. B.

[CAPITULUM XXX.]

Francis, rege procurante, pro eorum malitia est prohibitum, aliis est permissum Dominicum visitare Sepulcrum.

A.D. 1192. Cir. Sept. 9.

Richard warns Saladin not to suffer the French pilgrims to visit Jerusalem, without a passport from himself.

Interim, Franci in Achone olim feriati,[1] se jam sollicite expedierant ad repatriandum; qui licet memoratas mordacius reprehendissent inducias, se tamen condixerunt ad consummandam plenius peregrinationem, antequam abirent in patriam, Dominicum adituros Sepulcrum. Quorum rex non immemor desidiæ, quippe[2] qui nec in recuperanda Joppe, sicut prædictum est, nec pluribus antea necessitatibus ei opem ferre volebant, immo jam conductum exigebant adeundi Sancti[3] Sepulcri, destinatis nunciis industriis, mandavit Salahadino et ejusdem fratri Saphadino,[4] ne cuiquam hominum liceret adire Sepulcrum Sanctum in Jerusalem, nisi qui suas litteras haberet, vel comitis Henrici, prout vellent, ut præscripta inter ipsos teneretur[5] conditio. Hinc amaritati[6] Franci vehementer conturbati sunt, et se minimum ibi perpendentes proficere, non multo post reversi sunt in patriam suam confusi,[7] nihil secum præter rixam ingratitudinis reportantes. Audiens rex sibi detrahentium Francorum partem majorem repatriasse, et os obstructum obloquentium iniqua,* secundum[8] illud, "Ejice derisorem, et exibit cum eo jurgium," † parcens pestilentium

"diffundere crimen[9] in omnes," ‡

The French go home.

* Psalm lxiii. 11.

† Proverbs xxii. 10.

‡ Ovid, *Ars Amatoria*, iii. 9.

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[1] *feriati*] feriatis, B.

[2] *quippe*] om. C.

[3] *Sancti*] om. C.

[4] *ejusdem fratri Saphadino*] tr. A.B.

[5] *teneretur*] teneret, B.

[6] *amaritati*] amaricati, B.

[7] *in patriam suam confusi*] tr. A.B.

[8] *secundum*] sicut, B.

[9] *crimen*] om.

A.D. 1192. September. The people are now suffered to accomplish their pilgrimage.

sub voce præconaria statuit promulgandum,[1] quatenus populus, qui vellet, jam Dominicum visitaret Sepulcrum, et ut oblationes suas reportarent Joppen ad auxilium conficiendorum murorum.

[Capitulum XXXI.]

De peregrinatione primæ turmæ in Jerusalem, cui præerat Andreas de Cavigny,[2] et ejus timore indiscrete incedentis.

Three troops of pilgrims make the pilgrimage: the first troop under Andrew of Chavegni.

In tres turmas dispositus, populus ordinatur processurus; singulæ turmæ singulis præfectis committuntur regendæ. Prima Andreæ de Chavigni,[3] secunda Radulfo Taissun,[4] tertia Huberto episcopo Salesberiensi. Cum regiis itaque litteris seriatim profecti sunt primi qui sub Andrea erant. Exigentibus autem forte peccatis, in gravissimas fere inciderunt tentationes. Itinerantes etenim jam pervenerant in planitiem Ramulæ; inde communi consilio, destinatis nunciis significabant Salahadino se cum litteris regis Ricardi Jerusalem venturos, et ut ipso[5] procurante, salvo itinere procederent et redirent. Qui hac legatione fungebantur, viri quidem nobiles erant, et industrii; sed probitas eorum ibi pene denigrata est desidia. Quorum unus erat[6] Willelmus de Rupibus, alter Gerardus de Fornivallis, tertius Petrus de Pratellis. Hi destinati cum ad Turonem Militum pervenissent, ibi steterunt, ut ulterioris itineris prosequendi Saphadini tuerentur præsidio. Ibi dum moram facerent, irruente somno dormitaverunt omnes et dormierunt,* quousque jam ad occasum sole

They reach Ramlah, and send to tell Saladin of their coming.

Their messengers reach Toron of the Knights, and there fall asleep.

* S. Matt. xxv. 5.

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[1] *promulgandum*] provulgandum, C.

[2] *Cavigny*] Chavigne, A.

[3] *Chavigni*] Chavegni, A.; Cavigny, B.

[4] *Taissun*] Teissum, A.; Teissun, B.

[5] *ipso*] om. A.

[6] *erat*] om. B.

A.D. 1192. September.

The troop of pilgrims passes them asleep.

The pilgrims discover their messengers behind them, and send them on.

The messengers reach Jerusalem, and are reproved by Saphadin for their carelessness.

vergente,[1] dormientes præterissent omnes illi quorum ipsi fuerant deputati legationi. Turba igitur seriatim procedens, transmissa planitie, jam appropinquabat[2] montanis, cum ecce, respicientibus Andrea de Chavegni[3] et cæteris apparuerunt præfati nuncii, qui dormierant, post ipsos properantes. Quibus cognitis, exterriti timore magno restiterunt, nonnullis dicentibus, "Domine "Deus, adjuva nos, perimus, jam reputamur sicut "oves occisionis,* si nostrum iter tam indiscretum "deprehenderint Saraceni, quorum nondum defluxit "exercitus. Ecce, nuncii nostri post nos, quos jam "sperabamus peracto negotio securitatis reversuros. "Instat vespera, inermes sumus, morti proximi ver"samur in periculo." Nuncios denique turbam assecutos, asperius negligentiæ redargutos, repetitis precibus in id ipsum destinaverunt, plurimum urgentes ut festinarent. Qui citato itinere dum pervenissent[4] Jerusalem, invenerunt extra civitatem in tentoriis residentium Turcorum quasi duo millia vel eo amplius. Quæsito et tandem invento Saphadino causam exposuerunt. Ipse vero acerbissime duces eorum itineris reprehendens fatuitatis argumentabatur illos vitam suam flocci pendere, quod instante nocte se sic[5] inter hostes ingererent, absque ducatu et cujuscunque tuitione. Qui dum sic confabularentur ad invicem, in ipso solis occasu, venit turba præfata peregrinorum expers armorum et consilii; ad quorum adventum Turci hirrientes, respiciebant prætereuntes[6] torvis oculis[7] vultuosi, in quorum facie satis prætendebatur manifeste, quam æmulans indignatio volvebatur in cogitatione; solet namque nonnunquam in vultus ima-

* Ps. xliv. 22.

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[1] *jam ad occasum sole vergente*] tr. A.B.

[2] *appropinquabat*] approximabat, A.B.

[3] *Chavegni*] Cavengni, B.

[4] *pervenissent*] in, ins. C.

[5] *se sic*] tr. A.

[6] *respiciebant prætereuntes*] tr. B.; respicientes, C.

[7] *oculis*] respiciebant, ins. C.

A.D. 1192. September.

The alarm and terror of the pilgrims.

gine exprimi habitus animi. Hinc nostrorum etiam constantiores,[1] ancipiti concussi trepidatione, multo magis optarent tunc temporis vultu sereniore vel Tyro restitui, vel unde venerant Achoni. Porro juxta montem quendam in maximo timore non procul inde pernoctabant peregrini.

[CAPITULUM XXXII.]

Turci ultionem petunt de peregrinis nostris. Salahadinus et Satrapæ non concedunt.

The Turks demand the blood of the pilgrims, and Saladin calls a council to decide.

In crastino venientes Turci, genibus flexis coram Salahadino, suppliciter rogabant, ut liceret ipsis ultionem expetere a Christicolis in proximo residentibus, super morte suorum, primum in Achone, postea passim peremptorum, patrum et fratrum, filiorum et parentum, tunc ut asserebant nacta[2] temporis opportunitate. Super horum petitione Salahadinus habiturus consilium, Turcorum majores imperat accersiri. Adsunt Mestocus, Saphadinus, Bedredinus Dordernus, quibus ad invicem super propositis conferentibus, in eo tandem universorum est stabilita sententia, quatenus absque omni impedimento et injuria liberius irent et redirent Christicolæ. "In eo,"[3] inquiunt Salahadino, "plurimum "nostræ derogaretur excellentiæ, si inter te et regem "Angliæ, nobis prævaricantibus, fœdus initum rum"peretur, et Turcorum fides cujuscunque credulitatis "nationi servanda, non immerito reputaretur in per"petuum inanis." Hæc et his similia Satrapis replicantibus, Salahadinus injunxit confestim[4] satellitibus suis, ut Christianorum curam haberent sine molestia ducendorum[5] in civitatem et reducendorum[6] in pace.

The counsellors advise that the pilgrims should be spared.

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[1] *etiam constantiores*] tr. B.

[2] *nacta*] nacte, C.

[3] *eo*] om. C.

[4] *injunxit confestim*], tr. A.B.

[5] *ducendorum*] deducendorum, A.

[6] *in civitatem et reducendorum*] om. C.; deducendorum, B.

A.D. 1192. September. They are committed to the care of Saphadin.

Ad hæc fidelius explenda deputatus est, qui se gratis ingesserat, Saphadinus, quo procurante peregrini libere et quiete Dominicum visitarunt diu desideratum sepulcrum, et gratuita liberalitate magnifice curati, consummata pro voluntate peregrinatione, reversi sunt alacriter Achonem.

[Capitulum XXXIII.]

De peregrinatione secundæ turmæ in Jerusalem, cui præerat Radulfus Teissun.

The second troop meets the first returning, between Castel Arnald and Ramlah.

His ita revertentibus obvia venit turma secunda peregrinorum, quæ sub Radulpho Teissun[1] erat, inter castrum Arnaldi et Ramulam. Salahadinus igitur, sicut prædictum est, disposuerat gentem suam transitus viarum et semitas observare diligenter, quando quis peregrinorum versus Jerusalem[2] itineraret; unde libere transivimus et inoffensi, et montana superantes pervenimus usque ad Montem Gaudii, unde cum civitatem Jerusalem eminus vidissemus, eximie lætati genibus in terram fixis, sicut mos est, humiliter Deo gratias persolvimus. Inde quoque vidimus montem Oliveti. Postea procedentibus alacriter universis, ii[3] qui equos habebant festinanter præibant, ut licentius pro voto Dominicum oscularentur sepulcrum. Præterea referentibus nobis iis qui præcesserant equitibus, ipsis fecit exhiberi Salahadinus[4] osculandam et[5] adorandam illam Veram Crucem Dominicam quæ fuerat olim in bello.[6] Nos autem pedites extremi vidimus quod potuimus, scilicet, monumentum Dominicum ubi[7] non-

The second troop, in which the author was, reaches the Mount of Joy.

The horsemen hasten on, and are allowed by Saladin to see the True Cross.

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[1] *Teissun*] Tessun, B.
[2] *versus Jerusalem*] tr. A.B.
[3] *ii*] hiis, C.
[4] *exhiberi Salahadinus*] tr. A.
[5] *et*] ad, ins. B.
[6] *olim in bello*] tr. A.
[7] *ubi*] om. C.

A.D. 1192. September.

The pilgrims on foot saw the Holy Sepulchre, Calvary, Mount Sion, the holy table at which Christ ate bread, the tomb of the Virgin, and the prison of our Lord.

* S. John xiii. 1.

They return to Acre.

nullæ ponebantur oblationes, quas quia Saraceni tollebant, parcius ibi offerentes, partiti sumus iis quos ibi vidimus in vinculis, captivis, Francis et Syris, qui sibi deputata laborabant servitute. Inde perreximus ad dextram in[1] Montem Calvariæ[2] quo crucifixus est Dominus, ubi[3] lapis increpuit quo infixa fuerat[4] crux Dominica in Golgotha.[5] Quem locum cum fuissemus osculati, perreximus in Ecclesiam sitam in Monte Syon, in cujus parte sinistra locus apparuit a quo Beata Dei Genitrix Maria transivit ab hoc mundo ad Patrem.* Illi loco fixis cum lacrymis osculis,[6] cursitantes pervenimus ad videndam sacrosanctam mensam illam, in qua dignatus est Christus panem comedere, qua festinanter osculata, inde globatim sine mora discessimus. Nec enim tutum erat nisi catervatim incedere, propter profanæ gentis insidias; peregrinorum siquidem sparsim vagantium, hic tres, illic quatuor, in aditus cryptarum attrectantes Turci clanculo suffocabant. Illinc properavimus usque ad sepulcrum Beatæ Dei Genitricis Mariæ, in Josaphat[7] valle, medio, juxta Siloe osculandum devote et corde contrito. Deinde non omnino securi, in ipsam illam[8] testudinem accessimus, in qua dicebatur Dominus et Redemptor noster nocte comprehensus,[9] crucifigendus in crastino. Illic fusis piis lacrymis et affectuosius[10] illi loco fixis osculis,[11] properanter abscessimus, Turcis quoque nos abjicientibus, non modicum condolentes super pollutionibus quibus profanaverant sacra loca infidelium Turcorum equi irreverenter illic stabiliti. Postea recedentes ab Jerusalem pervenimus Achonem.

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[1] *dextram in*] om. A.

[2] *Montem Calvariæ*] monte Oliveti Calvariæ, B.

[3] *ubi*] ibi, A.

[4] *fuerat*] fuit, A.

[5] *Golgotha*] Golgatha, B.

[6] *osculis*] oculis, C.

[7] *Josaphat*] Josaphath, B.

[8] *illam*] om. B.

[9] *comprehensus*] reprehensus, C.

[10] *affectuosius*] effectuosius, A.

[11] *osculis*] oculis, C.

[CAPITULUM XXXIV.]

De peregrinatione tertiæ turmæ in Jerusalem,[1] *cui præerat episcopus Salesberiensis Hubertus Walteri, cui Salahadinus multum honorem exhibuit et omnes ejus petitiones*[2] *adimplevit.*

A.D. 1192. September. The third troop, under Hubert, bishop of Salisbury, is received by Saladin.

Interview between Saladin and Hubert; Saladin asks about king Richard.

Hubert's answer.

Mane,[3] tertia turma, cui præfuerat episcopus Salesberiensis, jam non procul agente ab Jerusalem, misit Salahadinus gentem suam obviam episcopo honorifice excipiendo, et pro voluntate per loca sancta deducendo.[4] Cui etiam ob commendabilem probitatem et opinionem prudentiæ, et prædicatam Salahadino claritudinem[5] meritorum, obtulit rogans ut apud ipsum mansionem acciperet, suis exhibendus[6] impensis. Renuit episcopus; "Nequaquam," inquit, "quia peregrini sumus." Salahadinus suis injunxit ministris, omnimodam episcopo et suis exhibere affluentius humanitatem; cui quoque quam plurima xenia misit accurata; quem et post invitavit ad colloquium, ut videret gestus ejus et habitudinem; cui et Sanctam Crucem exhibuit videndam; deinde considentes diutius familiariter collocuti sunt ad invicem. Sciscitatus est igitur Salahadinus de moribus regis Angliæ, et quid dicerent Christiani de Saracenis suis. Cui respondit episcopus dicens, "Re-"vera, de domino meo rege, quod non immerito dici "potest, dico ego, quod regi Angliæ non est in "mundo par miles in negotiis militaribus, nec æqualis "in virtutis præstantia, vel in dandi largitate, qui "nimirum omnium ad plenum commendabilium est "insignitus moralitate gratiarum. Quid multa? Si "quis, me judice, exceptis peccatis tuis, tuarum dotes

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[1] *in Jerusalem*] om. A.
[2] *ejus petitiones*] tr. A.
[3] *Mane*] Sane, A.
[4] *et . . . deducendo*] om. C.
[5] *claritudinem*] claritatem, A.
[6] *exhibendus*] exhibentibus, B.

A.D. 1192. September.

Hubert praises Richard and compliments Saladin.

Saladin's opinion of Richard.

Saladin offers Hubert a boon.

He begs that two Latin priests may be allowed to serve with the Syrian priests at the Sepulchre, at Bethlehem, and at Nazareth.

The pilgrims return to Acre.

"virtutum simul cum regis Ricardi communicaret com- "positas, ut uterque vestrum utriusque dotaretur præditus potentiis, tales in orbe terrarum duo principes "non invenirentur." Salahadinus, patienter auscultato episcopo, demum intulit, "Satis," inquit, "nobis[1] in"notuit regem esse maximæ probitatis et audaciæ, "verum minus prudenter, ne[2] dicam insipienter, se "crebrius ingerit in periculum, nimis prodigus vitæ "suæ. Ego quidem, undecunque et qualiscunque ter"rarum princeps eximius fuissem, multo mallem dap"silitate ditari cum sapientia simul et modestia, quam "audacia[3] et immodestia." Post prolixius igitur inter ipsos habitum familiariter per interpretes colloquium, dixit Salahadinus, ut episcopus quodcunque magis optaret peteret donum et daretur ei. Ad hæc cum episcopus gratias uberes reddidisset, petiit tempus deliberandi usque in crastinum. Igitur crastino[4] rogavit episcopus quatenus ad Dominicum sepulcrum, quod visitaverat, ubi vix utcunque, more Syrorum[5] barbaro, divina celebrabantur, permitterentur honestius divina celebrare duo presbyteri Latini cum totidem diaconis Latinis, simul cum prædictis Syris, ex oblationibus peregrinorum exhibendi, et[6] similiter totidem ad[7] idem in Bethlehem, similiter in Nazareth. Erat quidem petitio magna, Deo ut creditur gratissima. Annuente rogatis Soldano, perquisitos episcopus, prout impetraverat, instituit presbyteros in prædictis singulis locis, cum diaconibus,[8] obsequium præstans Deo, ubi non erat prius; sicque impetrata licentia exeuntes ab Jerusalem, reversi sunt Achonem.

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[1] *inquit, nobis*] tr. A.

[2] *ne*] non, A.

[3] *et . . . audacia*] om. C.

[4] *crastino*] om. A.

[5] *Syrorum*] *Syriorum*, A.B.

[6] *et*] ut, ins. B.

[7] *ad*] id, ins. A.B.

[8] *diaconibus*] diaconis, A.

[CAPITULUM XXXV.]

Peregrinatione peracta repatriantes multa in mari perpessi sunt naufragia, vel alia[1] *pericula.*

A.D. 1192. September.

The pilgrims set sail on their way home.

Many perish by the way

Others suffer from the loss of their friends and relations, and all may be regarded as martyrs.

The absurd comments made at home on the result of the Crusade.

Consummata populi votiva peregrinatione, naves instruuntur ad repatriandum, secundisque ventis velis expositis, singuli[2] dispositis se commisere navigiis. Nec mora; varietate ventorum disgregatæ, naves in diversa feruntur. Per marinos tractus jactantur peregrini diutius, quorum quidam in diversos portus ejecti, utcunque evaserunt incolumes; alii sparsim periclitabantur naufragio, alii in ipsa navigatione moriebantur in mari, maris vastitatem pro cœmeterio[3] sortiti; alii morbo incurabili corrupti, nunquam postea convaluerunt vel in patria.[4] Alii vero quamvis fortiori perdurantes incolumitate, tamen ex amissione patrum et fratrum,[5] parentum et amicorum armis peremptorum, vel infirmitate defunctorum, satis acerbum creduntur traxisse martyrium, quorum corda[6] diversarum passionum transverberabant gladii dolorum. Singulos itaque, licet variis modis, fatendum est satis dira pertulisse martyria, qui corde simplici et devoto pro Dei amore huic se exposuerant peregrinationi. Porro, nonnulli insipienti verbositate garrientes, postea solebant improperare, dicentes peregrinos illos modicum quid profecisse in terra illa Jerosolimorum, nondum recuperata Jerusalem, nescientes[7] quid loquerentur, quia super ignotis contenderent et inexpertis. Nobis autem arbitramur esse credendum, qui vidimus et experti sumus, quas illi sustinuerant tribulationes et angustias:

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[1] *vel alia*] et, A.

[2] *singuli*] om. C.

[3] *cœmeterio*] cimiterio, MSS.

[4] *in patria*] Gale reads *in patriam redierunt*, without authority.

[5] *fratrum*] et, ins. A.

[6] *corda*] om. C.

[7] *nescientes*] om. C.

A.D. 1192. September.

Our author affirms that 100,000 pilgrims died rather than lose their chastity.

300,000 died of famine and disease at Acre.

Their salvation is secure.

unde et audientibus iis etiam qui interfuerant, audenter protestamur, in illa peregrinatione Christianorum centum millia fuisse mortuos, pro eo tantum quod sub divinæ [1] spe mercedis se continuerunt a mulieribus, ducentes iniquum jactura pudicitiæ carnis obtinere sospitatem. Opposuerunt patientiam etiam usque ad corruptionem carnis, ut perseveraret impolluta castitas mentis. Item revera novimus et infirmitatis corruptione et famis inedia decessisse peregrinorum trecenta millia et eo amplius, et in obsidione Achonensi, et post in ipsa civitate. Præterea quis dubitaret super salute animarum virorum nobilium et bonorum, qui a propriis capellanis quotidianum divinum audiebant servitium? et hi quidem creduntur salvandi.

[Capitulum XXXVI.]

Rex Willelmum de Pratellis, qui in bello dicens se Melech, pro rege captus est, redemit, antequam repatriare vellet, dans pro eo decem Turcos nobilissimos.

Richard before his departure gives ten Turkish captives as ransom for William des Préaux.

Interea regis Ricardi instruitur navigium, et omnia necessaria præparantur in victualibus et armis, et ad reditum disponuntur. Tunc rex mera liberalitate, et illustris titulo [2] ingenuitatis impulsus, pro Willelmo de Pratellis redimendo, qui sicut prædictum est, olim regis nomine comprehensus est, decem ex nobilioribus Turcis commutandos dimisit liberos, qui quidem infinitæ summam pecuniæ pro eodem Willelmo gratanter impendissent retinendo. Regiæ [3] vero magnanimitatis claritudo quocunque pacto dedignata est denigrari.

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[1] *divinæ*] om. B.

[2] *titulo*] tædio, B.

[3] *Regiæ*] Rege, B.

[CAPITULUM XXXVII.]

De repatriatione et navigatione et infortuniis regis Ricardi.

A.D. 1192. September. Richard before his departure pays his debts.

Peractis omnibus, rex jam consistens[1] in procinctu scandendi navem, proinde[2] statuit procurandum, ne quid scrupuli superesset, quod omni[3] bene gestorum derogaret perfectioni. [Jussit igitur, clamante præcone, suos universos adesse creditores, et omnia debita restitui ad plenum et ultra, ne qua videlicet in posterum merito, vel super raptis vel ablatis regia auctoritate posset oriri detractio vel querela].[4]

Cf. Ralph de Diceto, col. 668.

Sept. 29. The Queens set sail.

October 9. Richard sets sail; the farewell of the people.

Die festo Sancti Michaelis duæ reginæ, scilicet Berengaria regina Angliæ uxor regis Ricardi, et Johanna quondam regina Siciliæ, soror regis Ricardi, navem ascenderunt apud Achon. Die Sancti Dionysii ascendit rex Ricardus navem reversurus in Angliam.[5] O quot cum regia solvitur classis,[6] piis præcordiis sunt eruta suspiria, fluentibus ubertim lacrymis ab oculis![7] Optantur regiis beneficiis benedictiones, et prospera rerum,[8] memorantur probitates,[9] et in uno homine congestarum cumulus virtutum. O quot interruptis lamentationibus[10] singultibus audirentur voces plangentium et dicentium, "O Jerosolimorum terra omni jam "auxilio destituta, quanto defensore manes orbata! Quis "ulterius si forte rumperentur induciæ, te protegeret ab "impetentibus, jam abeunte rege Ricardo?" Hæc et his similia singulis lacrymabiliter inculcantibus, rex nondum

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[1] *jam consistens*] tr. B.

[2] *proinde*] provide, A.B.

[3] *omni*] omnium, A.

[4] *Jussit . . . querela*] om. C.

[5] *Die festo . . . Angliam*] om. A.B.

[6] *regia solvitur classis*] classis regia solveretur, A.B.

[7] *fluentibus . . . oculis*] gravidis ubertim fluentibus lacrymis, A.B.

[8] *et prospera rerum*] om. A.B.

[9] *probitates*] computantur largitates, ins. A.B.

[10] *lamentationibus*] suspiriis, ins. B.

A.D. 1192. October 9. He sets sail.

October 10. His farewell to Palestine.

He could not forsee his misfortunes.

perfecte recuperata sospitate, sed cum cunctorum precibus optata salute, velis erectis, aptato[1] progreditur navigio. Ad siderum respectus tota curritur[2] nocte; clarescente vero die crastina, rex relictam terram piis respectans luminibus, meditans in longum, audientibus pluribus, oravit dicens; "O terra sancta, Deo te commendo, Qui pia Sua gratia mihi tantum vivendi "tribuat spatium, ut in beneplacito Suo tibi præstem "auxilium, spero quidem, ut propono, tibi quandoque "succurrere." His dictis nautas urgebat plena vela ventis expedire, quatenus æstus marinos cursu superarent velociori. Ignarus quidem quantæ ipsum manebant tribulationes, et angustiæ, quot esset experturus adversitates per proditionem olim demandatam in Francia,[3] unde machinatum est ut ab iniquis nequiter insidiantibus comprehenderetur, nihil tale suspicans, in obsequio Dei et laboriosa peregrinatione.

Nov. 11. The king reaches Corfu, and there disguises himself, and is conveyed by pirates into Sclavonia.

Circa[4] festum Beati Martini rex Ricardus ex diutina tumultuantis pelagi jactatione jam pertæsus navigationis, quam citius potuit applicuit terræ primo visæ, scilicet in terram imperii Constantinopolitani, in loco qui dicitur Curufu. Verum quoniam ex præmissis non immerito suspicatum habuit imperatoris et Græcorum suorum versutiam, nolens ibi videri, cum piratis forte inventis prudenter paciscens, eis statim dato quantum postulaverant naulo, exegit ab eis ut ipsum expeditius in terram commodiorem transveherent. Relicta ita classe regia, se regem dissimulans, piratis crudelibus se commisit intrepidus, habitu mutato sed non animo. Quid enim non auderet magnanimitas regis Ricardi?

> "— Nescit virtus generoso innata latere."

He passes by Aquileia into Austria.

Quatuor tantum assumptis sociis transvectus est in Sclavoniam. Inde pertransiens Aquileiam cum intras-

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[1] *aptato*] optato, A.

[2] *curritur*] cucurrit, A.

[3] *Francia*] Franciam, B.

[4] *Circa . . . Januarias*] om. A.B.

A.D. 1192. Dec. 20.

He is taken captive at Vienna.

His castles in Normandy are taken.

The efforts made to raise the money for his ransom.

set terram Limpoldi ducis Austriæ, captus est in Wena civitate xiii° Calendas Januarias.[1] O quam meritis inæquali recompensatione retribuebatur ei, quod pro generalitatis negotio laboraverat anima ejus, et jam occupabatur hæreditas illius,[2] cum expugnarentur nefarie castra ejus in Normannia, crudeliter grassantibus æmulis ejus sine causa; nec nisi redemptus[3] laxatus[4] est ab iniqua[5] captione,[6] communicantibus in summa pecuniæ duce Austriæ et Henrico imperatore Alemanniæ.[7] Redemptionis quidem occasione,[8] ut ad taxatam[9] summam census excresceret,[10] in omni gente sua fiebat collecta plurima et variarum rerum distractio.[11] Accipiebantur[12] calices ab ecclesiis, et vasa aurea vel argentea in usus ecclesiasticos sacrata.[13] Nec tamen hoc[14] secundum priorum[15] decreta fuerat[16] illicitum, cum urgentissimus instet articulus necessitatis.[17] Rex Ricardus tot Turcorum magnificis celebris triumphis, circumventus nefarie a suæ fidei fratribus, et ab his qui simul cum ipso Christiana professione, utinam vera,[18] censentur, comprehenditur. O quam vere timen-

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[1] *Circa . . . Januarias*] om. A.B.

[2] *illius*] ejus, A.; et, ins. B.

[3] *redemptus a captione iniqua*, A.

[4] *laxatus*] relaxatus, A.B.

[5] *iniqua*] unquam, A.

[6] *ab iniqua captione*] tr. A.

[7] *communicantibus ... Alemanniæ*] ab imperatore Alemanniæ, A.B.

[8] *Redemptionis quidem occasione*] Cujus occasione redemptionis, A.B.

[9] *taxatam*] om. A.B.

[10] *excresceret*] multiplicaretur, A.B., which also transpose the words.

[11] *variarum rerum distractio*] tr. A.B.

[12] *Accipiebantur*] enim, ins. A.B.

[13] *Accipiebantur . . . sacrata*] tr. A.B., which add after *sacrata*, quibus poterant utcunque carere monasteria.

[14] *Nec tamen hoc*] Nec hoc quidem, A.B.

[15] *priorum*] patrum, A.B.

[16] *fuerat*] erat, A.B.

[17] *cum . . necessitatis*] For this clause, and the following sentence, A. and B. have, "immo maxime " necessarium, cum nunquam sanc-" torum quisquam vel sanctarum, " quorum numerus est innumerabilis " hominibus, tanta fuerit, vita su-" perstite, pro Deo angariatus in-" juria ut rex Ricardus in captivi-" tate Ostericia, necnon et Aleman-" nica. Qui tot Turcorum celebris " fuerat triumphis nefarie circum-" venitur a suæ, &c."

[18] *utinam vera*] solo nomine, A.B.

A.D. 1193. Richard's captivity in Germany.

dæ sunt occultæ magis insidiæ quam manifestæ discordiæ, juxta illud, "facilius est vitare discordem "quam declinare fallacem." Proh nefas! cui non poterant resistere omnes adversarii ejus, ab ignobili gente concluditur:[1] quem totius imperii Salahadini[2] contractæ copiæ non prævaluerant debellare,[3] in Alemannia retinetur.[4] O fallax rerum mutatio! Ille rex inclitus tractatur indignis, et si non vinculis sed ineptis custodiis. Regio nimirum sanguine nihil molestius quam indigniorum subjici ditioni, et agi nutibus inimicantium. Ingenuus siquidem adversatur anxie morum incompositorum dissidentia. Cæterum, gravius nocet quicquid inexpertum accidit. Verum esto, si quis calumniantium insimulaverit, tanquam non immerito mulctandum regem Ricardum, ac si reum mortis Marchisi; certe majoris erit auctoritatis ejus innocentiæ et ab alieno excusatio quam quorumcunque susurronum invidiosa detractio. Denique Limpoldus dux Austrasiensis, qui ex sola forte suspicione sive quorumcunque perversorum rogatu, regem comprehensum tenebat, sibi destinatam super morte Marchisi suscepit epistolam in hæc verba.

Defence of Richard against the charge of assassinating the Marquis.

Letter from the Old Man of the Mountain to Leopold, duke of Austria.

"Limpoldo duci Austriæ Vetus de Monte salutem.

"Cum plurimi reges et principes ultra mare, Ricar-"dum regem Angliæ et dominum de morte Marchisi "inculpant, juro per Deum, qui in æternum regnat, et "per legem quam tenemus, quod in ejus morte nullam "culpam habuit. Est causa siquidem mortis ipsius "Marchisi talis. Unus ex fratribus nostris in unam "navem de Saltheya[5] ad partes nostras veniebat, et tem-"pestas[6] illum forte apud Tyrum impulit: et Marchisus

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[1] *ab . . . concluditur*] om. A.B.

[2] *Salahadini*] Soldani, A.B.

[3] *debellare*] nunc ab ignobili hoste concluditur et, ins, A.B.

[4] *retinetur*]. Here A. and B. have, "O quam gravissimum est "agi nutibus alienis in libertate "educatis," and omit all that follows, down to "Nec esset vitium si non ratione careret."

[5] *Saltheya*] for Satalia.

[6] *tempestas*] tempus, C.

A.D. 1193. September.

He declares the true cause of the death of the Marquis.

"fecit illum capere et occidere, et magnam pecuniam "ejus rapuit. Nos vero Marchiso nuncios nostros misimus, mandavimus ut pecuniam fratris nostri nobis "redderet, et de morte fratris nostri nobiscum se concordaret: et noluit, necnon et nuncios nostros sprevit, "et mortem fratris nostri super Reinaldum dominum "Sidonis posuit: et nos tantum fecimus per amicos "nostros quod in veritate scivimus, quod ipse fecit "illum occidere et pecuniam rapere. Et iterum alium "nuncium, nomine Edrisum, misimus ad eum, quem in "mare mergere voluit, sed amici nostri illum a Tyro "festinanter fecerunt recedere, qui ad nos cito pervenit, et ista nobis nunciavit. Nos quoque ex hora "illa Marchisum desideravimus occidere, tuncque duos "fratres misimus ad Tyrum, qui eum aperte et fere "coram omni populo Tyri occiderunt. Hæc utique fuit "causa mortis Marchisi, et bene dicimus vobis in veritate, quod dominus Ricardus rex Angliæ, in hac Marchisi morte nullam culpam habuit. Et qui propter "hæc domino regi Angliæ malum fecerint, injuste et "sine causa fecerunt. Sciatis pro certo quod nullum "hominem hujus mundi pro mercede aliqua vel pecunia "occidimus, nisi nobis malum prius fecerit: et sciatis "quod litteras fecimus istas in domo nostra ad castellum nostrum Messiac, in dimidio Septembri, coram "fratribus nostris, et sigillo nostro eas sigillavimus, "anno ab Alexandro millesimo quingentesimo quinto."[1]

Richard was clearly innocent.

Hinc proculdubio regem esse constat innoxium, quia falso conceptæ presumptioni rite præjudicat spontanea rei confessio; sed ubi motibus suis indifferenter agitur præcipitata voluntas, ratio locum non videtur habere,—nec

"esset vitium si non ratione careret."

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[1] The year of the era of the Seleucidæ, or of the Greeks, 1505, began on the first of September, A.D. 1193.

A.D. 1194. March.
He is delivered from his captivity.
Richard lands at Sandwich; hastens to London.

Cf. Ralph de Diceto, col. 672.

He takes Nottingham; and keeps Easter at Northampton: is crowned at Winchester on the Sunday after Easter, April 17; and then goes into Normandy.

Rex autem[1] ex illa captione solita Dei clementia, sua industria et suorum cura fidelium, licet[2] mediante ære multo quia sciebatur multum posse,[3] tandem libertati dimissus est. Qui[4] prospero cursu tendens in Angliam apud Sandwicum decima tertia Calendas [Aprilis,[5]] et sequenti feria quarta perveniens Londonias, coronata civitate cum exultatione magna tam cleri quam populi cum processione solemni receptus est, in ecclesia Beati Pauli, et post triduo moratus est in palatio suo Westmonasterii. Inde peregre profectus est ad Sanctum Edmundum: obtulit ibi illud pretiosum vexillum quod fuit imperatoris Cypri. Deinde tendens versus Notyngham, infra triduum recepit obsessos in deditionem. Pascha celebravit apud Norhampton. In Octavis Paschæ coronatus est Wyntoniæ, agente divina Huberto Cantuariæ archiepiscopo, præsente Willelmo rege Scotiæ, et in brevi dissidentia regni pacificavit ad votum.[4] Postea transfretans in Normanniam, æmuli sui scilicet regis Franciæ plus justo liberos[6] excursus se expedivit[7] retundere, cujus etiam impetus crebris rejiciens repulsionibus, alienatum jus suum cum augmento quoque potenter in hasta recuperavit et gladio.[8]

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[1] *Rex autem*] Sed et, A.B.

[2] *licet*] om. A.B.

[3] *multum posse sciebatur*, B.

[4] *Qui prospero .... ad votum*] For this A. and B. have only "solo "denique restitutus natali, et regno "patrum in brevi (regni, B) dissi-"dentia regna pacificavit ad votum."

[5] *Aprilis*] This word is supplied from Diceto 672, from whom the whole paragraph is taken almost verbatim. The date given by Hoveden and Ralph of Coggeshall is March 13, and it was probably from a hesitation about the correctness of Diceto's date, that the author left the name of the month blank in the MS.

[6] *plus justo liberos*] justo liberiores, A.B.

[7] *expedivit*] paravit, A.B.

[8] Here MSS. A. and B. end, with the verse,—

Si teneatur opus, non deroget auctor utrique,
Si quid opus meritis, gratia non minuat.

and the finale,—

In A. Explicit Liber de Expeditione Regis Ricardi in Terram Jerosolimorum.

In B. Explicit Itinerarium Ricardi Regis Angliæ et Regis Franciæ, et Imperatoris Alemanniæ.

Character of Richard.

His energy, wisdom, and eloquence; his kindness to the clergy; his quickness in detecting baseness.

His choice of friends, in which he resembled Augustus.

Rex Ricardus, quod rarissimum est in uno reperire, admirandarum tria gerebat insignia virtutum. Fuit quippe strenuissimus in armis, providus in consiliis, efficax in verbis. Quorum profecto singula hominem exhiberent gloriosum, hic præditus omnibus pro tempore negotiabatur in singulis; armis in hostes, in amicos consiliis, verbis usus in universos. Nunquam principum alter quisquam propensiorem eo clericis et viris ecclesiasticis gratiam exhibebat et reverentiam. Cæterum nemo unquam subtilius singulorum deprehendebat ex solo etiam intuitu qualitatem moralitatis; ita ut nullatenus ipsius regis potuerit ferre præsensentiam quisquam degener vel animi dejectioris, sive quemcunque accusaret ignaviæ rea conscientia. Didicerat enim quod habitus exterior sæpius prædicet statum interiorem, et quod ex interioris animi sigillo formam trahat humani vultus imago. Illos denique dignabatur familiaritate et consortio, quos commendaret morum elegantia, vel insigniret singularis titulus probitatis. Quid nimirum efficacius conciliat animos parium quam similitudo morum? Qualem quidem se noverat, talium tantum commilitonum consortio gaudebat. Siquidem Cæsar Augustus, quo nemo tempore felicior, quo nimirum imperante, nasci dignatus est in tempore temporis Auctor, eo intuitu quo dictum est, duos præcipue in familiaritatem admiserat et gratiam amicitiæ ob expertarum in ipsis singularium dotes virtutum, Mæcenatem ob modestiam taciturnitatis, et Agrippam ob patientiam laboris. Cæsaris hujus hac in parte non dissimilis, rex Ricardus quos commendabat morum præstantia socios habuit et amicos. Cujus denique magnanimitas nullo tempore sustinuit esse non actuosa, quæ si circa meritum frequentius fuerit laboriosa, non intercipit titulum gloriæ noverca felicitatis invidia.

His measures for the benefit of his people.

Igitur a captione laxatus reversus in Angliam, et regiam animo metiens[1] majestatem, circumspecte studuit posteris etiam prodesse nihilo minus quam præesse, unde se crederet et obsequium præstare Deo, et quod populo suo expediret et regno, juxta illud sapientis, "Rex sapiens stabilimentum est populi."* In episcopatus itaque vacantes et abbatias, voluit sine mora competentes institui legitime personas. Item statim in ingressu suo in terram data præceptione jussit portus observari marinos, ne, qua viderant, externorum navis vel etiam indigenarum annonas frugum sive cujuscunque generis victualia aliena transveheret in regna, ea scilicet mente, ut Anglia propriorum quæ gigneret non careret ubertate bonorum. Item choros frugum vel modios venalium, sive quascunque mensuras, quæ tunc temporis diversissimæ pluribus habebantur in locis, in toto regno unicam statuit et uniformem; quas ne quis forte minueret vel quocumque modo vitiaret, circulis ferreis procuravit coronari summitates vasorum. Similiter et de batis vel amphoris, sive metretis, vulgo galones legitimæ jussit fieri mensuræ, et apud singulos provinciarum præfectos, vel urbium præpositos hujusmodi regales conservari mensuras ad probandum rectas et convincendum falsas. Item omnes telas pannorum in latitudine per totum ulnarum fore duarum, infra oras vulgariter dictas liserias. Nihilominus telam æque fideliter ubique contextam sine quocunque fuco vel superinductione fallaci; quod si alterius schematis in pannis reprehenderetur quid vitiosum vel in contextione, sive contextis in hac terra, sive aliunde adductis, a regiis ministris comburerentur in publico, non obstante cujusquam auctoritate vel gratia, ne quis sibi speraret emolumentum ex fraude. Prius quidem in statione vendentium suspendebantur ex adverso panni coloris optimi, quatenus ex appositorum repercussione colorum, color etiam adulterinus sub obducta specie gratior videretur quam esset, ut sic emptores circumveniret vendentium astutia, cum locum adumbratum sola fabricati coloris repercussio clarificaret. Hanc omnem rex amoveri promulgavit simulationis obumbratio-

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[1] *metiens*] mesciens, C.

* Wisdom, vi. 26.

Richard's reforms of commerce, weights, and measures.

All webs of cloth are to be two ells wide; the cloth to be sound throughout.

Shops to be open, so that the colours may be seen.

Richard's legal measures with respect to the Jews.

nem, quatenus aperta luce diei, sicut oportet, de materia pannorum judicaretur et forma. Ad hæc ulnas ferreas fieri jussit, quas nemo posset diminuere. Item procuratores præposuit Judæis, qui vel inter ipsos Judæos facerent judicium, vel si quid oriretur disceptationis, diffinirent causam inter Christianum et Judæum. Sed et dolosa machinamenta Judæorum super cartarum falsatione, ex frequenti deprehendens querela, statuit ulterius nihil clam inter Catholicum et Judæum contrahendum, sed sub quorundam ad hoc institutorum testimonio et conscientia solemniter celebrandos contractus; et super his trina scripta conficienda, quorum unum apud fiscanos, alterum sub fide digni viri custodia, tertium apud creditorem Judæum conservandum, nequid machinaretur, ut olim, quod aliorum consimili vinceretur producta scriptura. Item ne quis Christianorum deprehenderetur fœnerator, nec amplius quam commodaverat quacunque conventionis occasione reciperet; quod si forte redditum vel terras quis in pignus suscepisset, vel quidlibet aliud ab altero unde annuum proveniret emolumentum, recepta tamen sorte, obligata possessio pristinum rediret ad dominum non obstante cujuscunque termini quasi nondum finiti pactione. Si quis autem contra hæc legitima statuta convinceretur venisse, per annum et diem carcerali plecteretur penuria, regiæ postmodum obnoxius misericordiæ. Hæc et hujusmodi populo terræ pernecessaria, zelo justitiæ a rege constituta toto ejusdem tempore observabantur illæsa.

His forgiveness of his brother John.

Item statim postquam in Normanniam applicuit obvium habuit fratrem suum Johannem tunc comitem, qui misericordiam petens super commissis cum se misisset ad pedes regis, incunctanter culpam indulsit. Excellentia siquidem animi dedignabatur inferiorem punire, reputans sibi sufficere se posse vendicare.

He orders new chalices to be made for the

Item advertens forte nonnullas ecclesiarum campestrium argenteis carere calicibus, cum didicisset eos

A.D. 1199. churches which had given their plate for his ransom.

He dies before this can be carried out.

suæ redemptionis occasione olim ablatos, sibi tanquam reo imputans ad culpam divina minus digne in hac parte celebrari, jussit fieri calices per loca diversa quam plurimos, ecclesiis scilicet indigentibus passim distribuendos. Ea tamen præmatura morte prævenit; non est ad plenum secuta restitutio. Alterantur nimirum status rerum pro diversitatibus personarum, et post mortem mandatoris ejusdem exspirat mandatum.

Igitur deficiente digne dicendorum adhuc materia, stilum ulterius duximus suspendendum, donec pro magnificis forte gestis ubi cujus nomen sonat, Dei gratia, quæ prædicabili reputentur digna memoria, censeatur merito resumendus articulus.

Explicit Itinerarium Peregrinorum et gesta Regis Ricardi, cujus animæ propitietur pietas Ejus Qui neminem vult perire, Salvator mundi, Jesus Christus Dominus noster, Cui laus, virtus, et imperium. Amen.[1]

---

[1] The *Explicit* is followed in the MS. by the verses,

" Scribitur hic titulo tua laus, rex auree, tota,
" Aurea cum titulo conveniente nota.
" Laus tua prima fuit Siculi, Cyprus altera, Dromo
" Tertia, Carvanna quarta, suprema Jope.
" Retrusi Siculi, Cyprus pessundata, Dromo
" Mersus, Carvanna capta, retenta Jope.

" Qui scripsit est mas, titulatus nomine Thomas."

The first two lines of this epitaph as given on the fly-leaf of MS. B. stand thus,—

" Scribitur hoc auro, rex auree, laus tua tota,
" Aurea materie conveniente nota."

And another version is given in Bromton, c. 1281.

GLOSSARY, &c.

GLOSSARY.

A.

Admiralius, 6, 12, 105, 423, &c.; admiratus, 206, 209, 327, 397; admiralis, 262; an emir.

Angevinus, 132; an Angevin penny, equal to an English farthing of the same date. Hoveden, f. 384 v°.

Antella, Æ, 272, the front of the saddle.

Arcifer, I, (archifer, MS.) clxv.; an archer.

Arnaldia, Arnoldia, 214, 363; a disease, attended with loss of hair and nails, perhaps the Syrian fever.

Ascella, 125, i. q. axilla; the armpit.

Athleta, 65, &c.; a combatant.

I notice this word because of the form it takes in the MSS., *Alleta;* the double letter being equivalent to *thl,* as in Welsh. Compare *Ennicus,* for Ethnicus, p. 60; Leviannigena, for Leviathanigena, p. cxxxiv.; Belleem for Bethlehem. The word is occasionally written Adleta.

Aureus, 213, &c.; a golden bezant.

Azolus, I, cliv.; azure.

B.

Baneria, 164, 193; a banner.

Barga, 176, 191, 244, 254, 313; apparently a bark, rather than an ordinary river barge.

Batellus, I, clxv.; a boat.

Barra, 216; a barricade, or a barbican.

Birrus, 305; a rag.

Biscoctus, 244, 304, &c.; biscuit.

Bizantius, 21, 325; bizantium, 406; a bezant, 72 to the lb. of gold.

Botrus, 187; a cluster of grapes.

Breve, 99; a charm.

Buza, 181, 182, 186, 204; a buss. *See* Dromo.

C.

Caruble, 133; a carob.

With the formation of this word, compare that of Betenoble, from Beit-Nûba; and the further alteration into Betenopolis.

Casa, 253; casella, 254, 290; casellum, 280, 299, 303, 307; a casal.

These words are applied indiscriminately to the villages of the Holy Land, not exclusively to the suburbs of the fortified towns.

Cattus, 220, &c.; the military engine called the cat. *See* p. 220.

Carvanna, 373, &c.; a caravan.

Cercleia, 220, 224; a shed for protecting the balistarii; the description of which is given at p. 220.

Cincenella, 361; a musquito.

Cogga, 64; a transport vessel carrying 250 men.

Cocodrillus, 256; a crocodile.

Cumulus, i, (cumalus, MS.) clxxx.; a cupola.

Cursac, 183; Kyr Isaac. The name and title of the emperors of this name seem to have given a good deal of trouble to the western writers. Isaac Angelus appears in Hoveden as Tursakius, and he adds, that the Greeks called him Sacwice. (Isaacius, as rightwise and righteous.) He lays stress also on his being "clericus sapiens." Our, author, however, calls Isaac Angelus, Ysaakarius, but it does not appear whether this arose from the adding the title Kyrios to the Christian name, or to a confusion between Isaac and Issachar, similar to that so commonly found between Manasses and Manzer. Henry Stero (Freher, i. 514) calls Isaac, Issachar.

Cynimum, 390; cinnamon.

D.

Dieta, 150, 248, 252; a day's journey; 255, a station.

Diffiducio, 34; to defy; diffiduciatio, 34; defiance.

This word is spelt in the Cotton MS. diffeduciatio, as if the writer connected it with fœdus.

Dromo, 114, 176; dromund, 136; a dromond: a large transport vessel used indiscriminately with *Buza*, pp. 176, 182, and 204. The great dromond of Saladin, p. 209 and 363, carried 800 men; and to this also the name of buss is given in Hoveden, f. 394. Cf. Bohadin, 166.

E.

Esnecka, 189, 192, esneka, 189; necka, 244; necta, 217; sneka, 313; esnecca; Rot. Pipæ 1 Ricardi I., ed. Hunter, pp. 200, 206, 207, νάκκα; Neophytus, clxxxvii.

A broad slow-sailing vessel used for carrying provisions and transporting troops.

Excutio, 318, &c.; to rescue.

F.

Favellus, 199, 274; a yellow tawny colour.

Filtrum, 206; a tarpaulin.

Flasco, 254; i. q. flaçon; a flask.

Furro, are, 291, &c.; to forage.

G.

Galea, 19, 77, 80; a galley, a vessel of war, with two benches of oars on each side; the passage at p. 80 is classic on the subject.

Galio, 78, 80; a vessel of war, with one bench of one rowers on each side. *See* p. 80.

Grossus, 257; *gros;* big.

Gulfrum, 180, &c.; *gouffre;* a gulf.

Gwerra, 140; *guerre*; war.

H.

HAUSASINUS, 338; hausassisus, 339, 341; an assassin.

HIRRIO, IRE, 190, 197; to snarl.

HUMANATUS, 139; incarnate.

I.

ICONIA, Æ, 107; an image.

INACTUS, 242; ἄπρακτος; unsuccessful.

INDULGEO, 383; if this word is not a clerical error for *indagor*, in this passage, it must be used in the sense of *condescending* to particulars.

J.

JUMENTINA, clxxviii., clxxx.; a mare.

L.

LIMPIDUS, A, UM, 219; smooth.

LIQUORICIUM, I, cliii.; liquorice.

LUTRINUS, A, UM, 106; of or belonging to an otter.

M.

MAHUMERIA, 46; a mosque.

MANZER, 22, a bastard. Deut. xxiii. 2.

MARCA, 26, 239; a mark.

MARCHIO, 25, 79, &c.; marchisus, 18, 79, &c.; also marchisius; a margrave, or marquis.

MARCHISA, 348; marchisia, 348; a marchioness.

MILES, *passim*; a knight.

MILLIARIUM; a mile of eight stadia, 353; a mile of 32 stadia, 429; in other places it may mean a travelling mile, or two and a half English miles.

MIRMURÆNUS, 8; Molanus, 10; Muleina, 230; the Latin of the title Emir-al-Mumenim: possibly Molanus and Muleina are nearer to the Moorish *Muley*.

MOROSUS, 391; as if from mora. Slow.

P.

PACTIO, NIS, clvii.; payment.

PEDATICA, Æ, clx.; customs duty.

PENUNCELLUS, 156, 215, &c.; a pennoncel.

PENURIA, 264, 393; difficulty; 397, poverty.

PERIPSEMA, 279; offscouring.

PERPUNCTUM, 99, 226, &c.; quilted work.

PINCENATES, 44; Patzinaks or Petchenegs; Tartar tribes settled in Bulgaria in the middle of the eleventh century.

POLANUS, 305, 308; a Frank native of Palestine: the word does not seem in these passages necessarily to imply mixture of blood; but to be used loosely as we use the word Creole.

PRÆCLUIS, 91; famous.

PRÆMASTICO, 305; to prepare to eat; to whet the teeth.

PRORETHA, 36; a corrupt word, possibly for *pirata*.

Q.

Quarellus, 271; a quarrel: a square arrow-head.

R.

Raia, æ, cxlvi.; the ray; (ragadia).

Roto, are, 304, 305; to rub.

Runcinus, 191; a horse.

S.

Samitum, 197; Samittum; Samictum; Samite.

Sationalis, 149; arable, fit for sowing.

Scutellum, 203; a dish.

Seiromastes, cli.; a javelin. Numbers xxv. 7.

Sinopis, 197; red.

Solarium, 163; an upper story.

Species, 369, 390; spices.

Strepa, 191; a strap.

Sus, clxvii., 112; a shed of wood used for protection of sappers and miners.

Summa, clxv.; sagma, sauma. A seam; a measure of eight bushels.

Summarius, 49, 54, 55; i. q. sagmarius, sumarius; a beast of burden.

Surianus, 9, &c.; a Jacobite or Syrian Christian.

T.

Talentum Saracenicum, 232. The same as the aureus or golden bezant. Cf. Bohadin, 179, with p. 232 above.

Tarentes, tarentis, 254; tarantulas.

Troina, 212. This word, which seems to be elsewhere unknown, means apparently some buzzing wind instrument. Gale reads for *troinis, heroinis.*

Trompa, 157; trumpa, 156. A trumpet.

Tymbra, 214, &c.; a timbrel.

Typhus, 277; pride.

Tyriaca, 254; an antidote.

V.

Vegetativus, 86; flourishing.

W.

Worma; cxlvi. (Angl.-Sax. Wurma.) Scarlet, vermilion.

Y.

Ysaakarius, 43. *See* Cursac.

Z.

Zucarum, 390; sugar.

COLLATION OF THE PAGES IN GALE'S, BONGARS', AND THE PRESENT EDITION.

Bongars.	Gale.	Ed. nov.	Bongars.	Gale.	Ed. nov.
1150	247	3	—	271	72
1151	248	5	—	272	74
1152	249	8	1167	273	77
—	250	10	1168	274	79
1153	251	14	—	275	82
1154	252	17	—	276	84
—	253	20	1169	277	87
1155	254	22	—	278	89
1156	255	25	—	279	91
—	256	27	1170	280	94
1157	257	30	—	281	96
—	258	33	—	282	98
1158	259	35	—	283	100
—	260	39	—	284	102
1159	261	43	—	285	104
1160	262	45	—	286	106
1161	263	48	—	287	109
—	264	50	—	288	111
1162	265	53	1171	289	113
1163	266	56	—	290	115
—	267	60	—	291	118
1164	268	63	1172	292	121
1165	269	66	—	293	123
1166	270	69	—	294	125

Gale.	Ed. nov.	Gale.	Ed. nov.	Gale.	Ed. nov.
295	127	307	154	319	182
296	130	308	156	320	184
297	132	309	158	321	187
298	134	310	161	322	189
299	136	311	163	323	191
300	138	312	166	324	193
301	140	313	168	325	196
302	142	314	170	326	198
303	145	315	172	327	201
304	147	316	175	328	203
305	150	317	177	329	205
306	152	318	179	330	207

Gale.	Ed. nov.	Gale.	Ed. nov.	Gale.	Ed. nov.
331	210	364	284	397	363
332	212	365	287	398	366
333	214	366	289	399	368
334	216	367	292	400	370
335	219	368	295	401	373
336	221	369	297	402	376
337	223	370	300	403	379
338	225	371	303	404	381
339	227	372	305	405	384
340	229	373	308	406	387
341	231	374	310	407	389
342	234	375	312	408	392
343	236	376	314	409	394
344	238	377	317	410	397
345	240	378	320	411	400
346	242	379	322	412	402
347	244	380	324	413	404
348	246	381	326	414	407
349	248	382	328	415	410
350	251	383	330	416	412
351	253	384	332	417	414
352	255	385	335	418	416
353	257	386	337	419	419
354	260	387	339	420	421
355	262	388	342	421	424
356	264	389	344	422	426
357	267	390	346	423	429
358	269	391	348	424	431
359	272	392	350	425	434
360	274	393	353	426	436
361	277	394	355	427	438
362	279	395	358	428	440
363	282	396	361	429	444

INDEX.

A.

Abacuc, St., lxxxviii., 285, 414.
Acre, Acra, Achon, 18, 57, 179, 181, 284, 286, 311, 321–324, 327, 338, 344, 348, 353, 363, 369, 392, 398, 399, 403, 426, 431, 434, 440.
  taken by Saladin, 17.
  besieged by Guy, 60, 63.
  described, 75.
  siege of, 63–137, 210–232.
  taken, 232.
  re-fortified, 240.
  Bishop of, 15.; elect of, 93.
Adrianople, 47.
Ægyptus, 10, 29, 325.
Aerschot, Arnold, count of, cxliv., clii., clxxx.
Agolandus, Agulandus, 154, 332.
Aias de Stoi, Aias Estoy, cx., 13, 257.
Alba Ripa, *Auberive*, 153.
Alba Custodia. *See* Blancheward.
Alcacer, clxxxi.
Alebrandus, 74.
Alenzun, John of, 358.
Alexandria, 13, 22, 38, 114.
Alianora, mother of Richard, 142, 174, 175, 176.
Alizius, 13.
Alta Ripa, *Hawtrey*, Ralph de, 91, 93.
Amalric. *See* Jerusalem.
Amiens, Drogo de, 213, 242.
Andrew, of London, cxliv.
Anna, St., 361.
Ansconus, 376.
Antarados, Tortosa, 25, 205.
Antioch, 22, 39, 56, 57, 60, 75, 94.
  besieged by Saladin, 26, 27.
  Bohemond I., prince of, 22, 396.
  Reginald of Châtillon, prince of, xcix., &c., 11, 16.
  Bohemond III., prince of, 25.
  Raymond, son of the prince of, cxxvi., 355.
Apulia, Richard of, 74.
Aquileia, 442.
Arados, 25.
Aralchais, 294.
Arcellis, Saherius de, cxliv., clv., clvi., clxiv., clxv.
Arches, John de, 93.
Arcissi, Assasisi, filius, 400, 405.
Arnaldia, Arnoldia, 214, 363.
Arsic, Alexander, 389.
Arsur, *Arsûf*, forest of, 250, 274.
  river of, *Nahr-el-Aujeh*, 281, 282.
  town of, lxxxv., 260, 274, 276, 281, 405.
  battle of, 262–275.
Artabrum, cliv.
Arzilleriis, Walter de, 93.
Ascalon, 20, 25, 96, 235, 244, 283, 284, 296, 308, 311–319, 324–330, 334, 339, 347, 352, 357, 365–367, 385, 386, 399, 426, 427, 429.
  taken by Saladin, 20.
  destroyed by Saladin, 280.
  description of, 313, 316, 317.
  repaired by Richard, 315, 330.
  demolished by Richard, 429.

Assela, Lewis de, 93.
Asti, bishop of, 93.
Ava, cxlvi.
Auriola, *Lauriol*, 153.
Austria, 443.
    Limpold, *Leopold*, duke of, 443–445.
Avesnes, James of, cxxv., 65, 71, 261, 269.
    arrives at Acre, 65.
    in command of the besiegers, 94.
    his death and burial, 275, 276, 277.
    his character, 65, 276.
Avignon, 153.

B.

Babylon, Babylonia, *Cairo*, *Egypt*, 13, 39, 78, 96, 230, 295, 308, 318, 319, 381, 382, 384.
Baldach, *Bagdad*, caliph of, 13, 39.
Baldwin, II., III., IV., V. *See* Jerusalem.
Balianus, Balisantus, lord of Ibelin, 121, 337.
Bar, count of (Henry), 67, 69.
    Theobald of, 74.
Barres, Peter des, 205.
    William des, 213, 251, 261, 273.
Barrez, Seguinus de, 355.
Bayonne (Baneria ?), bishop of, 196.
Beatrix (Agnes), of Edessa, 96.
Beauford, Belfort, *Shakyf-al-Arnun*, lxxxviii., 63, 280.
Beauvais, Philip, bishop of, 67, 261, 269, 339.
    marries Conrad and Isabel, 122.
    is sent to Cyprus, 199.
Beauver, Belvoir, *Kaukab-el-Hawa*, lxxxvii., 280.
Bedredinus Dorderinus, *Bedreddin Duldurn*, 13, 434.
Bedewini, *Bedouins*, 13, 262, 386.
Belivi, *Belleville*, 151.
Bellegeminus, 13, 105.
Belmont, 280.
Belus, river, 76, 248, 249.
Berengaria, daughter of the king of Navarre, 175, 176, 182, 187, 191, 195, 204, 441.
Berlinges, cliii.
Bernard, count, 74.
    Richard's scout, 383.
Bertulf, count, 74.
Berytus, Berritus, Baruth, *Beirout*, 20, 79, 205, 206, 235, 381, 404.
Besançon, archbishop of, Thierri of Montfaucon, 93, 111, 112.
Betenoble, Betenopolis, *Beit-Nûba*, lxxxvii. 303, 368, 369, 370, 392, 396.
Bethaven, 392.
Bethlehem, 438.
Bidesfordia, Bidefordia, Gerard de, master of the Temple, 6, 16, 30.
    slain, 70.
Blancheward, Blancheguard, Alba Custodia, Candida Custodia, *Tel-es-safieh*, 280, 299, 344, 345, 346, 366, 367.
Bloez, William, 218.
Blois, Theobald, count of 92, 116.
    bishop of, 93.
Bombrac, 291.
Bononenses, men of Boulogne, cxliv., clvii., clviii.
Borriz, William de, 261.
Botron, *Botrûn*, 205.
Braccara, *Braga*, cxlvi., archbishop of, clii., clx., clxxi.
Brenensis, de Breno, *Brienne*, Count Erard, 67, 71.
    Andrew, 71.
Brisensis, Bishop, 93.
Bristol, men of, clviii.
Britany, Arthur of, 169.
Bruges, Castellan of (John de Nesle), 74.
    Robert de, 371.
Bruil, William de, 301.
    Saul de, 301.
Bufevent, 201, 202.
Bulgaria, 44.
Buovis, *Boves*, Robert de, 92.
Burdellis, *Bourdeaux*, archbishop of, 196.
Burgundy, Hugh III., duke of, 147, 166, 218, 238, 239, 242, 261, 283, 326, 365.
    left in command of the French, 237.
    deserts Richard, 311, 323, 324.
    goes to Acre, 320, 321.
    goes to Tyre, 322.

Burgundy, Hugh III., duke of—*cont.*
  summons the French to Trye, 325.
  goes to Acre, 349.
  goes to Darum, 356.
  composes verses on Richard, 394, 395,
  death of, referred to, 404.
Byla, Bila, emir of, 12, 400.

C.

Cadivia, *Cavado*, river, cxlvi.
Cæsarea, 93, 255, 256, 322, 405, 413, 425, 426.
Cageu, *Cayeu*, *Kaeu*, William of, 292, 336.
Calabria, 177, 332.
Camelus, 179.
Campis, cxlvi.
Camte, lord of, 93.
Candaira, 199, 201, 202, 203.
Candelion. *See* Scandalion.
Candida Custodia. *See* Blancheward.
Cannetum Sturnellorum, 358, 360.
Canterbury, Baldwin, archbishop of, 93, 116, 120, 142.
  excommunicates Conrad and Isabel, 122.
  dies, 123, 124.
  city of, 145.
  S. Thomas of, cxiii., 116.
Capella, *Chapelle d'Anguillon*, 149.
Capharnaum, *Bir-el-Keneiseh*, 252, 253.
Caracois, Carracoensis, *Karakoush*, xxix., 13, 228, 229, 234, 239.
Carmel, 76.
Carro, Carron, Carrun, Baldwin de, 269, 373, 374, 375.
Casa, Angustarum Viarum, *Athlit*, 253, 254, 255.
Casal, Casella, Casellum :
  Hymbert, *Achzib*, cxxxix., 90, 210, 320, 323.
  Maen, Medium, cxxxix., 280, 289, 290, 292, 397.
  of baths, *Amwâs*, 298, 306, 307.
  of plains, *Yazour*, 280, 289, 290, 306, 311.
  of Josaphat, 296.
  of the Temple, 296.
Castiniaco, *Châtenai*, Erard de, 92.
Castrum Arnaldi, Castel Arnald, near Beit-Nûba, 280, 368, 435.
  Ficuum, 357, 358.
Catania, 171.
Cayphas, *Haipha*, 117, 118, 252, 405, 430.
  Payn, lord of, 121, 199.
Caysac, 281, 355, 357.
Cella, *Celles*, 149.
Chalons, de Scaloniis, William count of, 92, 289.
  abbot of, 93.
Champagne, 67.
  Henry of Troyes, count of, 92, 94, 112, 135, 238, 261, 350, 352, 365, 431.
  arrives at Acre, 92.
  takes the command, 94.
  accompanies Richard to Ascalon, 311.
  goes to Acre, 326.
  is sent to Tyre, 336.
  returns to Acre, 338.
  returns to Tyre, 342.
  is chosen king of Jerusalem, 342, 343 346, 347.
  marries Isabel, 348, 349.
  goes to Acre, 349.
  goes to Darum, 356.
  is sent to Acre, 369, 373.
  comes to Ramlah, 392.
  comes to the relief of Joppa, 413, 415.
  is sent from Joppa to Cæsarea, 426.
Charles the Great, Karolomannus, 67, 382.
Château-dun, Castellum Dun, viscount of, 217.
Châtel-herault, Castrum Eraldi, viscount of, 74.
Châtillon, Guy of, 93.
  Lovel of, 93.
  Reginald of. *See* Antioch.
Chavegni, Andrew of, 218, 227, 292, 302, 355, 405, 415, 432, 433.
Cherines, in Cyprus, 201, 202.
Cistern, the round, 385.
Claromonte, comes de, *Clermont, count Ralph of*, 92, 135.
Clements, Alberic, 223, 226, 229.

Colimbria, *Coimbra*, cliii.
Cordini, 13, 412, 413, 414.
Corfu, 442.
Corneby (Tournebu?), 217.
Corsica, 153.
Cosdroes, 15.
Crachum, Crac, Crec, *Kerak*, 29, 280, 297.
Crete, 177, 179.
Cross, the true :
  taken at the battle of Hittin, 15.
  to be surrendered at Acre, 232, 236, 240.
  not restored, 241.
  claimed by Conrad, 242.
  exhibited to the pilgrims, 435, 437.
  a portion of it at Acre, 350.
  two pieces given to Richard, 376 ; 379.
Curbenai, St. Leonard de, 151.
Cursac. *See* Isaac.
Cyprus, 180, 182, 183, 188, 212, 350, 363.

D.

Damascus, 9, 13, 39, 266, 381, 403.
Damiata, 13, 38.
Dampierre, Guy de, 74.
Danes, 64, 74.
Darum, 280, 301, 303, 318, 319, 330, 347, 349, 352, 353, 355, 356, 358, 363, 364, 398, 399.
De Bosco, *Dubois*, William, 186.
  Arnald, 301.
  Geoffrey, 408.
De Insula, *De l'Isle*, Manesserius, 373, 375.
Denmark, Dacia, nephew of the king of, 74.
Denys, St., 147.
Dertemuthe, *Dartmouth*, cxliv, clvi.
Didimus, *Audimo*, in Cyprus, 201, 202.
Donpas, *Bonpas*, 153.
Donzi, Danziacum, 149.
  Henry (Hervey) of, 28.
Doyra, *Douro*, cxlvi, cliii.
Dorobernensis, Symon, cxliv.
Dreux, 146.
  de Druellis, Robert count of, 67, 103, 261, 269.

E.

Edessa, Edissa, Roasia, de Rohequis, 5, 11, 13, 39, 96.
Edmunds, St., 145, 446.
Edris, 445.
Emaus, fountain of, 369.
Elias, St., abbot of, 377.
Elizabeth, Isabel, daughter of king Amalric, 97, 119, 121, 340, 342, 343, 347.
  marries Conrad of Montferrat, 122.
  marries Henry of Champagne, 348, 349.
Elmada, cliv., clv., clxix.
Ely, William Longchamp, bishop of, 145, 333.
Erictrea, cliii.
Esterpensis, abbot, 93.
Everard, 250.
Evora, king of, clxviii.
Evreux, bishop of, 196, 217, 289.

F.

Famagusta, 199.
Fanensis, bishop, 135.
Faraquinis, admiralius de, 12.
Fay, Achus de, 405.
Ferrandus, 72.
Ferrers, earl of, 74.
  Walkelin of, 93, 135, 261.
Fierte, Hugh de, 218.
Figs, castle of. *See* Castrum.
Fitz Gerold, Warin, 217, 300.
Fitz Luke, John, 251.
Flamba, cxlvi.
Flanders, Philip, count of, 147, 213, 217, 219.
Flies, tower of, 75, 88, 109.
Fontanis, Alaunus de, 93.

Fontenillo Putrellis, Drogo de, 300.
Fontevraud, 142.
Fossa, Otho de, 74.
France. *See* Philip II.
Frisones, 64.
Frederick I., emperor, 5, 34, 35, &c., 182.
  marches through Hungary, 43, 44.
  winters in Greece, 45–48.
  takes Iconium, 50–54.
  enters Armenia, 54.
  is drowned, 55.
  his burial, 56.
  lamentation over him, 58.
Furnival, Gerard de, 415, 432.
Furbia, *Herbia*, 346, 356, 357.

G.

Gabelum, Gabala, *Jebleh*, lxxxvi., 26.
Galatia, *Kuratiyeh*, 280, 384, 385.
Gallæcia, *Gallicia*, cxlix.
Garlande, Manserius de, 92.
  William de, 213, 261.
Garstonia, Peter de, 355.
Gascuil, Gilbert of, 176.
Gaza, Guadres, 280, 330, 346, 356.
Genoa, 152.
Genoese, 84, 151, 174, 206, 321, 322, 323, 405, 413, 414, 416.
Geoffrey, count of Anjou, 96.
George, St., 7, 267, 269.
  arm of, 47.
  Lydda, 280, 297, 298, 376, 397.
Gesira, Mesopotamia, 11, 39.
Gibeleth, Byblus, *Jebeil*, lxxxvi., 205.
Gibello, Monte, Ætna, 177.
Gien, Hervey of, 74.
Gienville, Geoffrey of, 74.
Gisors, 32, 140, 176, 237.
Gistellis, Christian de, cxliv., clii.
Glanvill, Hervey, of, cxliv., clvi., clviii.
  Ranulf of, 93.
  Roger of, 345.
Godfrey, duke of Brabant, cxliv.
Goeth, Goez, William de, cxvii., 74.
Gournay, Hugh de, 93, 261.
Grammahyr, 108.
Gray, Henry de, 302.
Gregory I., pope, 138.
  VIII., pope, 237.
Griffons, Greeks, of Sicily, 155, 168.
  of Cyprus, 185, 189.
Guiscard, Robert, 154.
Guy. *See* Jerusalem.

H.

Halapia, Aleppo, 412.
Harecurt, Roger de, 186, 217.
Hastings, men of, clvii.
  Gilbert of, clxxxi.
Hausassisi, assassins, 338, 340, 341.
Hautefort, 362.
Henry VI., emperor, 443.
Henry II., king of England, cxi.–cxvi., 5, 26, 32, 140, 237.
  his treasure, 26, 182.
  dies, 141, 142.
  Teutonicus, 415.
Heraclius. *See* Jerusalem.
Hereford, prior of, 333.
Hospitallers, 25, 26, 66, 69, 73, 115, 218, 253, 266, 269, 276, 308, 326, 371, 379, 381, 326, 371, 379, 381, 382, 399, 404, 405, 426.
Hospital, master of the, Roger des Moulins, 6.
  Garnier of Naplous, 197, 267, 268, 371, 372.
  marshall of, 269.
Hugh, of Poictou, the marshall, 246.
  Le Brun, Count of la Marche. *See* Lusignan.
Humez, *Hommet*, Jordan de, 217, 405.
Hungary, 44.
  Bela, king of, 44.
  Nicolas, count of, 74.
  a count of, 246.
Hyrenea, St., *Santarem*, clxix.
Hyria, cxlvi.

I.

Ibelin, *Yebna*, xciii. 311. *See* Balian.
  of the Hospitallers, *Beit-gebrin*, 360.
Iconium, taken by Frederick I., 51.
  sultan of, 13, 47, 49.
  Ipswich, men of,
Isaac, Angelus, emperor of Constantinople, 5, 45.
  Comnenus, emperor of Cyprus, xxii., clxxxvii.; 180, 183, 187, 189, 192, 198, 200, 201, 203, 446.

J.

Jerafaradinus, cx., 12.
Jerusalem, 295, 303, 305, 309, 345, 352, 359, &c., 370, 376, &c., 397, 433, 440.
  captures of, lxxxii., &c.
  capture by Saladin, 20, 21, &c.
  sacred fire, 328.
  kingdom of, xc., &c.
  assizes of, xc., &c.
  Godfrey of Bouillon, lord of, 22, 396.
  Baldwin I., king of, lxxxvi., lxxxvii.
  Baldwin II., king of, lxxxvi., xcii., 96.
  Fulk, king of, 96.
  Milesende, queen of, cii., 96.
  Baldwin III., king of, lxxxviii, xciii, cii., 96.
  Amalric, king of, cii., 10, 23, 96, 119, 121.
  Mary, queen of, cii., 97, 121.
  Baldwin IV., king of, cii., &c., 96, 295.
  Baldwin V., king of, 96.
  Sibylla, queen of, &c., viii., cii., &c., cxxvi., 23, 96, 97.
  Guy of Lusignan, king of cxxiv., &c., 11, 14, 15, 20, 59, 95, 97, 195, 277, 286, 298, 299, 321, 334, 335 ; taken prisoner 15 ; released, 25 ; besieges Acre, 62, 68, &c. ; saves the life of Conrad, 71 ; overruns Cyprus, 199, 201, 235 ; is made king of Cyprus, 350, 351 ; his character, cxxiv. 350.
Jerusalem—*cont.*
  Heraclius, patriarch of, 23, 121.
  (Ralph) patriarch elect of, 403.
Jews, massacre of, 142.
  regulations for, 449.
Job, father of Saladin, 8, 40.
Jocelin, 74.
  of Montoire, 135.
John, earl of Mortain, 142, 333, 359, 449.
Jokelinus, of le Mans, 389.
Joppa, 235, 280, &c., 303, 311, 324, &c., 347, &c., 373, 392, &c., 400, &c., 411, &c., 413, &c., 426, &c., 431.
Josaphat, casal of, 296.
  valley of, 436.
Julia, clv., clxii.

K.

Kent, men of, cxliv.

L.

Lacellis, Geoffrey de, 218.
Laizi, 149.
Laodicea, 26.
Lamego, clx.
Leicester, Robert, earl of, 217, 227, 242, 261, 269, 292, 293, 300, &c., 355, 375, 376, 389, 405, 415, 418.
Leticia, river, cxlvi.
Limezon, *Limasol*, 182, 186, 187, 188, 191, 197, 205.
Lisbon, cxlv., &c.
Liz, St., *Senlis*, the butler of, 122.
Loegria, John of, 74.
Lombards in Sicily, 157, 159.
London, 142, 446.
  men of, cxliv.
  Richard, bishop of, 145.
  Augustine of, 403.
Longchamp, Stephen, 355, 376, 389.
  William, 145. 333.
Lora, cliii, clxxxi.

Loreora, Chotardus de, 218.
Lucana, *Lugo*, cxlv.
Lusignan, Geoffrey of, cxxiv., 26, 60, 72, 119, 216, 235, 283, 307.
  Guy of. *See* Jerusalem.
  Hugh of, count of La Marche, cxxiv., 161, 219, 227.
Lyons (la Forêt), 145.
  on the Rhone, *151, 153, 182*.

M.

Macedonia, 45,
Maceriis, Guy de, 93.
Mailly, Jakelinus de, 7.
Mailoc, Henry de, 301.
Malemayn, Gilbert, 93, 389.
Malez (Malet), William, 218.
Maloleone (Malleon), Ralph de, 218, 405, 415, 418.
Malus, Catulus, Roger, 186.
Manafaradinus, 6.
Manneville, Ernald de, 217.
Manuel, Comnenus, 96.
Mara, 217.
  Hugh de, 192.
Marcel, William, 218.
Marescallia, *Hittin*, 14.
Margaritus, cxxi., 27, 160.
Margat, *Merkeb*, lxxxvii., cxxi., c., 205.
Marignane, 153.
Marseilles, *152, 153*.
Marun, Reignier de, 287.
  Walter, nephew of Reignier, 287.
Mary, St., the Virgin, *361, 436*.
  de Bosco, 151.
Mategriffun, 168, 172, 173.
Maxima, St., clv., clxii.
Medica in frigore, cliii.
Megesimus, 13.
Melkinus, 51, 52.
Menelones, 412, 413, 414.
Merla, lxxxvii., 255.
Merlo, Drogo de, 199, 261.
  William de, *213*.
Messina, 148, 151, &c., 160, 171, &c., 363.
Messina, Faro of, 153, 175.
Messiac, 445.
Mestoc (Meschtoub), 13, 229, 234, 344, 434.
Mezaedinus, 12.
Mirabel, lxxxviii., 280, 307, 324.
Mirmurænus, 8, 40.
Molanus, Muleina, *10, 230*.
Molendinis, Rogerus de, 6.
Mont Chablon, Clarembald de, 373, 375.
Mont Dragun, 153.
Mont Escot, 151.
Monte Aspero (Aspromont), Gaubert de 93.
Montferrat, *William, senior,* marquis of, cxxiv., 23, 30.
  William Longaspata, marquis of, cxxiv., *96*.
  Conrad, marquis of, cxxiv., 18, 19, 23, 25, 60, 71, 94, 97, 124, &c., 135, 195, 235, 311, &c., 321, &c.
  relieves Trye, 18.
  comes to Acre, 68.
  wins a sea fight, 79.
  his character, *119*.
  marries Isabel, 122.
  goes to Tyre, 123.
  returns to Acre, *213*.
  refuses to join Richard, 241.
  elected king, 334, &c.
  assassinated, 338, &c., 444.
Mont Galoure, 153.
Montmirail, John of, 93.
Montreal (*Shobek*), 29, 297.
Montreal, Ancelin de, 74.
Mont Richard, 149.
Mont Sorgre, 153.
Moors, *cxlvi, clv., &c., 86*.
Mortimer, Bartholomew, 415,
Mossetar, 12.
Mount of Calvary, 436.
  of Joy, 435.
  of Olives, 394, 435.
Mundego, *cliii*.
Münster, bishop of, 46.
Mulins, 151.
Musse, Senior de, *Vetus de Monte, 339, 341,* 444, 445.
Myrchalius, 13.

N.

Nadabares, 86.
Napes, Garnier de, 267.
Nazareth, 6, 93, 438.
Neapolis, *Naplous*, xciii., cvi., 23.
Nephyn (*Enfeh*), 205.
Neville, Hugh de, xxxviii., 415.
Nichosia, *Lefkosia*, cxiii., 192, 194, 200, 201, 202.
Nicolas, a templar, 16.
  Henry, son of, 217, 301.
Nigelli (Neal), Robert, 300.
Norahadinus, Noureddin, sultan of Damascus, 9, 10.
  emir of Amiza, cix., 12.
Norfolk, men of, cxliv.
Normandy, 238, 334, 443, 446, 449.
Northampton, 446.
Nottingham, 446.
Novo Burgo, Robert de, 217, 301.
Noyers (de Nuheriis), Clarembald of, 93.

O.

Orenge, 153.
Orques, Richard de, 373, 374.
Ortigia, Ortegal, cxlv.
Ospiardus, 355.
Ostia, bishop of, 93.
Otho, 373.
Ovier, cxlvi.
Ovies, cxlv.
Ovieto, cxlv.

P.

Palermo, 154, 171.
Palmella, cliv., clv.
Paris, 147.
Perche, count of, 213, 372.
Perusium, 30.
Petra, 29.
Philip II., king of France, 5, 32, 138, 140, 297, 320, 321, 340, 341, 342, 351, &c.
Philip II., king of France—*cont.*
  comes to Messina, 156.
  his cowardice, 160.
  his treachery, 162, 167.
  sails for Acre, 181.
  takes part with Conrad, 195.
  attacks Acre, 215.
  returns to France. 239.
Philippus, 373, 374.
Philippopolis, 45.
Phœnix, isle of, cxlv., cliii.
Pin, Jordan del, 160.
Pincenates, 44.
Pisa, archbishop of, 74.
Pisans, 61, 109, 136, 137, 174, 212, 227, 228, 321, &c., 405, 413, 416.
Polani, 305, 308.
Pontigny, count of, 92.
Portugal, Hildefonso, king of, cxlvii., clii., clvi., clx.
Portugala, Oporto, cxlvi.
  Peter, bishop of, cxlvi., &c., clx., &c.
Provence, S. Paul de, 153.
Pratellis, Praels, de (des Préaux), 217, 405.
  Peter de, 242, 302, 408, 432.
  William de, 287, 288, 440.
Pulpudeba, 45.
Pyrenees, cxlv.

Q.

Quency, Robert de, 242.

R.

Raecha, *Rakka*, emir of, 12.
Ramlah, 280, &c., 290, &c., 309, 310, 311, 346, 392, &c., 400, 432, 435.
Rancon, Geoffrey de, 218.
Raymond, count of Tripoli, c., cv., 11, 13, 14, 121.
  son of the prince, 355.
Recordana, 117.
Remis, Albericus de, 402, 403.
Rhodes, 177, 179, 180.

- Rhone, river, 152.
- Ribole, Hugh, 289.
- Richard, count of Poictou, 32, 142, 175, 362.
  - I., king of England, 138, 142, &c.
  - his character, 143.
  - his person, 144, 197.
  - marriage, 195.
  - adventure of the Dromond, 206.
  - massacre of the prisoners, 243.
- Risa, Rysa (Reggio), 154, 175, 332.
- River of Acre, 248.
  - of crocodiles, 256.
  - the dead, 255, 257.
  - salt, 257, 258, 259.
  - of sweet water, 367.
- Roasia. *See* Edessa.
- Robis, admiralius de, 12.
- Rochetailie, 259, 260.
- Roches, William des, 218, 432.
- Rouen, Walter, archbishop of, 170, 176.
- Roverei, Ralph de, 162.
- Rumanz (Romans), S. Bernard de, 153.

S.

- Sabloel, Robert de, 166.
- Saguntum, 30.
- Saint Edmund, 145, 446.
  - Giles, count of, 362.
  - John, Henry de, 403.
  - Mary, Ralph de, 301.
  - Pol, count of, 213, 257, 292, 293, 298.
  - Valery, Bernard de, 92.
- Saladin, 6, *et passim.*
- Salerno, 176.
- Saliceto, Matthew de, 162.
- Salisbury, Hubert Walter, bishop of, 93, 116, 134, 135, 137, 242, 372, 432, 437, 438.
- Salun, 153.
- Salvador, St., cxlv.
- Sandwich, 446.
- Sanguinus, cx., 13.
- Sanscous, cx.
  - de Doada, 13.
  - Gwahadinus, 13.
  - Halabiensis, 13, 279.
- Saphadin, Berbensis, 13.
  - brother of Saladin, cxxxii.-cxxxvii., 211, 280, 295, 296, 297, 403, 419, 428, 431, 433, 434.
- Saracunus (Shiracouh), 10.
- Sardinia, 153.
- Sassachius, cx., 13.
- Satalia, 180, 446.
- Satya, Rogerus de, 218, 405, 415.
- Scalaphium, clv., clxxxi.
- Scandalion, *Iskanderûna,* Candelion, 62, 210.
- Sclavonia, 442.
- Scotland, William, king of, 446.
- Seis, Johannes de, 74.
- Selefius, river, 54.
- Senaiz, 153.
- Sensedinus (Shemseddin), cix., 13.
- Serbeth de Harengo, cx., 13.
- Sewarius, 10.
- Sicily, William, king of, 5, 27, 33, 146, 154, 182.
  - Joanna, queen of, cxxxiv., &c., 154, 165, 169, 176, 441.
  - Tancred, king of, 153, 154, 165, 167, 169, 170.
- Sidon, 20, 79, 205, 235.
  - Reginald, lord of, xciii., cxxi., 121, 337, 445.
- Silvia, 65.
- Solinus, 76.
- Soyra, cliii.
- Southampton, men of, clvii.
- Stabulo, Alanus de, 287.
  - Lucas de, 287.
- Stagno, William de, 283, 415.
- Stephen, count (of Sancerre), 92.
- Strango, 153.
- Stuteville, 218.
- Suabia, Frederick, duke of, 34, 49, 50, 57, 94, 116.
- Suchtrium, cliii., clv., clxviii.
- Suffolk, men of, cxliv.
- Syloe, Silcam, 394.

T.

- Tours, 147, 148, 149.
- Trasinges, Transinges, *Trasignies*, Otho de, 292, 336.
- Treies, Theobald de, 403.
- Trie, 140, 237.
- Tripoli, 26, 27, 28, 60, 205.
  - count of. *See* Raymond.
- Trossebot, Trussebot, Robert, 93, 135.
- Tude, *Tuy*, cxlvi.
- Tuluns, 151.
- Turcopoles, 276, 346, 386.
- Turenne, viscount of, 74.
- Turkemanns, 369.
- Turneham, Torneham, Stephen de, 299, 337.
- Turon, Toron, of the knights, *Latroon*, 368, 432.
  - the hill near Acre, 62, 65, 69, 75, 76.
  - *Tibnin*, xcviii., 280.
  - Henfrid I., 9.
  - Henfrid III. of, c. 30, 97, 119, 120, 121.
- Turpin, 67.
- Turris, Faris, *Ferrol*, cxlv.
- Tyre, 18, 23, &c., 39, 56, 78, 122, 182, 210, 213, 235, 239, 241, 242, 311, 323, &c., 330, &c., 342, &c., 351, 426, 434, 444, 445.
  - William, archbishop of, 31, 140, 206.

U.

- Urban III., pope, 5.

V.

- Vaga, *Vouga*, cliii.
- Valences, 153.
- Venice, 152.
- Verdun, Bertram de, 217.
- Verissimus, clv., clxii.
- Vernon, Richard of, 93.
- Verona, bishop of, 74, 135,
- Vezelai, 145, 146, 149, 150, 151.
- Viana, Ferric de, 373.
- Viaria, 153.
- Vienis, Fiennes, Ingelram de, 74.
- Vienna, Wena, 443.
- Villa Franca, *Villefranche*, 151.
- Vipont, Ivo of, 93, 104.
- Viseos, *Viseo*, bishop of, clx.
- Vitulus, *Calf*, William, clvii.
- Vulcanus, 153.

W.

- Waldinus, Osbert, 403.
- Westminster, 142, 446.
- William, the chaplain, 361.
- Witedinus, Witikind, 332.
- Winchester, Godfrey de Lucy, bishop of, 145.

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